R. D. LITTLETON, PASTOR
506 BAY STREET

CHURCH PHONE - 2737
MANSE PHONE - 4071

# Bay Street Presbyterian Church

SHORT BAY AND LAUREL AVENUE
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

December 14, 1953

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have recently received a copy of "The Schools and The Courts" published by your organization.

I would like for you to answer two questions of you : (1) Is your organization opposed to segregation in the public schools ? (2) Does your organization assist in carrying this issue to the courts in any way ?

Yours sincerely,

R. D. Littleton

RECEIVED
DEC 16
Southern Regional Council

Presbyterian Church

August 25, 1954

Dear Mr. Gibboney:

It was as kind of you as could be to write me August 17th about the Church Extension Conference.

I felt honored to be included in the fellowship of that gathering and was delighted to find, in the overwhelming majority of those who were present, great purpose to proceed sanely with what is right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Charles H. Gibboney
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the United States
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

GSM/eab

Mrs. Hamilton

HCF would like to talk with you about this

11/8/54

Been avoid by telephone today

THE SENDER HAS A
DIRECT Telefax CONNECTION
with WESTERN UNION

WHEN TELEGRAPHING REPLY
USE THE SYMBOL FAX IN PLACE OF STREET ADDRESS

SCEF(2)

# WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(53)..

| SYMBOLS |
| --- |
| DL=Day Letter |
| NL=Night Letter |
| LT=Int'l Letter Telegram |
| VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr. |

6209

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1 AA31 PD152

P.LLU103 DL PD=FAX PHILADELPHIA PENN 5 1117AME=

GEORGE MITCHELL SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUDBURN AVE ATLA=

WE HAVE INQUIRY FROM FIELD REGARDING SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND. CAN YOU IDENTIFY GROUP? IS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH USA REPRESENTED ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS, MEDICAL COMMITTEE, EXECUTIVE STAFF SHOULD THIS OFFICE COOPERATE? HOW CAN THIS BE DONE?=

CLIFFORD EARLE 830 WITHERSPOON BUILDING=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

February 4, 1954

Mr. Clifford Earle
Witherspoon Building
Walnut & Juniper Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Earle:

That was as kind as could be of you and Mr. Sissel to listen patiently and take me to so nice a luncheon the other day.

I enclose a pair of documents worth looking at - though I may well have left a copy of both with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosures 2

April 1, 1955

Miss Katharine E. Gladfelter
Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Gladfelter:

Our people tried their best to put straight the Warren Wilson lapse!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. March, 1955 New South

March 11, 1955

Miss Katharine E. Gladfelter
Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church
in the U. S. A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Gladfelter:

I don't know how we slipped up on Warren Wilson Junior College at Swannanoa, North Carolina. Actually, we have known from first hand experience that it has behaved for many years!

Nice to have a visit; I hope for another one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

AH has seen and noted

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

March 4, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAR 7 1955

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just glanced over the February issue of the New South and am greatly interested in and encouraged by the reports on desegregation in Southern insitutions.

I notice that in the North Carolina listing the name of Warren Wilson Junior College at Swannanoa does not appear. Actually, Warren Wilson was one of the first institutions in North Carolina to admit Negro students. The first Negro student enrolled in the fall of 1952 on a completely integrated basis and we have four Negro students along with a number of students from abroad, who represent different races and cultures, enrolled this year.

Do stop in again the next time you come to New York. I was so glad to renew our acquaintance when you were here several weeks ago.

Very sincerely yours,

Katharine E. Gladfelter

Katharine E. Gladfelter
Secretary, Department of
Educational and Medical Work

KEG:md

May 20, 1955

Dr. P. D. Miller
Board of Church Extension
341B Ponce-de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Miller:

The Southern Regional Council is deeply grateful to your Board for the contribution of $200 so kindly sent us today.

We are coming into the lean months when goodly sums are hard to come by, and are the more grateful to the Presbyterian Church in the United States for this support.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - SRC Official Receipt

| IN PAYMENT OF | ACCOUNT NO. | AMOUNT |
|---|---|---|
| Donation in 1955 budget | 5167 | $200.00 |

MAY 20 1955

FUND

IF INCORRECT RETURN FOR CORRECTION

DETACH THIS STUB BEFORE DEPOSITING

THE BOARD OF CHURCH EXTENSION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S., INC.

July 29, 1955

Mr. Clifford Earle
The Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church in the
in the United States of America
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Earle:

Many thanks for your phone call and for the letter which got to Atlanta ahead of me.

I am free to come, and will do so to be with your group the afternoon of the 28th and for so much of the 29th as you want me. My calendar bears a notation that a visiting team of students from Colgate will be in Atlanta September 28th, 29th, and 30th, and I am to talk with them. But I have written them and told them that my time with them will have to be on the 30th.

actually october 10th

This ought to be a most useful occasion, and I much appreciate being asked to come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

July 28, 1955

JUL 29 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We do hope that you can be with us in the meeting of the Denominational Staff Council in New York on September 29. The DSC is composed of social action secretaries of the various denominations related to the Division of Life and Work of the National Council of Churches. Our meeting will begin on the afternoon of the 28th and will run through the entire day of the 29th. We will let you know later about the exact location of the meeting.

In a three-hour period on Thursday morning, the 29th, we would like to think with you about the churches' strategy in dealing with problems related to desegregation - particularly in southern states. I think your own historical, sociological, and geographical interpretation of the situation and needs of the southern states would be very useful. This, I believe, should occupy the first part of our period. Following your presentation there could be general discussion using a panel composed of yourself, Oscar Lee, and possibly Malcolm Calhoun.

All this is simply a suggestion. The Executive Committee of the DSC will meet on September 19, and may have some other recommendations. In the meanwhile, if you have any ideas as to the best use of the Thursday morning period, please send them on.

It was nice to talk with you a few minutes ago. I do hope you can be with us in New York in September. By the way, we will manage to take care of all of your expenses.

Cordially yours,

Clifford Earle

Clifford Earle
Secretary

CE:r

October 5, 1955

Mr. Clifford Earle
The Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church in
the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Earle:

I was to send you a statement of my expenses in coming up to New York to the gathering.

It is attached.

I am grateful for the opportunity to spend time with that exceptionally effective group of people.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

George S. Mitchell
Expense Account

Plane ticket - Atlanta, Richmond, Va., Atlanta = $60.66
Train ticket - Richmond, Va., New York one way sleeper = $23.69
Train (coach) - New York, Richmond, Va. = $13.36
Airport transportation - Atlanta = $1.00
Hotel - New York = $5.25
Meals - New York = $6.56
Tips = $.65
Airport transportation - Richmond = $2.50
Taxi = $.85
Subway and bus = $.63
Hotel - Washington, D. C. = $5.60

Total---------- $120.75

May 1, 1956

Reservations Clerk
Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please reserve a single room for the nights of May 8th and 9th for Mr. George S. Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell will be arriving at the Charleston airport around 9:20 p.m. on the night of May 8th, checking out the afternoon of May 10th.

We would appreciate receiving a confirmation of this reservation. We would also appreciate it if you would mark the reservation for late arrival.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary to
Mr. George S. Mitchell

eab/

May 4, 1956

Reservations Clerk
Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

I wrote you the other day and asked you to hold a room for me for the nights of May 8th and 9th.

I have changed plans and shan't be needing a room for the night of the 8th, but shall be needing a room the night of the 9th, and would be grateful for your holding room for me the night of the 9th. I will be arriving by train the morning of the 9th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE CHURCH AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Atlantic Synod

Zion Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C., May 9-10, 1956
Host Pastors: The Rev. F. Perry Metz, The Rev. Edward Miller

PROGRAM

The Rev. Charles W. Talley, Presiding

Wednesday, May 9

| | |
|---|---|
| 10:00 - 10:30 a.m. | Registration and Room Assignment, delegates receive expense vouchers. |
| 10:45 - 11:00 a.m. | Opening Worship |
| 11:00 - 11:05 a.m. | Introduction of Guests and Resource Persons |
| 11:05 - 11:30 a.m. | Orientation--A Legal Perspective (John Bolt Culbertson, Esquire) |
| 11:30 - 12:10 | Orientation--An Historical Perspective (George Mitchell) |
| 12:30 - 1:30 p.m. | Lunch |
| 1:30 - 2:00 p.m. | Orientation--A Christian's Response |
| 2:00 - 2:30 p.m. | Preliminary Plenary Discussion in preparation for small group discussions. |
| 2:30 - 2:45 p.m. | Adjourn to small groups. |
| 2:45 - 3:45 p.m. | Small group Discussions |
| 3:45 p.m. | Fifteen-minute recess |
| 4:00 - 5:30 p.m. | Small Group Discussions Continue |
| 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. | Dinner |
| 7:15 - 9:15 p.m. | Small Group Discussions Continue |
| 9:15 p.m. | Adjourn. |

Thursday, May 10

| | |
|---|---|
| | Breakfast on your own |
| 9:30 - 10:15 a.m. | Plenary Discussion |
| 10:30 - 12:15 | Small Group Discussions Continue |
| 12:30 p.m. | Lunch |
| 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. | Plenary Discussion |
| 3:15 - 4:00 p.m. | Communion Service (The Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, preaching) |
| 4:00 p.m. | Payment on expense vouchers |

CONFERENCE ON THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL CHURCH AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Zion Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina, May 9-10, 1956

TENTATIVE PROGRAM
Rev. Charles W. Talley, Presiding

**Wednesday, May 9**

| | |
|---|---|
| 10:00 - 10:30 a.m. | Registration and Room Assignment |
| 10:45 - 11:00 a.m. | Brief Opening Worship |
| 11:00 - 11:40 a.m. | Orientation--The Historical Perspective (George Mitchell) |
| 11:40 - 12:05 p.m. | Orientation--The Legal Perspective (John Bolt Culbertson) |
| 12:30 - 1:30 p.m. | Lunch |
| 1:30 - 2:00 p.m. | Orientation--The Christian Perspective (Clifford Earle or Ben Sissel) |
| 2:00 - 3:30 p.m. | Plenary Panel (Earle, Culbertson, Mitchell, Sissel) Questions and answers from the floor and from the panel |
| 3:30 - 4:00 p.m. | Coffee Break |
| 4:00 - 5:30 p.m. | Small Groups to Evolve Further Questions |
| 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. | Dinner |
| 7:15 - 9:15 p.m. | Small Groups Continue |
| 9:15 - ? | Bull Sessions |

**Thursday, May 10**

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00 a.m. | Breakfast at Residence |
| 9:30 - 11:00 a.m. | Plenary Panel Dealing with the Questions from Small Groups |
| 11:15 - 12:15 p.m. | Small Groups Continue |
| 12:30 - 1:30 p.m. | Lunch (Delegates turn in expense vouchers) |
| 1:30 - 3:00 p.m. | Plenary Panel |
| 3:15 - 4:00 p.m. | Communion Service |

QUESTIONS FOR CHARLESTON CONFERENCE

1. Newspapers have a tremendous amount of influence in shaping public opinion. What are some of the techniques and methods of influencing editors in using a positive approach toward integration?

2. Is the matter of "Vote Grabbing" so paramount to the politician that is is impossible to appeal to his conscience on the issue of human relations?

3. What is the role of the church in community life?

   A. Politics
   B. Civic Affairs
   C. Human and Civil Rights

      1. What are some of the steps that should be taken and should not be taken?

4. What kind of strategy should judicatories set up to back individuals who represent the church in acting in the light of Human rights?

   A. How involved is a judicatory in the action of a local church?

5. In a number of churches, churches and individuals involved in community problems may appeal to their Bishop for support. In our Presbyterian set-up, what is our court of appeal or department of guidance?

   A. What support is to be expected?

      1. Legal
      2. Advisory
      3. Refuge

6. The Church has played a role in most important world decisions. Too frequently this has been a divided role. In a matter as important as the Supreme Court's Decision on segregation in the schools, and where the right is clear cut, an opportunity for unity is offered for churches to marshall their forces in striking a solid blow for a worthy cause. What are some ways of doing this?

7. What are the possibilities of approaching the problems of Human Rights on an interdenominational relationship?

   A. What is this probability?
   B. How practical is it?

ECONOMICS:

8. In the lower income bracket it is essential for people who endeavor to make progress in their living to operate on an installment plan. Frequently, actions which interupt the income of these people, for even a short time, can be very damaging blows and far reaching in influence. What, if anything, can the church do?

   A. Bank Loans? B. Home Building? C. Farming? D. Business? E. State, County and State Employees?

## Questions for Charleston Conference

STATE LEGISLATURE:

9. Efforts to resist the Supreme Court's Decision have resulted in many resolutions proposed for state legislation directed against individuals and groups sympathetic toward the decision such as (a) State and County employees and NAACP membership, and (b) Church property permitting NAACP meetings not to be exempted from taxes? How should local churches(and presbyteries) meet this legislation?

Questions for S.E.A. Meeting, Charleston, S.C.

1. The Supreme Court has ruled on Segregation in the Public Schools. But, as we know, there are many other laws in the states, either written or unwritten, which require segregation of Negores in practically every phase of the life of the citizen in the Southern States: "Would you advise that an attempt be made to list all such laws and through legal proceeding, get a kind of "package decision' from higher courts, or do you think it best to isolate each case and seek court action on each? Or further still, would you suggest that Negroes just wait until some ones of the race fall victim of one or more of these laws, then go to their defense with legal support?"

2. Would it be advisable to throw the unified support of the Negroes behind a qualified spokesman, and send him or a selected group, preferably churchmen, to the governor of the state affected and ask for repeal of the segregation laws?

3. How effective would it be for one of our church courts, like synod or presbytery, to seek cooperation of corresponding church courts of the majority group in a petitition to the governors of states where segregation is the law of the state, to seek repeal of any and all laws requiring segregation?

4. Recently the S. C. legislative body passed a bill prohibiting all members of the NAACP from holding any state job. This law has greatest effect on Negro teachers. What would be the suggested procedure for helping to ease the tension in such a situation?

5. How will integration in the South affect Negro teachers?

May 11, 1956

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

The Atlantic Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., meeting at Charleston May 9th and 10th, were provided by the Church's Department of Social Education and Action with a mimeo'd version of your recent Annals article. They had some extras that I permissively swiped. This stack for you.

eab/

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION

(36).

## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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AA42 PB405

P LLT202 PD=FAX PHILADELPHIA PENN 13 324PME=

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

:JACKSON 1 - 1821 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

COLLECT WIRE. RE WILMORE DOPE NEEDED FROM IRVING. EXPEDITE=

:GEORGE MITCHELL=

florence will do tomorrow morning

THE SENDER HAS A DIRECT Telefax CONNECTION with WESTERN UNION

WHEN TELEGRAPHING REPLY USE THE SYMBOL FAX IN PLACE OF STREET ADDRESS

6209

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

December 10, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 11 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your good suggestions for the study guide. Would you ask Mr. Irving to send us copies of the periodicals he thought would be helpful. We have several of these things in our office, so I have placed a check mark beside those which I would like to receive from you.

The only thing I can think of in addition is the good use we could make of whatever reports or surveys you have which give pertinent sociological data throwing light on any of the areas of concern mentioned in my memo. Mrs. Russell told me that the Council had just completed a survey of some areas of the South. She did not mention what the survey was about but did say that it would be valuable information for this guide and that you were interested in finding ways to use the data.

Whatever else you can think of that would help me to get relevant content and practical study-action suggestions into this piece would be greatly valued. I promise to take good care of whatever you send or bring and will see that it is returned promptly to your office after use.

Thanks again for your helpful suggestions and cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Gayraud S. Wilmore/ebj

Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

GSW:ebj

(1) Churchmanship - Mr. Wilmore and other church leaders have more information than we on most of the factors listed here, but we can give him the statements of many church groups on race or the Supreme Court decision. Many are summarizied in a 1954 statement by the National Council of Churches and October 1956 New South.

We can take care of

(2) Jim Crow, Meaning of Court's Decisions - Good references are:

The Strange Career of Jim Crow - Woodard
March 1956 Annals
N. Y. Times report of March 13, 1956
Three Views of the Segregation Decisions
Race Relations Law Reporter
Southern School News

What is there on present status of various Jim Crow statues still enforced in local communities? What should people know about them?

We can supply newspaper clippings of the decisions too recent for the last Law Reporter or Southern School News. In developing this section Mr. Gilmore might be especially interested in the developments in S. C. and N. C. (where the synods are located); for example, the Fleming case, dropping of charges against Clarence Mitchell, desegregation (from Integration North and South).

would like

(3) Interpersonal Relations- We have some very good pamphlets on prejudice and intergroup relations including several by Gordon Allport and a UN memorandum on discrimination. We have nothing on this important area.

Actual experiences or studies? data needed

(4) Boycotts and Economic Pressures - We have lists of many of the cases of economic pressure in 1955 and 1956, several issues of New South which includes information on the subject, a summary of anti-integration legislation in the southern states. A digest of Paul Anthony's report on the WCC is now available. We have nothing!

(5) Other Civil Rights Organizations - We can provide a list of some intergroup organizations, but can not always indicate how active each is in these three synods. Good! How are some of the best set up - how do they operate?

(6) Vocational Opportunities - Ginzberg's Negro Potential is a good reference. A study of Negro and white median incomes (see Census) and the industries in each of the counties in these synods might be a project for the church members. Some help in reducing job barriers would be available from AFSC Merit Program (Greensboro). Integration North and South lists some progress in employment.

Excellent

What else can they do?

(7) We can send him SRC's earlier voting studies, the July 7th issue of the Nation, and some news articles on the Negro's vote in the recent election. At least a rough draft of the present voting study may be available before he does his final writing. Excellent info for this purpose.

We need whatever is useful in area of techniques and modest programs in intergroup relations in South. My Southern collaborators have not been helpful.

tri meet 1:58 am

Sat. morning

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

Mailed - "Dollars for freedom."
report of Montgomery
Improvement assoc.
11/28/56

RECEIVED NOV 19 1956

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

Mailed materials 12/14/56

November 16, 1956

Sent him FI's notes to me of Nov 20.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will recall that at the Charleston meeting sponsored by our Department with Fund for the Republic money, your suggestion concerning an educational program for Negro churches in tension areas (the "Monday school") was taken seriously at the final plenary session. The written report of that conference recommended that a study guide be prepared to initiate a limited program of study for the churches in Atlantic, Catawba and Blue-Ridge Synods and that the program be promoted through the presbytery and synod chairmen of social education and action.

We took the first step to implement this in Nashville on September 14 when Ben Sissel and I met with the SEA chairmen of the above mentioned synods and laid out the objectives and basic outlines for the study guide. I was asked to receive memoranda from certain persons who were to contribute basic data for the guide and to do the writing and editing of the first draft manuscript. The present time schedule calls for the manuscript to be completed by December 30. This is necessary in order to get this particular piece in on the current literature budget.

As you can see, I am pressed for time. To make matters worse, I have not received sufficient data from the persons who were supposed to be working with me, and consequently I am hesitant to begin writing on the strength of my own limited knowledge of some of the important aspects of the problem as required by the outline.

I understand that the Council has in its file a considerable mass of data which is pertinent to the questions we raised in the outline. in Nashville. Moreover, I would like very much to have a short conference with you about the content of this study guide. Would it be possible for me to spend a couple of days in Atlanta looking at the resources you have there, and summarizing some of the data which would be useful in the preparation of this piece? If you or someone in your office could look at the outline which I am sending to you, enclosed, (it is in the memorandum I sent to certain persons following the Nashville meeting) perhaps some of your material could be pulled out for me so as to expedite

my work during the two days I will be in your office. If this is at all possible, I would like to propose the dates of December 1, 2, and possibly the 3rd, as the best dates for me. You will note that this falls on a weekend and it may not be good for you since your offices are ordinarily closed on Sunday, however, this is the earliest possible time for me if I could be permitted to work in the office alone over the weekend, well and good. It would mean that I could even spend a short time Monday, the 3rd, talking with you before boarding the plane back to Philadelphia that day. The next possible dates would be December 12 and 13, although this is pretty late and would really put pressure on me to get the manuscript completed by the end of the month.

Perhaps after you look at the outline in the enclosed memo, your judgment will be that the Council files have nothing really helpful to offer and that I should go to the Institute at Fisk or somewhere else. Please give me your counsel, but I sincerely hope that you do have some resources which will be either direct or cognate to the general objective of this project, and that it is possible for me to work in your office on one of the dates I have suggested.

Since this is pretty much of a rush job at this point, I do hope that you will be able to give me an immediate reply. Thanks much for your help in the past. I shall look forward to seeing you again.

Cordially yours,

Gay Wilmore

Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

GSW:ebj

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Field Directors and SEA Chairmen of the Synods of Atlantic, Catawba and Blue-Ridge, and the Staff of the Department of Social Education and Action

Date: September 24, 1956

From: Gay Wilmore

C. C. To:

Subject: Decisions Regarding a Study Guide for Churches in Areas of Racial Tension

On Friday, September 14, a meeting was held in Nashville bringing together the SEA Chairmen of the Synods of Atlantic, Catawba and Blue-Ridge with members of the Staff of the Department of SEA, for the purpose of laying out the objectives and basic plan of a study guide for churches in areas of racial tension.

Those attending the meeting were, J. H. Nelson, Atlantic; D. Nelson, Catawba; F. R. Gordon, Blue-Ridge; Ben Sissel and myself representing the Department.

I acted as chairman for the meeting and began by sketching some of the emphases and decisions at the Fund for the Republic Conference in Charleston, which suggested the study program idea and the development of a study guide.

The initial thrust toward this program was given by George Mitchell of the SRC who both in his seminar group at Charleston and in the plenary session vaguely raised the question of some kind of educational project among churches in tension areas which would make members more competent to deal with the problem.

Mitchell spoke of a "Monday School" for the total congregation of a church. Such a school, he said, would teach the history of the South, the Negro in America, the laws of South Carolina respecting segregation and the supercedent May 17, 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, ways and means of resisting discrimination (such as the non-violent resistance organized among the church people of Montgomery) and other information and techniques which were not spelled out in detail.

There was apparent agreement and some enthusiasm among those present at Charleston that Mitchell had broached an exceedingly useful idea.

The Findings Committee of the Conference reflects the tone of the discussion at Charleston when it recommends at the end of its Report

(a) Inform the session of the church on the stand of the national Church on the matter (of integration).
(b) Organize family study groups on the matter.
(c) Use every auxiliary group as a means of educating each person.

From the above and other pertinent recommendations from Charleston, the Nashville Committee attacked the basic questions raised by this proposal..

1. Is it advisable to produce a study program on integration which would be participated in exclusively by Negro Presbyterians in the South?

2. What would be the essential content of the study guide and who would write it?

3. What would be the length (time span) of such a program?

4. How would such a program be promoted and implemented in the three synods?

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To..... Date.....

From..... C. C. To:.....

Subject.....



It was concluded that the program should be limited to our Negro members in the synods concerned. This was a decision not lightly reached. It was dictated by the crucial nature of the crisis which will not permit the luxury of unrealism, pussyfooting on the issues and broad generalities. We agreed that the content of the Guide should be incisive rather than inclusive. The Negro members of our Church in the deep South have problems peculiar to them as Negroes and there are specific things they should know and do which are, practically speaking, irrelevant to white people in the same area. To produce a Guide which speaks equally to both groups would be to follow the traditional pattern of Church race relations literature in stating "general principles" applicable to all. Such a guide could not deal with the unique position of the Negro Christian, his needs and the possibilities open to him, and under the same cover deal incisively with the same practical problems of the white Christian. The fact that we have a segregated Church in the South today and for some time to come, said the Committee, must be courageously faced and its practical problems in fighting segregation and discrimination realistically appraised in order that realistic techniques can be suggested.

It was agreed that nothing on the cover or on the title pages should indicate that this piece was for Negro congregations nor would it be necessary to identify the racial group to which it was being addressed. Further it should be clearly stated that the piece is produced by the Department of SEA with "the counsel and co-operation" of the three synods (which at present have no white churches). The names of those participating in the planning consultations in the South will be included on the title page.

We agreed after discussion to the following tentative statement of purpose: "A study guide which will give technical information and practical counsel on the problem of racial integration which will help individuals and churches in the synods of Atlantic, Catawba and Blue-Ridge to accurately assess the nature of the present crisis and learn the skills and techniques of Christian social action for effecting an unsegregated society and an unsegregated Church." (The adopted statement edited and enlarged as authorized by the Committee.)

We agreed at the Nashville meeting that the pattern of the Guide would be not to dictate rigid solutions but to give basic data for study, raise searching, pertinent questions and suggest, for further discussion, alternative lines of action from actual experience.

After lengthy discussion we agreed to the following breakdown of content:

(1) Churchmanship (or theological section) dealing with the meaning of Presbyterian churchmanship; the Church and its sociological character which makes it vulnerable to economic and social forces; the pervasion of sin in all motives and thereby the ambiguity of moral issues; the clarity of the Church's stand on racial injustice, its essential militancy on earth and its ultimate hope in Christ.

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To..... Date.....

From..... C. C. To:.....

Subject.....



(2) The abolition of Jim Crow and the legal meaning of the Court's and the I. C. C. Decisions. This will deal with the present status of the law, the erosion of the "separate-but-equal" patterns in the South, taking advantage of legal gains, etc.

(Paper by Gay Wilmore)

(3) Interpersonal Relations. Dealing with many facets of the psychology of the Negro church and community, the nature of ingrained prejudice and conditioned inferiority feelings, relations with individual white people in friendly and unfriendly encounters, conflict situations and what to say and do, frankness and trust, co-operation and courtesy, supporting white friends, etc.

(Paper by Dwight Nelson)

(4) Boycotts and Economic Pressures. Resistance and counter-resistance, litigation, dealing with White Citizens' Councils, the Montgomery pattern and alternatives, where to get aid and legal counsel, corporate unity for mutual protection, patterns of pressures against school and transportation integration and how to meet them.

(Paper by J. H. Nelson)

(5) Joint Efforts and Relations with other Civil Rights Organizations. Dealing with corporate action with the NAACP and others, patterns of cooperation to avoid direct outlawing such as the Montgomery Improvement Ass. and the Inter-Church Council of Nashville, what to expect in working with others for limited objectives, dangers and possibilities.

(Paper by Frank Gordon)

(6) Vocational Opportunities. Emphasis on the economic picture, counselling Negro youth, where to get help, some facts on the recruitment of Negro youth to vocations in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

(Paper by Gay Wilmore)

(7) Registration and Voting. Dealing with the importance of politics and the ballot in the Negro's fight for civil rights, how to organize for registration, experiences of other communities, achieving political power, etc.

(Paper by Frank Gordon)

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To..... Date.....

From..... C. C. To:.....

Subject.....



We agreed, (1) that the study program should run for about 8 weeks, (2) that it be begun and terminated simultaneously in all three synods if possible, (3) that promotion would be handled through the presbyteries and in local churches through competent lay persons where pastors were either too busy or disinterested, (4) that leaders training conferences might be held if time and funds are available, (5) that a careful evaluation be anticipated in advance of the study and made upon its termination.

As noted above members of the Nashville committee took assignments for an initial "working memo" to me before September 24. The present deadline for the finished manuscript is November 1, but we concluded that we would try to get it shifted to as late in December as possible. I am to write the final draft for publication.

We agreed to aim the study for the eight weeks following Easter, 1957. This means that the Guide must be introduced to all the Presbyteries (by SEA Chairmen or other selected persons) at their spring stated meetings.

It was decided to hold one final consultation (possibly at J. C. Smith Seminary) in December to appraise the content formulated by that time, to bring in one or two other consultants from the University, and to lay final plans for presentation to the presbyteries. Ben Sissel is to see if funds are available for this meeting and issue the call accordingly.

GSW:ebj

Mailed 12/14/56
to Gayraud Wilmore, Jr.

The Negro Potential
Integration, North and South
Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools
Pub List
The Annals (March, 1956)
Next Steps in the South
New South, October '56
Special Report - Pro Segregation Groups in the South
Toward the Elimination of Segregation in the Nation's Capital
"Intergroup Organizations"
"Pro Segregation Legislation"
"Desegregating White Institutions"
"Published Cases of Economic Pressure During 1955"
New South, April, '56
Pres. Com. Gov't Contracts - Third Annual Report on Equal Job Opportunity
The Nation - 7/7/56
New South, January '53, and July-June '48

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| | |
|---|---|
| Integration bklt | 40¢ |
| New Souths (2) | 40¢ |
| Next Steps | 20 |
| | $1.00 - FBI wants to know should she charge for these. |

January 8, 1957

Mr. Nevin E. Kendell
Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church
1105 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Kendell:

Your letter of December 28, 1956 to Mr. Harold Fleming has been turned over to me. I am very sorry but we have very few pictures available. I am sending you, under separate dover, four pictures that were taken in 1956 for another organization. Two of them show segregated facilities, on of them shows the Atlanta Railroad Terminal in a transition period, and the other shows interracial cooperation in the Cerebral Palsy Training Program here.

Harold and I agree that you might write Life magazine and request permission to use some of their pictures for their integration series. Life people are usually very generous in allowing their pictures to be used.

In one sentence you referred to the "Education Reporting Service" of our organization. Actually, we have no specific service by that name. I presume you refer to the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tennessee. This group publishes Southern School News, and can be reached at P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee.

Please feel free to use any of the pictures we are mailing you, but we will very much appreciate their return after they have served your purpose.

If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to write us.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*General Division of Education in the Churches*

1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

December 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are planning to carry in one of our curriculum magazines an article designed to help parents whose young people are involved in changing racial patterns, whether in the North or in the South. In order to illustrate the article we would like to have access to a selection of pictures that show both segregated and integrated situations in which young people are involved, and also situations where there is some kind of organized protest against integration, since this is part of the problem with which parents must cope. I do not know whether the Education Reporting Service that is provided by your organization includes the collection and distribution of documentary photographs. In any case, we shall be grateful for any help that you can provide us, either by sending a selection of pictures or by suggesting other sources that we might contact.

Sincerely yours,

Nevin Kendell

Nevin E. Kendell
Associate Editor
Young People's Curriculum

NEK:eg

Ba - Half paid
you should see

January 28, 1957

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp
Board of National Missions
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Please accept our earnest thanks for the Board of National Missions' contribution to the work of the Southern Regi nal Counci. Our official receipt is enclosed.

Nothing gives us more encouragement than the warm and sustaining relationship we have enjoyed with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. 250.00

Mrs. Earl P. Andrews, Director
3135 Audubon Road
Montgomery 6, Alabama

**Interdenominational Christian Conference**
**Sponsored by The Women of the Church**
**Synod of Alabama, Presbyterian Church, U. S.**

February 13, 1957

Dear Mrs. Irey,

This is our new stationery with our new "official" name (formerly Christian Conference of Negro Women) We're so glad to have it changed.

Your letter came last week just before I left for Tuscaloosa for Board meeting and annual meeting of A. C. H. R. It was a splendid meeting. This is the first opportunity I have had, tho, to get back to your letter.

I hardly know how to answer you. This is a very busy time with preparations for our Interdenominational Ch. Con. Also, our interracial women's group here is working on plans to have a meeting on Monday night, March 18. Mrs. Theodore Hedel is to be here for a meeting with United Church Women (not interracial) on the 19 & 20. If her schedule permits she will meet with us on Monday evening and we hope to have a large group. Wish this could be combined with a state meeting but realize that an evening meeting would not be feasible for this. The way things are now I don't believe I could take the responsibility of a state meeting but will be glad to help. Let me hear further from you.

Cordially,
Olive Andrews

Dr 3. 1621

~~Mr. Miller~~

arthur Miller

Ex. 548

80

Mr. Arthur Miller

Arthur

Miller

Miller

February 27, 1957

Mr. Everett L. Perry
Secretary
Office For Field Survey
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Perry:

A study similar to the Jacksonville one was made in Greenville, South Carolina. Under separate cover, I am sending you "Greenville's Big Idea."

In addition, we have mailed you other pamphlets which the Council is distributing. There is no charge for this packet, but the price is noted on each in the event you care to order any of these publications.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

Presbyterians on Smith

April 9, 1957

Reverend C. Emerson Smith
Presbyterian Church
P. O. Box 1587
Foley, Alabama

Dear Emerson:

Paul Anthony told me you were by the office a week or so ago and I was sorry that I was out of town. I had not realized you were in Alabama and back in the active pastorate.

We need guys like you in this field of human relations. Not only are there souls to save, but lives as well, and I am sure that the latter is just as pleasing in the sight of the good Lord as the former.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure

FBR:mm

Dictated but not read by Mr. Routh.
Signed in his absence.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 17, 1957

The Rev. Robert B. McNeill, Pastor,
First Presbyterian Church
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Rev. McNeill:

Your recent article in Look Magazine concerning the race question in the South is excellent, and I want to take this opportunity of thanking you for this positive contribution to the progress of the South. We need more Southerners with your courage and insight. I do hope that the overall reaction to your article is good.

Again, thank you for your splendid contribution to the Southland.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable

JC:cj

December 17, 1957

Mr. James S. Brown
THE PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK
1 North 6th Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our Special Report, Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South, as requested by your letter of the 13th. We are also enclosing a copy of the Report, Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision, which you may find useful.

If we can be of further help please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 2.

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N BROWN
*Editor*

JAMES S. BROWN
*Business Manager*

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

*Old in Service . Established 1819 . New in Spirit*

December 13, 1957

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate receiving a copy of your special report dated November 26, which was entitled Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South.

With thanks and every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

James S. Brown

JSB/dk

VIA AIR MAIL

January 9, 1958

Mr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wilmore:

We have arranged accommodations for you at the Atlanta University Dormitory, Ware Hall, for January 13 and 14. It is understood that you will arrive late on the 13th.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

RECEIVED JAN - 9 1958

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

January 8, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The meeting next Tuesday brings me to Atlanta, but I will have to fly in on a flight which arrives after midnight on the 14th.

Could you arrange for me to get a room on the campus for that night and for the 14th? I am taking a mid-morning flight to Roanoke on Wednesday.

Thanks for the help. If not possible, I would appreciate your making hotel reservations and advising by collect wire.

See you then.

Cordially,

Gay

Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.
Associate Secretary

GSW:ebj

January 27, 1958

Mr. James R. Sydnor
Department of Music
The General Assembly's Training School
Presbyterian Church, U. S.
3400 Brook Road
Richmond 27, Virginia

Dear Mr. Sydnor:

Thank you for your letter of January 24 forwarding your subscription to New South. It was thoughtful of you to write us as you did. Your words of encouragement mean a great deal to us.

With appreciation and all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

$2.00 CR
New South
1/27/58
RHA

The General Assembly's Training School
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.
3400 Brook Road, Richmond 27, Virginia

JAMES RAWLINGS SYDNOR
DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH MUSIC

JC

1/24/58

Dear Mr. Fleming -

Enclosed is my subscription to New South. I wanted to add a personal word of appreciation for the work you and your staff are doing in this field of race relations. I am a native Georgian living in Virginia.

It is good to have an organ speaking out positively. This is especially good when I personally do not find Virginia politicians and Richmond papers (as a rule) expressing ideas destined to alleviate the situation.

Sincerely,
James R. Sydnor

$1½^{00}$ CR
for New South
RHA.
1/27/58

June 2, 1958

Mr. William H. Tiemann
First Presbyterian Church
Hamilton, Texas

Dear Mr. Tiemann:

We are enclosing some informative material about the Southern Regional Council, for use at your Youth Leadership School.

Sincerely,

Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

/c
Enclosures
(15 Congressional Record Reprints)

First Presbyterian Church
Hamilton, Texas
May 30, 1958

Dear Sirs:

Please send me any informative material you have about your organization, for use with 15 Citizenship Commission Chairmen from three states at Presbyterian Mo-Ranch Youth Leadership School, June 23-27.

Thank you,

Wm. H. Tiemann

November 3, 1958

Reverend Marion A. Boggs
Second Presbyterian Church
Third and Gaines Streets
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Boggs:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a dozen copies of the NEW SOUTH with your sermon. If we can be of additional service, please let us know.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

# Second Presbyterian Church

THIRD AND GAINES STREETS

Little Rock, Arkansas

MARION A. BOGGS
JAC C. RUFFIN
MINISTERS

MISS SARA DRAPER
SECRETARY
MISS NANCY IRVING
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

October 30, 1958

Mr. John Constable,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

My dear Mr. Constable:

I am writing to request twelve additional copies of the New South for August or September of last year carrying a copy of my sermon entitled "The Crucial Test of Christian Citizenship".

My supply of this issue has long since been exhausted and I am continuing to receive requests for copies. If you can supply a few additional copies, please send them.

With very kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours cordially and sincerely,

Marion A. Boggs

Marion A. Boggs

December 22, 1958

Mr. John H. Marion
Field Representative
Regional Office
Department of Social Education
and Action
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond 29, Virginia

Dear Jack:

We do have more copies of Dabbs's book, and I trust you have received the copy sent by my alert staff some days ago.

I was glad to hear from Dave Freeman the other day that you and he are devising a project for Norfolk which should add importantly to public understanding of the problems of closed schools.

Do keep in touch with us and pay us a visit whenever you find yourself in Atlanta. Meantime, all best wishes for the Christmas season.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
PEnnypacker 5-6722

Regional Office
Department of Social Education and Action
1409 Chowan Road, Richmond 29, Va.
at 8-1210

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I want to give a copy of Dabbs' The Southern Heritage to a member of my family for a Christmas present, and I seem to recall your saying to a group of us that we could get copies through the SRC for $2.50 each.

If this offer is still good, and you could send me a copy of the book this week, I'd appreciate it.

Enjoyed the little visit in the office with you and Emory some days ago.

Warm regards.

Done
~~11/12~~
12/12

Cordially,

Jack

John H. Marion
Field Representative

JA[illegible]ABBS, PRESIDENT
MA[illegible]N A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

File

# Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 10, 1959

The Library
South Highland Presbyterian Church
2035 Highland Avenue
Birmingham 5, Alabama

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your request, we are mailing you, under separate cover, some free material. We are also placing you on our mailing list for future free material.

Enclosed you will find a publication listing with additional material which may be purchased. Also enclosed is a copy of our monthly magazine, New South, which you may be interested in receiving for your readers. Subscription price is only $2.00 per year.

Sincerely,

John Constable

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

I appreciate your sending us the information requested. However, after looking at your material I see that this literature is definitely not the type of material we desire, certainly not for our Church library. Therefore will you please remove this name from your mailing list at once.

Thank you,

Dorothy Fuller, librarian

March 24, 1959

Mr. John H. Marion
Staff Representative
Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the United
States of America
P. O. Box 1086
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your letter of the 20th. I, too, was sorry you didn't get back by the office, but understand full well that Ed Randall kept you tied down.

I do indeed remember your mentioning a visit to Indiana some time back. I have turned your letter over to Les Dunbar and John Constable; you will be hearing from them in the near future regarding other materials in the area of housing.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

PEnnypacker 5-6722

P. O. Box 1086
Nashville, Tennessee
March 20, 1959

Mr. Frederick S. Routh, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was good to have the visit with you in Atlanta last week and I am sorry I wasn't able to get back by the office for another chat before I got away Saturday evening. Ed Randall and I were so occupied with his tape recordings and with scurrying about the city that we weren't able to accomplish all we wanted to do before we had to leave.

You may remember that I mentioned a visit to Indiana some weeks ago and my need for some suggestions as to first-class printed materials on housing. The town of Valparaiso will be facing soon the problem of adjusting to a great many new workers in an industrial plant, and a friend of mine there is anxious to place some good materials in the hands of both real estate men and newspaper editors who will be in key positions to assist in the town's adjustment to the racial aspects of the problem.

I have copies of the recent report of the Commission on Race and Housing ("Where Shall We Live?") and also a Public Affairs pamphlet entitled "Whose My Neighbor?" I am not at all sure, though, that these are the best things to place in the hands of the kind of people my friend wants to reach. If you have any suggestions, I would appreciate your passing them along. And, of course, I would be glad to reimburse you for any materials you might be able to send me from Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

Jack

John H. Marion
Staff Representative

JHM:ddw

September 22, 1959

Miss Jean Russell
824 Tusculm Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Jean:

It is going to be some time before we can firm up any specific proposal dealing with efforts to alleviate the educational crisis in Prince Edward County insofar as the Negro students are concerned. Local leadership is somewhat vague and indefinite as to what they feel is desired and there seems to be some real division of policy between local leadership and the State NAACP. Further consultation on the matter, however, strengthens our conviction that it would pay off disproportionately if, say, $300 could be made available to the Prince Edward County Christian Association. This would provide working funds for the only agency attempting to hold together the Negro community and strengthen the morale of the people involved. We are prepared to provide half of the needed funds; or $150 if we can find some other source for the remaining portion.

I think it would be particularly appropriate if a religious organization could become interested since the PECCA is religiously oriented. Any ideas, suggestions, or money that you may know of would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/mf

# The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune



CONVERSATION . . Goldburg, Clarke, Unterkoefler

OUT OF NAZARETH . . . . . James McBride Dabbs

"BUT ALAS!" . . . . . K. J. Foreman

EDITORIAL . . . Tribal Life and the 10-Cent Store . . . . . Economic Boycotts

MARTIN COLUMN . . . 7



VOLUME 142 | MARCH 21, 1960 | NUMBER 12


- There has to be a start, a time when we try to achieve this dream of equality, and the time, certainly in the minds of youth, is now; it can't be put off another decade and another decade in order to come about as gradually as some of us older ones would desire.—ARIEL L. GOLDBURG (page 5).

- It seems rather ridiculous that you can buy a nice hat for eight or ten dollars in a store and yet you can't satisfy, without discrimination, the very fundamental need of your own hunger with a cup of coffee and a sandwich.—ERNEST L. UNTERKOEFLER (page 5).

- We ought to recover our convictions that democracy, the democratic ideal, is superior to any other polity because it exalts man, is founded on trust of the people, humanizes law, opens the doors of opportunity and promotes a better and a higher form of national character than any other system of polity can do. It is the democratic ideal that has pushed America forward.—JAMES W. CLARKE (page 6).

- The lesson of the filibuster is this: the South needs a new idea. Because of her history, she might be able to use a new idea of heroism. Well, now she has it. Even as the sun goes down on Capitol Hill, it rises on the lunch-counters of Dixie.—JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS (page 6).

- The students are challenging a remnant of aristocratic privilege in an environment almost wholly democratic. If a ten-cent store isn't democratic, what is?—JMD EDITORIAL, page 8.

## ON THE LUNCH COUNTER SIT-INS

Letters to the Editors

# Southern Reference Is Protested

## Without Geography

To THE OUTLOOK:

In THE OUTLOOK of February 29, Bryan deKretser's letter to the editor has this to say:

"I also hold that we deal more resolutely with the evils of Tibet or Hungary when we wrestle with it in Algeria, South Africa, and in the cruel way it manifests itself in race discrimination in the South."

It has been my purpose not to divide the United States geographically in looking at the wrong that men practice nor the good that they do. I have lived many years north of the Mason-Dixon Line and I have visited and vacationed there frequently since and have lived in the West as well as the South.

Does Dr. deKretser's vision enable him to look across the Mason-Dixon Line and see cruel manifestation of race discrimination but does not enable him to see any in Chicago or elsewhere in our beloved country? Dr. deKretser is himself guilty of discrimination by pointing the finger at one geographical division and ignoring other divisions.

We all say that we ought to be one nation under God. We would like to feel that we are overly concerned about wrong wherever it exists and never guilty of pointing the finger at our brothers north or south, east or west.

I would like very much to see THE OUTLOOK discontinue printing any communications that divide right and wrong geographically.

Richmond, Va. ELDON D. WILSON.

## deKretser Response

To THE OUTLOOK:

I am sorry that in quoting my closing remarks Mr. Wilson omits the final sentence which reads "Perhaps most of all also when we drive it out of our own hearts." For this statement surely has no geographical limitation.

But I understand Mr. Wilson rightly to emphasize that race discrimination exists North of the Mason-Dixon line too. Nevertheless there are certain instances of color discrimination in public places in the South which are especially distasteful. May I mention a personal experience? I am a native of Ceylon. When I visited the South on arrival at the airport I was most embarrassed to learn that no toilet facilities had been provided for "off-white" folks like myself. There was one place for White Men only and another for the Negroes.

In India before Independence when we traveled there were four or five restaurants in the large railway stations; Brahmins, Muslims, Europeans, etc., had separate places provided for them. Today there is only one place and all are welcome. Discerning Hindus have admitted that this transformation has taken place under the judgment of the teaching of the gospel. BRYAN DEKRETSER.

Federated Theological Seminary,
Chicago.

**NOTE**—Mr. Wilson is executive secretary of the Synod of Virginia; Dr. deKretser is associate professor of missions at the University of Chicago's Federated Theological Seminary.—Eds.

## Concerned

To THE OUTLOOK:

I am concerned with the events of this day. The news began with a report of the reorganization of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta; then later in the day it appeared that the sentiment of your editorial, Lunch Counter Episodes (OUTLOOK, Feb. 29), and a statement by Martin Luther King said very much the same thing, that the old desegregation timetables were no longer acceptable.

And yet you know that the human heart is slow to change and that genuine progress in race relations has been and will continue to be a slow movement requiring perhaps another 100 years or 200 years or longer. So what do you mean? Will you cast your opinion with those who think the *speed-up* can be legislated, can be forced on an unwilling majority. I rather think your sentiments are as unjust as the reorganization of the Klan.

And of course, the effect of such editorializing upon the Presbyterian Church is tragic. Do you look forward to a divided church in the South?

As you can see, I feel that your editorial was written in extreme haste.

WILLIAM SHAVER.

Wynne, Arkansas.

## Interchurch Gifts

To THE OUTLOOK:

Just for the record, may I add a few words following your editorial, "Too Little," Feb. 8, and Mrs. Miles letter, Mar. 7, OUTLOOK?

I am commenting, using 1958 figures. Interchurch Agencies received, as you quoted, $18,866. According to the budget, the National Council was to receive 43% (in round numbers). The budget asking was, $12,240. Thus 43% of receipts would be $8,112.38. But that is not all that the National Council received from our church.

In the 1958 annual reports of Assembly agencies, I note that the Board of World Missions gave the National Council $5,000 (page 158); the Board of Church Extension gave the Council, $5,599.87 (page 57). Add these two contributions to the 43% above, and the National Council received, $18,712.25.

Now, I know what you are going to say about the specials from the Boards, and so I want to ask you this question: "Can you put a nice piece of cake in your mouth, designated for the use of your right arm, and it not help the whole body?" The "Supplementary Check Urged" upon the Foundation might be a misappropriation of funds, and our dear friend would not want that. . . .

L. A. BECKMAN, JR.

Savannah, Ga.

**NOTE**—Mr. Beckman is right in reminding us that these departmental contributions must be counted too. However, nothing else seems to go to the World Council and other groups beyond the Assembly's contribution. It would be good to have an annual report showing total denominational (official) contributions. As for the suggestion by Mrs. Miles, it was made only with the idea that it would be permissible. —Editors.

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**North Mississippi—(M)** Dean A. Bailey, Grenada; J. Allen Cabaniss, University; **(E)** John Sherman, Charleston; Ralph Caldwell, Sardis.

*(M)—Ministers; *(E)—Elders. Where no city follows a commissioner's name, his home town is the next one listed.

IN ORDER to hear the voice of God, we must be quiet and silent before him.

—TOYOHIKO KAGAWA.

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# The Presbyterian Outlook

OLD IN SERVICE — CONTINUING THE PRESBYTERIAN TRIBUNE — NEW IN SPIRIT

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## NEWS ROUND-UP

• IN JAPAN, church membership reached a total of 678,258, or 0.7% of the population, last year. Protestants number 376,357, Roman Catholics 266,608, Russian Orthodox 35,293. . . . • BILLY GRAHAM is to conduct a series of rallies in cities of Switzerland between August 24 and September 4. Most of September will be spent in Germany. . . . • IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, an information office to serve Protestant clergy and lay people from all countries will be opened as the first step toward an international Christian Fellowship Center there. . . . • AMHERST COLLEGE (Mass.) has announced that it will cancel the repayment of loans to students who enter the ministry or other such low-paying fields as teaching and social work if repayment proves to be a hardship. . . . • Two PROTESTANT agencies providing religious literature in Braille and recordings for the blind will be merged as soon as legal procedures can be followed. They are the Society for Providing Evangelical Literature for the Blind of Philadelphia, and the John Milton Society for the Blind in New York, with the latter name to be used. . . . • PRESBYTERIAN Lee Nam Kyu of Mokpo, Korea, has been elected chairman of the National Christian Council of Korea. . . . • DEAN JOHN C. BENNETT of Union Theological Seminary, New York, has suggested in an editorial in *Christianity and Crisis,* that there may be a moral basis for the election of a Roman Catholic president, declaring that a Catholic president well instructed in his church's moral teachings "would have certain assets.". . . • THE NEW YORK STATE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES has announced support of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's bill which would bar racial and religious discrimination in private housing. . . . • MORE THAN 60,000 refugees are on the case load of the World Council of Churches. About 33,000 are awaiting emigration while the remaining 27,000 are listed as non-settled (still in camps, handicapped, needing help to integrate). . . . • CHURCH CONSTRUCTION throughout the USA in January totaled $78 million, slightly less than in December but $5 million higher than for January, 1959. . . . • THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS' FUND (Philadelphia insurance concern) has passed the $200 million mark in policies outstanding.

# STUDENT APPEALS SUPPORTED FOR UNSEGREGATED EATING PLACES

While the student protests against segregated lunch counter and other services spread across the South, with sympathy demonstrations in other parts of the country, various church and ministerial groups expressed sympathy.

In Raleigh, N. C., some 30 Protestant clergymen offered to support any chain store agreeing to end racial segregation at its lunch counters. They wrote letters to this effect to presidents of national chain stores being picketed.

In Greensboro, N. C., the Greensboro Ministers' Fellowship composed of Protestant and Jewish clergymen, called for "equal treatment of all customers by businesses serving members of both races," while the Greensboro Methodist Ministers' Fellowship called for "a pattern of intergroup relations in the light of our accepted basic moral and spiritual values," and they praised the Mayor for appointing an advisory committee on community relations working toward this end.

Negro Baptist and Methodist ministers in Winston-Salem, N. C., endorsed protests against current discriminatory practices and denounced the arrest of 22 demonstrators, both white and Negro, on trespass charges in that city. Ten of those arrested were white students from Wake Forest College. All of them were convicted in Municipal court.

Reports from Nashville, Tenn., told how students and faculty members at Vanderbilt University protested the dismissal of Divinity School student James Lawson, Jr., by the trustees. A senior and a Negro, Lawson had been arrested for leading demonstrations seeking desegregation of downtown eating places. When he and 85 other students were charged with conspiracy to obstruct trade and commerce, members of the Divinity School faculty posted the necessary $500 bond for him. The divinity school professors (14 of 16 concurring) said, "Whether or not we approve his strategy, we believe that Mr. Lawson has endeavored to follow his Christian conscience and we see no adequate justification for his expulsion from the divinity school." In the School of Arts and Sciences 127 out of 180 professors also supported him.

In Richmond, Va., on an interfaith radio broadcast an interpretation was given of the basic objectives represented by these demonstrations and strong support was expressed for this movement to attain personal dignity. Those voicing their support were Rabbi Ariel Goldburg of Temple Beth Ahabah, Father Ernest L. Unterkoefler, Sacred Heart Cathedral, and Dr. James W. Clarke, Second Presbyterian Church of Richmond. (*See page 5.*)

A few days later, in Richmond, ten students from Union Theological Seminary, two students from other institutions, and one Virginia minister from outside of Richmond joined Negroes on the picket line around Thalhimers' department store to protest segregated eating facilities there, after service had been refused a large group of Virginia Union University students.

Some days earlier a number of Negro students had been arrested, charged with violating a local trespass ordinance when they had requested that they be served at Thalhimer facilities. They were later convicted and fined in cases that are being appealed.

The seminary students carried signs emphasizing religious reasons for their concern.

### Individual Action

When questioned about the participation of the group of seminary students, Dean Frank B. Lewis said that they were "acting on the basis of individual initiative and private decision."

Some of the participating students told of an "informational" meeting on the seminary campus earlier where they said the "faculty encouraged us not to participate but left us to do as we felt we should." They said they were appearing as individuals and that there was no formal organization of the group. Another student said the seminary administration had strongly discouraged the possibility of this step.

### Student Statement

In attempting to clarify the reasons for their action and to make plain their intentions, some of the seminary students gave the press the following statement:

"As Christians we see segregation based on race as evil, and we are therefore bound to do everything we can to eliminate it. Our participation in the picketing at Thalhimers has come after long and careful consideration of our role in the world wide effort of concerned Christians to bring an end to this injustice.

"We regret that Thalhimers is being singled out for more than its share of attention, but the struggle for equal opportunity must always begin at some particular point.

"We also regret that we must employ the method of economic boycott, but inasmuch as other means of dealing with this problem, including repeated requests, have failed, the picketing at Thalhimers appears to be our only course of action.

"Thus, we have decided that we must support the Virginia Union students, and we will continue to support them in their struggle for fair treatment based on the dignity of human personality—not only at Thalhimers, but in all of Richmond and beyond.

"This has been our own decision as students. The seminary faculty and administration have not encouraged us to express our convictions in this manner, but they have respected our freedom and duty to act as our consciences direct us."

On the Sunday evening following the first appearance of the seminary students, a panel of ministers discussing the situation on the Presbyterian Hour, while some reservations were expressed, supported the students' protest. (See below.)

ANY QUESTIONS?

# ON PICKETING AND OBEDIENCE

On the day following the appearance of ten Union Seminary (Va.) students, two other students, and a Virginia Presbyterian pastor in a downtown Richmond picket line to protest a department store's refusal to open its eating facilities on an unsegregated basis, a question about it was called in by a radio listener for discussion by the panel on the Presbyterian Hour weekly broadcast.

Members of the panel discussing the question were William H. Boyd, Presbyterian, U. S., director of youth work; J. Robert Keever, formerly university pastor at the University of Virginia, now taking post-graduate work at Union Seminary; and Earl W. Morey, Jr., pastor of St. Giles church, Richmond, Va. Mr. X, a layman, speaks for laymen.

### Seminary Students

*What is your opinion of Union Theological Seminary students picketing with Virginia Union University students in downtown Richmond?*

BOYD: Personally I have a difficulty with the use of the economic boycott, especially when it is centered upon one business establishment as this one is. However, having said this, as for Union Seminary students expressing their sympathy for and feeling with the Negro youth as they are seeking to express the great concern they have, I think this is good.

KEEVER: I can't let this pass because I am currently a student at Union Theological Seminary and I would like to report to the people who are listening to this program that the students from the Seminary who did participate yesterday did not do this without a good deal of preparation, of prayer and of forethought. I also can't help having a great deal of admiration for what they have done because it appears to me a rather strong witness on the part of many people who have not suffered as the Negro people have suffered. I think we need to keep in mind the fact that these are not young hotheads, but that these young men are doing this as a witness to their faith. This is the only reason it took place.

MR. X: I would certainly have to say that I am sure they created an awful lot of feeling on both sides of the question. Personally, I have heard a number of people comment quite adversely on it today. I am sure it was not a popular thing to do in the eyes of the vast majority of people in the city, and I would say it took a lot of nerve, or a lot of something, to do it.

KEEVER: Well, it was not even entirely popular at the Seminary. We need to remember that also. It is a complicated question, but just because it is complicated does not mean that Christians ought to stay out of all complicated questions and never decide on them.

### Costly Obedience

*What is meant by Luke 14:26: "If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple"?*

MOREY: This is one of the "hard sayings" of Jesus, but like all such verses, I think it must be seen in its context. I think this has something to say to us particularly about these students who were down on the picket line. We are told that great multitudes were following Jesus. He was popular, but he turned upon the crowd and made this statement about hating father and mother. He went on to say that if they were to follow him they must bear a cross. He ended by reminding them that if they were to follow him, they must count the cost. The cost of following Jesus may be that you will alienate your closest relatives and loved ones. Each individual has to decide as he commits his life to Christ that certain decisions may have to be made as he is obedient to his Master. They may not be popular decisions, they may not even be popular with some of his fellow-Christians who think that obedience to Christ does not necessarily mean that he ought to act in a certain way.

## Staff Members Give to Student Support Fund

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J. (SPECIAL)—A pledge of moral and financial support to students who are staging "sit ins" in public eating places in 41 communities in the South has been given by the 165 members of the national staff of the United Presbyterian Church's Board of Christian Education meeting in Atlantic City, N. J.

Staff members, who represent the Christian education agency of the 3,400,000-member denomination in every state in the nation, expressed their gratitude to the students who are giving "responsible and promising leadership to American citizens concerned about justice and civil rights," and pledged themselves to "support your movement with every resource at our command."

### Personal Contributions

As a token of the pledge of support, staff members personally contributed a fund "to be used wherever the courts must protect your rights."

William A. Morrison, general secretary of the Board, who released the statement, said that the staff members acted spontaneously in behalf of the students engaged in the struggle for human dignity and equal rights under the Constitution of the United States.

The complete statement follows:

We, the members of the national staff of the Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, serving in our church's synods and presbyteries in all parts of the United States, express our gratitude to you, the Negro and white students, who are giving responsible and promising leadership to American citizens concerned about justice and civil rights.

Your actions assure us that your desire for civil freedom arises from personal convictions; and we are convinced that your demonstrations are not fomented by outside agencies.

### Support of Americans

Your behavior points with clarity to your trust that the American people will respond to your call for support and will accord all citizens their constitutional rights.

Your strategy is conceived in good faith revealing your confidence in the American people. This you have accomplished without rancor, rebellion or reprisal.

Your witness is made in a spirit which invites cooperation from all groups who are dedicated to the cause which seeks to guarantee the equal personal rights due you under the law.

Your willingness to accept the unjust administration of the law and to endure undeserved penalties is evidence of your continuing hope that the law will be justly administered.

Your action affords all governmental of-

(*Continued on page* 10)

# Protestant-Jewish-Roman Catholic Conversation on the Sit-Ins

*A letter to the editor of our local paper said, "I have been impressed with the quiet dignity accompanying demonstrations of Negro students peacefully studying while registering their protest at lunch bars. White patrons in the store were accepting their democratic expressions of justified grievances, not attempting to heckle the demonstrators. Virginia is continuing her proud tradition of being the cradle of democracy." Are there any comments, gentlemen?*

RABBI ARIEL L. GOLDBURG: Perhaps what is taking place in Richmond now will again make us not only the cradle of democracy, but the great Commonwealth that is helping fulfill the dreams of democracy. We see here a part of a great revolution that is sweeping the world. The desire on the part of underprivileged people elsewhere, as here, is to achieve status, to become truly free, to live with dignity. In a way, this is the answer to the American dream and the American promise of equality for all people. Here we see a group, mainly a youth group, being led and inspired to try in some way to achieve this dignity. I think of a comment that comes out of our own Jewish tradition. It is part of the Talmud, phrases that are attributed to Hillel, a great teacher and, according to our tradition, one of the teachers of Jesus of Nazareth. Hillel said there are three important things. He began by saying, "If I am not for myself, who am I?" Every human being is entitled to regard himself as a sacred personality. This does not mean, of course, self-worship. It means self-respect. Then he said, "If I am for myself alone, what am I?" I have to consider other people, other human beings, their rights and their standards. Then he made a statement that is probably revolutionary. He said, "If not now, when?" There has to be a start, a time when we try to achieve this dream of equality and the time, certainly in the minds of youth, is now; it can't be put off another decade and another decade in order to come about as gradually as some of us older ones would desire. Going back again to Virginia, this, the cradle of democracy. It was in Virginia that we had men who rebelled against England because they did not think they had the right kind of status—taxation without representation. They cried out, as we memoralize in St. Johns church, "Give me liberty or give me death!" People were willing to die for what they believed was the meaning and the precept of freedom and liberty. I think we ought to remember such things in these crucial and exciting days.

*NOTE*—On a recent evening when student demonstrations in the South and elsewhere in the nation were getting underway, seeking non-discriminatory treatment of Negroes at lunch counters, this highly interesting conversation took place on a radio program called "The Moral Side of the News." The program is produced and moderated by Mrs. Lyon G. Tyler, by whose permission the transcript appears here. WRVA, the powerful (50,000 watt) station in Richmond, Va., carries the program weekly at 6:30 p.m. on Sundays. Participants in the discussion are Rabbi Ariel L. Goldburg of Temple Beth Ahabah; Father Ernest L. Unterkoefler of Sacred Heart Cathedral; and Dr. James W. Clarke, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Richmond. The radio program (at 1140 kilo.) is directed by Harold Phillips.

The conversation appears here with only minor editorial amendments.—EDITORS.

FATHER ERNEST L. UNTERKOEFLER: These Negro people today certainly want liberty and they have a right to it. It seems rather ridiculous that you can buy a nice hat for eight or ten dollars in a store and yet you can't satisfy, without discrimination, the very fundamental need of your own hunger with a cup of coffee and a sandwich. It seems to me that we neglect, we overlook what the gospel says when our Lord is speaking of the last judgment. We may be guilty of being in that classification—"Lord, when did we see you hungry?" This is ignorance, a lack of perception and insight into the terrible needs that are around us, that people have these feelings and aspirations. We have known this for years and yet we go glibly on. We wait for a demonstration to make us aware of the real rights and the really deep feelings of our neighbor. Dr. Clarke, do you think we can help in this situation?

DR. JAMES W. CLARKE: Yes, I think we can. I am so happy that the rabbi goes to the core of the thing when he brings up this democratic principle. You know, we talk a great deal about democracy. I remember that in an aeroplane I once got into a conversation with a captain of a destroyer, an Irish-American, a brilliant young officer. During the course of the conversation he said, "You know my religion is democracy. I will gladly die for it." Well, we were given an opportunity to die for it, but it is more important right now that we begin to live for it, because there isn't any question that there is a tendency to let the democratic ideal that is at the very root of the history of America fade out. We ought to remember this—that the constituents of democracy are certain things. The first is freedom of expression and discussion. America and Virginia were born really in the town meeting, and you recollect that when the Constitution was being framed certain partisan and narrow viewpoints were being advanced. It was Jefferson, that redhead, who stood up, and said, "For God's sake, let us hear both sides of the question." Now the thing that lies at the very core of the democratic idea is what the rabbi and you, Father, point out—the dignity of man. Democracy is founded, not on the dignity of some men, not on the dignity of the rich man or the poor man or the employed man or the working man, or the cultured man or the illiterate man, or the white man or the black man. It is founded on the dignity of all men. When Abraham Lincoln was introduced in Cooper's Institute as the "friend of the working man," he raised his hand in protest and said, "No, the friend of man."

Now, in a democracy, a man, as has been pointed out, believes in himself. He thinks he is entitled to status, and at the bottom of that is not only a sociological idea but a theological idea—he believes he is a child of God and that all men are children of God. Now, my brother may be black or white or yellow, but he is my brother. He may be a backward brother or a little stupid brother; he may be a very cultured brother, but he is my brother, and if he needs help, I ought to try to help him. What we are seeing today is a great group of people who are trying to ascend. Surely the religious forces of America should try to help this aspiring group to rise. This aspiring group ought to remember, however, that processes are involved. There is the principle upon which there can be no compromise, but I think our brethren, our colored brethren, have to recognize that there are certain historicities involved in this thing and that there has to be a step-by-step process. I don't think retaliatory laws are going to solve the problem. I think it is a matter of people of goodwill on both sides getting together and working together for an end whereby man's dignity will be elevated.

GOLDBURG: And I think it is important to see the image of God in each other. If we start off with this basic principle, then

it changes our whole aspect in approaching problems, these difficult situations in human relationships.

UNTERKOEFLER: I feel, especially at this time, that the lines of communication must be kept open. Going back to that town meeting, we must talk this thing out until we come to the reasonable and sensible answer. Retaliation creates another form of retaliation. One sin brings on another sin. The true, earnest cooperation one with the other is needed. I believe that the State of Virginia will come up with a right answer that will restore the dignity of all of us.

CLARKE: And we ought, of course, to recognize that every man has a right to his viewpoint. Because I have one viewpoint doesn't mean that I am to stand up and tell the other chap that his viewpoint is nonsense. I think men of goodwill, Christian men, can have different viewpoints on this thing, but there never should be differences of spirit. There shouldn't be the attitude of repression—if you don't believe what I believe, then you are no good, you are my enemy.

GOLDBURG: It reminds me of an old rhyme—"In matters controversial, my perception is quite fine. I always see both points of view, the one that's wrong and mine." I think we ought to see both points of view. Both of them may be right and both may be wrong, but discussion will bring out the correct answer.

UNTERKOEFLER: The legalistic approach is not always the best answer. Certainly the approach as we have been emphasizing here, the approach in Christian charity and love of neighbor, is the only answer. Laws will not solve our problems.

CLARKE: We ought to recover our convictions that democracy, the democratic ideal, is superior to any other polity because it exalts man, it is founded on trust of the people, it humanizes law, it opens the doors of opportunity and it promotes a better and higher form of national character than any other system of polity can do. Pure democracy enlarges the intellect, widens the sympathies, and encourages the powers of initiative. It is the democratic ideal that has pushed America forward.

● A look at the lunch-counter sitdowns in a worldwide, age-long context

# Out of Nazareth

By JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

IT'S HARD to get around the Yankees. Their attack has always been two-pronged: morals and machines. From 1830 to 1860 we Southerners tried to silence the ethical attack by loud protestations. But the machines—supported against self-interest by such people as the hungry weavers of Manchester—were too much for us. By 1865 they licked us; and since that time we've been begging them to send us machines that will make our standard of living comparable to theirs. But this isn't all.

At the height of the moral argument, in 1849, Henry David Thoreau, of Massachusetts, aroused by the Mexican War, which seemed to him a project for the extension of slavery, published an essay called "Civil Disobedience," and indeed went to jail overnight to back up his stand. Some half-century later Mohandas Gandhi read this essay, and applied its principles in South Africa, where he was then living. After this dry run, another half-century passed, at the end of which Gandhi, through the application of these principles, had freed India. Ten years later, Martin Luther King, Jr., having studied Gandhi's career, applied the same principles successfully in Montgomery. And now, all over the South, Negro students, following in the footsteps of King, are seating themselves quietly at lunch-counters, formerly reserved for whites. It really is hard to get around the Yankees.

It's especially hard when most of the students don't even know that this is a Yankee idea. It's travelled around the world and taken on a brown tone since it was first enunciated. Worse than that, it hits the white Southerner rather close to where he lives. For, however you appraise what the students are doing, here is a kind of heroism, and the South has always prided itself upon its heroism.

### A Lonely Position

By and large, the pride is justified. The South has always stood up against overwhelming odds. The Civil War is the classic example. Yet the Civil War is only the symbol of the South's lonely position in the world: she tried to set up a static society in the changing West; even today she tries to maintain a static society in the changing world. With all her good intentions, she was always headed for defeat.

Tragically caught in such a situation, she has always defended the *status quo*. As heroism is the chief characteristic of the tragic character, so heroism has been her chief characteristic. She has stood upon the borders of her sacred soil, and fought back as she could the ceaseless attacks of the infidels. In a world going as she thought to the dogs, she has tried to maintain the past unchanged. Since she has always lost, she is the self-anointed defender of lost causes. Again, the great example is the Civil War. But even before that war she was preparing herself to lose: absorbing the romances of Walter Scott, dreaming of a feudalism already gone, catching from the stories themselves the nostalgia for lost causes: already, like Fitz-James, with her back against the rock, out-numbered and out-gunned.

Anyone who wishes to defend the past should study the history of the South. Great leaders, brave men, true heroes, and what have we now? Even as I write the sun is going down on Capitol Hill, where in a last gesture of defiance antique Southerners talk around the clock, as if time did not matter, risking their health if not their lives in a verbal battle. Though compromise has been suggested, they cannot compromise. Their role demands that they fail. Pickett did. Theirs is indeed a sun-down stand, with no Joshua to prolong the evening light. But they talk on as if time did not matter: it has never mattered much in the South. The South tried to place itself in a changeless world, beyond time. Unfortunately, we cannot thus pass into eternity *en masse*, though now we have it in our power to go out into oblivion all together.

### For a New Idea

The lesson of the filibuster is this: the South badly needs a new idea. Because of her history, she might be able to use a new idea of heroism. Well, now she has it. Even as the sun goes down on Capitol Hill, it rises on the lunch-counters of Dixie. This is a new heroism, a non-violent heroism, a creative heroism. If the white South doesn't recognize this yet, it is because the white South hasn't learned to recognize Negroes as human beings, with the human being's longing, and fear, and frustration, and faith. This new heroism is also rooted in the past, but, unlike the old heroism, it isn't trying, vainly, to preserve that past. It is rooted in the centuries-long training of the Negro in patience and in Christian acceptance of the harshness of life. The Negro has argued long and earnestly with God—witness, for one thing, the spirituals—and far more than the rest of us has been able to accept the tragic nature of life. Now, with that argument largely settled, he turns toward us, the white people of the South, and begins his argument, basically a Christian one, with us; and he conducts this argument in the Christian spirit of non-violence. He has transmuted our physical heroism into moral heroism.

MR. DABBS, a farmer, a retired teacher, a Presbyterian elder of Mayesville, S. C., is an associate editor of The Outlook. He is currently president of the Southern Regional Council

### Bread and Respect

What is he asking of us? Strangely—and probably he is unaware of this—he is asking just what the colored peoples of the world are asking. (Whether we know it or not, he knows that this is one world.) He is asking for bread and respect. In the world-picture, the choice of the lunch-counters is a beautiful choice: closed to him, they deny him bread and respect. Here, along the limited aisles of the ten-cent store, the world argument is shaping up. God grant we shall see it for what it is!

I raise no question of the patriotism of these youngsters. I'm not so silly. They are our youngsters: Southern Americans. I'm merely sketching the world-backdrop of the local situations.

This is a movement, then, seeking both higher standards of living and a nobler view of man. What have we to oppose it with? There may be some property rights; on this matter the law is as yet uncertain. We tell ourselves, as we have always told ourselves, that we are standing on principles. I would not deny that some of our talk about principles is true, nor would I deny that a man should defend his principles. Indeed, he should. With his life. But I'm afraid that too often we have given the noble name of principle to habit, custom, what the people say, even self-interest. So far as we have, so far as we do, we are in a hopeless situation, defending ourselves in the American air against the simple desire of these youngsters for an equal chance in their search for temporal and eternal goods. History will rack up one more lost cause.

### Christian Courage

We shall be defeated; if not in 1960, soon. Defeated by our blindness. For here, taking place under our eyes, is an exhibition of Southern courage, with centuries of life behind it. If we could see it as such, we might welcome it as a new birth of the old spirit. Our difficulty is, it's too old; it has two thousand years of life behind it; it is also Christian courage. As such it is creative. The past is but a seed-bed; the present and the future are its field. One supreme Southern leader faced the future with courage: Lee. Most of us have tried to save the past. But the past can be saved only by those who move bravely into the future. This is what these youngsters are doing.

It goes against the grain for us white Southerners to accept them. Doubly against the grain. Can any good come out of Nazareth? Out of a subservient group? Out of any aspect of Christianity long denied by fighting Westerners? God knows. But the first step in recognition was taken by the Little Rock business man, himself a segregationist, when he praised courage where he saw it. The words may be unfortunate; the sentiment is solid: "God knows them nigger children got guts!"

# FROM MY STUDY WINDOW

By W. B. J. MARTIN

**MONDAY** • When Saint Paul urged his Ephesian friends to give up living like "pagans," I wonder which aspect of that many-sided word he had in mind? One meaning of the word is "villager," or as we should say nowadays, "suburbanite"; but, as Harnack points out, *paganus* also means "civilian," as contrasted with "soldier," and the Christian was expected to enlist in the struggle of life, the "sacramentum" being the soldier's oath.

**TUESDAY** • In a certain seminary which shall be nameless, the instructor recently held a quiz on the Ten Commandments. Of thirty-three second-year seminarians, only four were able to name and place the whole ten correctly; two students could recollect only two, and some invented a few that aren't so, such as, "Thou shalt not lie." Now, a man's salvation does not depend on his accurate reporting of the Ten Commandments, but seminary students are supposed to be biblical experts!

**WEDNESDAY** • Is there a lovelier phrase than "God bless you"? Twice recently I have been taken leave of by friends with this gracious phrase. But I couldn't help thinking that it meant two different things: on the lips of the first man it meant, May God keep you safe. On the lips of the second man it meant, May God keep you active. One obviously hoped God would keep me out of trouble, the other that God would lead me into the right kind of trouble. It all depends on what kind of a God you have!

**THURSDAY** • I think the most moving testament in the English language is John Keats' "I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the heart's affections, and the truth of the Imagination. What the Imagination seizes upon as Beauty must be Truth." That sentence, thrown off in the heat of the moment in one of his letters, provides stuff for a lifetime's reflection.

**FRIDAY** • I am vastly enjoying, and profiting by, Jaroslav Pelikan's *Introduction to the Exegetical Writings of Luther*, a companion volume to the magnificent series of Luther's works he has edited. This is a study of Luther as expositor, and it makes me wish I had been able to read it years ago when I was starting out on my ministry, for I now see how thin and careless my own pulpit work as an expositor has been. I am particularly struck by his comment: "The mere citation and multiplication of Biblical passages is no guarantee that a theology is Biblical. . . . On the other hand, the absence of explicit Biblical quotations or references is no sign that a theologian has ignored the Bible in his thought." This is a volume to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest.

**SATURDAY** • I do not normally like visiting on a Saturday evening, but tonight I spent a couple of hours at the home of a churchmember where I met with some twenty "colonists" as they are called, i.e., members who live roughly in the same district. The host, a lawyer, had prepared a little playlet which he and his wife acted out, and which provided a basis for a lively discussion on such matters as peace and war, population explosion, and the duty of Christians to simplify their manner of living. All in all, it was an admirable preparation for my Sunday morning sermon, a far better one than lonely brooding in the study would have been.

**SUNDAY** • I preached at a Sunday evening service tonight and was surprised to find that some American churches, contrary to British opinion, do manage to persuade a considerable number of people to be "twicers." One unusual feature of the service, unusual to me, that is, was the Altar Call to Prayer, during which the entire congregation left the pews and came forward for a brief time of prayer at the altar rail. This physical act of rising and coming forward was very impressive.

## 49 Executions Are Reported for 1959

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS)—A total of 49 convicted criminals were executed under civil law in 1959, the U.S. Department of Justice reported here in its annual report on civil executions.

This was a slight increase from the all-time low of 48 recorded in 1958, but was the second lowest on record.

The report came at the time of a sweeping nation-wide debate on the death penalty, with many religious groups taking a position opposed to capital punishment.

Only 16 of the states carried out executions in 1959, although 41 states and the District of Columbia have laws permitting the imposition of the death penalty.

Two-thirds of those who died were Negroes, although white persons constitute 90 per cent of the U.S. population.

The Southern states carry out the death penalty far more often than other areas of the nation. Florida alone executed ten men, eight Negroes and two whites.

Executed in Arkansas were six persons, all Negroes. Five of six persons put to death in California were white. Georgia executed four, all Negroes. Of three executions in New York, three were Negroes.

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# EDITORIAL

## Isn't (almost) Everybody Sustaining Economic Boycotts?

Employment of the economic boycott by Christian or other groups in various parts of the country at the present time is under intensive scrutiny.

In many situations student groups, some of them with deep Christian intentions, are supporting this method as one way of bearing witness to their deep concern at racial discrimination on the part of business establishments in some localities.

On its face, it is certainly not an ideal weapon for Christian purposes and it cannot, in the long run, attain the relationships which must ultimately be sought. The best hope is that it may call dramatic attention to an evil and that as pressure is applied and a change is effected, avenues may be opened which will lead to the desired end.

This is largely the justification of war as the lesser of two evils. War is certainly no Christian weapon, but none will doubt that war has stopped many a threat to human decency and in its aftermath has provided an opportunity for constructive forces to begin their work.

After all, in an evil world, what weapon is perfect and without taint? Moreover, what man is perfect in motivation or in purpose? In the cruel choices that we make, about the best we can do is to follow what appears to be the least evil way.

One aspect of the use of economic power in the struggle for racial justice might be inspected for a moment. Many of those who object to its use will find it instructive to consider the fact that we have long sought to protect status and possessions in this country by use of this very weapon. It has not been used here or there in occasional demonstrations. The equivalent of an economic boycott has been and is exercised daily, as it has been for generations, against an entire people. The occasional incidents of the boycott today are small and pitiful illustrations of this larger operation which most, if not all, of us sustain and from which white people as a class draw vast economic and social prestige.

Few job opportunities have been available to Negroes, housing covenants have sorely restricted the choice of residence—the list is almost endless. Possibly no weapon is now being used more devastatingly to keep a minority people "in its place" than this one. And it would seem that most of those who are profiting from the operation are assenting to it—if they are not at work in some effective way to eliminate it. This is true even in states where boycotts are contrary to law. Actually, there is no escape from the use of economic power. To see the continuing evil use of this weapon consider how Negroes have been largely deprived of sharing in the fruits of their labor—call it an economic boycott or straitjacket—in an agrarian economy which they have made possible.

It certainly appears to be the lesser of two evils to raise a protest by the use of this method in occasional instances in order to call attention to the wider field of operation where we are ordinarily complacent beneficiaries.

Is it therefore just to single out one or a few establishments in view of a widespread evil? It may not be, but, as has been well and picturesquely said, if you find six men robbing your chicken coop and you are able to catch only one of them, he has no right to charge you with being unfair.

It would seem that the best hope for the use of this instrument is to enable all of us to realize how we have been condemning masses of people to economic slavery by our continued support of existing discriminatory practices. At the same time, every possible use of this or any other instrument of intended justice must be critically evaluated and refined.

Reinhold Niebuhr has put the case in these terms:

"It seems that the world in which we live is not so spiritual that it is always possible to prompt the wrongdoer to contrition merely by appealing to his conscience and to that of the society in which he lives. It may be necessary to deprive him of some concrete advantage or inflict some obvious hurt upon him to bring him to his senses. In other words, Gandhi's boycott in India and the Chinese boycott against the English in Hong Kong and the strike of the industrial worker would seem to be necessary strategies in the kind of world in which we live. . . . Parents frequently find it necessary to aid the defective imagination of a child by creating painful consequences by artificial means for acts that would result in painful consequences of their own accord in the long run. . . .

"To refuse the use of any coercive methods means that it is not recognized that everyone is using them all the time, that we all live in and benefit or suffer from a political and economic order that maintains its cohesion partially by the use of various forms of political and economic coercion." (*Love and Justice*, Wesminster Press, pp. 250, 255.)

For such reasons as these, it appears, an increasing number of Christian, educational, scientific and other associations are exercising what amounts to an economic boycott. For their meetings they have declared that they will not patronize an establishment that discriminates against any of their members on the basis of race, and, the entire group stays away from such accommodations. In the face of this danger it is interesting to see how many hotels and convention centers are taking a second—and more profitable—thought.

## Tribal Life and The 10-Cent Store

The current sit-down strikes of predominantly Negro students at lunch-counters set up for whites may or may not be trespass: that point is yet to be decided.

But two things are apparent. First, the students are challenging a remnant of aristocratic privilege in an environment almost wholly democratic. If a ten-cent store isn't democratic, what is? And the lunch-counter aristocrats, the whites, do absolutely nothing to deserve the privilege they have so far demanded and obtained. Expecting to buy prestige and privilege for ten cents, they merely reveal their cheapness.

Second, the Christian, the necessary opponent of such self-appointed aristocrats, the democrat *par excellence*, the servant (so Jesus said), can offer no defense whatever for keeping these lunch-counters white. Can he say that the presence of Negroes is an attack upon his self-respect, and that as a Christian he must defend self-respect? What, then, of his respect for them, as he sits there in isolated racial splendor—again for ten cents!—and insults them by supporting a situation in which they are invited to trade at every counter but this: here, for no fault of their own, they must not pass? Can he say that they are attempting to invade his personal privacy, a privacy which a Christian has both the right and the duty to maintain? Even a Christian shouldn't expect to buy such a jewel in a ten-cent store and for a dime.

The truth is, we whites, even in Woolworth's, are reacting to the shadow of an ancient tribal custom, that those who eat together are thereby initiated into the tribe, while the Negro students are acting like the modern customers we all are, who, weary of buying the many things that moderns think they need, occasionally like to buy a sandwich and a drink, which all men really need.

It's a good thing, we don't think: we might choke to death with laughter.

—JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS.

A thought for preachers

# "BUT ALAS!"

By KENNETH J. FOREMAN

BERT WAS THE LARGEST and oldest boy in the class. He had more money and better manners (being from the city) than the rest of us did. But nobody can have everything, and Bert was not the brightest student that classroom had ever seen.

One day the teacher set an English class to work writing a sentence that should contain all the parts of speech, which at that era were reckoned as nine. Bert labored over his and came up with something rather exciting.

"Through the night be heard the clanging bell and the big horses madly dashing out of the old firehouse."

"That's fine," the teacher said. "But you left out one part of speech." Bert couldn't think what it was.

"Well, class, what was left out?"

"Interjection!" came several voices.

"That's right," said the teacher. "Now that's a sentence that would be just right for an interjection. See if you can write it, or something like it, and put in some interjection."

So Bert took a fresh sheet of paper and shortly reported again.

"Through the night he heard the clanging bell and the big horses madly dashing out of the old firehouse, but alas!"

THIS INCIDENT from a long-ago country school room illustrates several things about emotion. If Bert ever grew up to be a minister—for he already had the manners and morals that go with that calling—he would not have been a very good preacher, unless he improved on his classroom efforts at the age of sixteen. For one thing, in Bert's revised version the emotional word was just tacked on at the end. The first sentence is complete enough, and it would be only as an exercise in grammar that one would want to split it open and insert an interjection. But the revised sentence is not complete in itself. The "but alas!" leaves the listener poised in mid-air with an emotion but nothing to emote about.

Once there was a rather emotional preacher who used even to weep during his sermons. This was quite effective, till in his older days when he had grown careless, he left a sermon manuscript in the pulpit, and some of the young people got hold of it. At various places in the margin he had written, "Cry here." And that was the end of him in that congregation.

Emotion that is marginal, that needs a reminder to turn it on, is not genuine emotion. It is stagey stuff. A skilled actor can make it hum, to be sure; but a preacher who is only a play-actor belongs with those ancient and original play-actors, the Pharisees, for the name "hypocrite" at first meant just that—men who were playing their roles, perpetually on stage.

Further, emotion lends nothing to information. "But alas!" tell us nothing we did not already know. It suggests there might be something else we ought to know and perhaps the speaker does know. But it does not tell us what that something-else is. Furthermore, emotion may actually hinder communication. This particular sentence of Bert's the first time it was uttered, brought laughter; but "alas!" is supposed to be a weeping word. So synthetic, imitative, needless emotion, whether stirred in or sprinkled on, only confuses the reader or hearer. Where information is the main aim, any sort of emotion is clean out of place.

Emotional words, interjections or whatnot, can convey moods, or at any rate they can indicate the mood of the speaker. But real emotion will show in the narrative words themselves: in the choice of words to begin with, and in the one of voice besides. Sometimes if the words alone are sufficiently freighted with poignant overtones, an almost toneless delivery will have an irresistibly moving effect on the listener.

EMOTION is not bad in itself; but it is not good in itself either. It is true that the Christian religion is not one of bare rational propositions. Signs of emotion are all through the Bibles. A profound experience of life, of whatever quality, is always emotional. A person who could fall in love, have a child, be converted, lose a friend, achieve a triumph or suffer disaster, with the same cool spirit with which one might (and should) add a column of figures, would not be truly human.

So a preacher who proclaims a full gospel, if it means anything to him, is bound to feel it as well as think it. If he never seems to feel it, one wonders whether he really believes it.

Nevertheless, a preacher who is always layering on a thick slice of emotion, likewise arouses suspicions. Even granting that most ministers are by temperament more emotional than the average person, the average Christian in the pew is made uneasy—if it is a Presbyterian pew, especially—by too much emotion in the pulpit. The preacher who begins to sound like a radio announcer or M.C., those masters of false excitement, gets the assent that radio announcers do. What do the listeners in your home do when someone, just bursting with the news, tells you of an exciting new flavor-thrill in Cutie-Crunch Crackers and urges you to rush to the nearest grocery at once?

Well, it's just the same when the preacher begins to put in emotion where it isn't needed, or to use emotional words merely for build-up. Listeners, already made cynical by emotional attacks by day and night, will give up the preacher's effort as just one more commercial.


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## UPUSA STATEMENT

(*Continued from page* 4)

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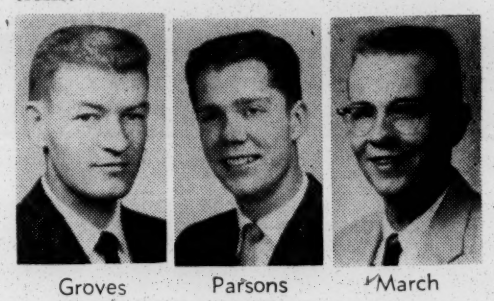
In token of this pledge, we have personally contributed a fund to be used wherever the courts must protect your rights.

## CAMPUS NEWS

Florida Presbyterian College, although yet to matriculate its first student, already has a college song. It was sung recently for the first time at a progress party at the Maritime Base interim campus when more than 250 "charter alumni" of the college heard reports of developments. The college is to begin its operations enrolling its first class in September. Friends of the new institution learned that a private construction company of Tampa (Brinson-Allen) had contributed an estimated $21,000 worth of work in clearing the 260-acre site on Boca Ciega Bay, just south of St. Petersburg. Howard Anderson, formerly press secretary for the Governor of Tennessee and lately director of development for the Vanderbilt University Medical Center, Nashville, Tenn., has become assistant to the president in charge of development, with duties in fund raising and public relations.



Groves Parsons March

Three Austin Seminary seniors have been awarded fellowships provided for graduate study. They are Eugene March, Dallas, Texas, alumni graduate study fellowship; Michael L. Parsons, Norfolk, England, seminary fellowship, and Grantland M. Groves, Odessa, Texas, the W. P. Newell Memorial Fellowship. The first two are graduates of Austin College, while Mr. Parsons is a graduate of the University of Cambridge in England.

* * *

Park College (Mo.) is the only college in the midwest area to be included in the list of institutions that will award

(*Continued on page* 12)

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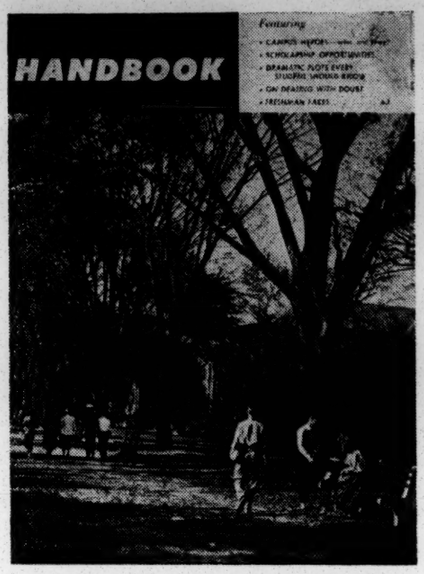


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Pictures and details about many of these colleges

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(*Continued from page* 10)

Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation scholarships. Park will have thirty such scholarships with the value ranging up to full tuition. On its goal of $200,000 for endowment of a professorship in science, Park College has announced a $100,000 gift for this purpose from the family of the late Merlin C. Findley, a professor of biology at the college for 53 years, and his wife.

* * *

Huron College (S. D.) has reached the two-thirds mark in its $1,000,000 development campaign. A government loan of $300,000 for a new residence for men has been granted and construction is expected to begin soon.

* * *

A Hampden-Sydney (Va.), senior, Carter W. Stone, Richmond, Va., has been named the winner in the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation awards.

* * *

Eight Davidson College (N. C.) seniors and graduates have won Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship for the coming year. They are: Larry W. Baggett, Orlando, Fla.; Leland N. Edmunds, Jr., N. Miami, Fla.; Francis L. Nye, Conway, S. C.; Peter V. O. Sterling, Higham, Mass.; W. Dabney Stuart, 3d, Richmond, Va.; T. Perrin Wright, Jr., Radford, Va. All of these are seniors. Graduate students winning the awards included James K. Batten (1957), Holland, Va., now of Aberdeen, Md.; and William E. Wilkinson (1959), Mebane, N. C.

* * *

Optimistic financial reports come from Davis and Elkins College (W. Va.) telling that R. Gordon Barrick, chairman of the committee on Insurance and Trusts of the development commission of the college, "has set an example of giving which should challenge all friends of the college." Mr. Barrick has made the college irrevocable owner and beneficiary of a $10,000 life insurance policy on his own life. The late state Senator, Wallace B. Gribble of Clarksburg, who died Jan. 27, has provided that the college shall receive half of his estate at the death of his wife. Mrs. Gribble will determine the disposition of the other half. Gifts to the D & E Living Endowment for 1959-60 have reached the mark of $50,000 in cash pledges.

* * *

Florida Presbyterian College has been given a 200-acre gift of land near Cape Canaveral valued at $100,000. Now valued at $500 an acre, the gift was made on behalf of Ted David, a member of the college board of trustees from Hollywood, Fla., and a candidate for governor of the state, and six other men who own the property.

* * *

Macalester College (Minn.) ranks 19th in the nation in the number of National Merit Scholars enrolled. It has 27.

## Churches Face Task in European Unification

AMSTERDAM—European churches have been challenged to help develop in their members an understanding of rapidly developing plans for European integration.

Although all plans indicate the issue is "fully alive," "Christian opinion, generally speaking is not aware of the importance of what is at stake," according to the Committee on the Christian Responsibility for European Cooperation.

"It is inclined to hold to the past instead of seeing the tasks and opportunities of the future," the committee declared, "yet there is no doubt that for Europe the establishment of a responsible society . . . requires a better understanding not only by experts, but by peoples at large. . . ."

The challenge was part of one of a series of statements issued at the conclusion of the semi-annual meeting of the Committee held recently in Amsterdam. The Committee is an unofficial group of prominent Christian laymen and theologians concerned with the issues of the changing European political and economic life.

### Difficulties Noted

The report on European integration noted that while the experiment of the European Communities of the Six is "a going concern and a factor in the planning of every European businessman," there are still "difficulties" in relationships with Great Britain and some other countries of the European Free Trade Area and "it is probably too early to expect final settlements."

But regardless of the outcome of such discussions, it added, there can be no doubt "the Europe of national states (Europe des patries) seems to belong to the past . . . and that today the national states are no longer commensurate with the technical development and the spiritual requirements of the modern world."

In the statement on the Summit Negotiations, the committee noted that "Christian people can only welcome the resumption of such negotiations," yet they must view the possibilities of the discussions with "sober realism."

"It will be easier to come to terms with the Soviet Union about outer space and Antarctica than about Berlin," it said. "The basic disagreement between the Soviet Union and the Atlantic Alliance over Europe remains."

### East-West Tensions

A statement on moral issues in European life pointed to the burden of tensions created by the East-West conflicts, but warned that "next to violence, resignation is the worst response to the frustrating aspects of this situation." Solutions to the many problems of Europe, it said, "can spring only from convictions on man and society which are not given up under changing circumstances."

"Nothing less is required than a new European society, emerging out of the ruins of our old nations and classes: grateful for the benefits of the past and ready to share them with others; ashamed of former wrongs and open to the demands of the future." In such a society, it added, "the witness of the gospel would not only be respected but taken seriously."

Chairman of the committee is C. L. Patijn, prominent lay leader in the ecumenical movement and a member of the Dutch Parliament. (EPS, Geneva)

## TAX PROVISION FOR MINISTERS CLARIFIED

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS)—A clergyman who is employed as minister of music or religious education is eligible to exclude from federal income tax a housing allowance that is paid him in lieu of a parsonage, the Internal Revenue Service declared here.

However, those employed in such church positions are not eligible unless they are ordained as ministers of the gospel, fully authorized to perform all sacerdotal duties customary to their denomination.

These, and other details, are spelled out in official regulations for the first time by the Internal Revenue Service.

Congress in 1954 provided that ministers of religion who receive housing allowances in lieu of parsonage are entitled to exclude the allowance from taxable income. The rental value of a parsonage has for many years been excludable from taxable income and the 1954 statute equalized the status of all clergymen. Since passage of the law, a number of problems have come up under it and the new three-page regulation is designed to clarify these.

Among the points explained is that a minister of music, even though he has and be employed in duties associated with a church or church-related institution. A minister of music, even though he has a doctorate in sacred music, does not qualify unless ordained. He must in such event, not only pay tax on his housing allowance, but also on the rental value of any living quarters which are supplied him by the church.

Those who may erroneously have excluded such housing arrangements from their taxable income are advised by Internal Revenue officials to contact their local District Director and correct their returns. No penalty is imposed when a taxpayer voluntarily corrects a mistake. However, the tax is collected with interest from date due.

# JESUS, THE MASTER TEACHER

By ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON

Sunday School Lesson for April 3, 1960
Matthew 5:1-2, 17-20; 9:14-17

Our lessons for the next three months present a detailed study of portions of the Sermon on the Mount, with a related consideration of various parables as they throw light on the teachings in the sermon.

The average Christian tends to think of the Sermon on the Mount as a statement of lofty ideals that cannot be translated into actual practice. We see these ideals in better perspective if we recall briefly the situation in Palestine and consider their meaning for those who first heard them.

## I.

When Jesus began his ministry the Jews were a subject people, seething with bitterness and resentment, longing eagerly for deliverance.

Over the years four parties had arisen, whose programs differed greatly from that offered by Jesus, and in contrast with which his own message can best be understood.

On the extreme left were the Zealots, an armed revolutionary band, determined to break the Roman yoke by force of arms. The more radical members of this group came to employ terrorist methods against the adherents of Rome and all whom they suspected of laxity in religion, going so far as to stab openly in the streets anyone whom they thought it expedient to remove.

At the opposite pole from the Zealots were the Essenes. They believed that deliverance must come from God; indeed, could come only from him. In due time he would send the Messiah who would wreak vengeance upon the hated oppressor. In preparation for this event they withdrew from the ordinary life of the community, and formed communities of their own in the wilderness, where they lived lives of strict asceticism and austere ritual purity. In the writings of the Dead Sea (Qumran) sect, we read:

> "(It is the duty of members of the sect) to love everyone whom he (God) has elected, and to hate everyone, whom he has rejected; . . . to hate all sons of darkness, each one according to his sinfulness in the revenge of God."

A third group differed considerably from the previous two. They were the collaborationists, who accepted the Roman dominion and made terms with the conquerors for their own material advancement. In the North, in Galilee, these were the Herodians, who served Herod Antipas, the puppet king, who in turn served the interests of Rome. In the South, in Judea, they were the Sadducees. Included in this party were the priestly aristocrats (the few priestly families that were at the top of the hierarchial ladder), the rich landowners and the wealthy merchants, men who occupied the highest offices in church and state and who accepted the Roman authority in order that they might retain their wealth and power.

The fourth group, the one which played the largest role in the gospel drama, were the Pharisees. They were as religious as the Essenes and as patriotic as the Zealots. But unlike the former they did not withdraw from the common life and unlike the latter they opposed the use of the sword. They adopted a pacifistic attitude, not because they were pacifists in principle, but merely because they knew that "resistance was a physical impossibility and only invited complete destruction and devastation. They did not love Rome because they could not fight; they hated her the more. Their non-resistance was with a glowing eye and a heart full of hate, but with an arm that did not dare to strike." They believed with the Essenes that deliverance could come only from God, that strict observance of the Law and the traditions of their fathers would hasten the day when he would send a Deliverer.

We cannot understand the role played by the Pharisees, their insistence on every detail of the Law, their scorn of the common people who were unable or unwilling to keep the multitude of its exactions, their bitter opposition to Jesus for breaking the tradition of the Fathers, unless we keep this fact in mind, that obedience to the Law in all of its details was necessary among other things that the day might be prepared for God's intervention. The Pharisees were the popular religious leaders. Their ideals were high and are paralleled in many instances by the teachings of Jesus. Nonetheless, their rigid insistence on the Law separated the Jews from their neighbors and tended to separate the Pharisees from their fellow-Jews. The religion of the Pharisees intensified, therefore, the racial intolerance of the Jew; it fed the nation's hatred against the Romans and played into the hands of the Zealots who were constantly pushing the nation toward that disastrous war with Rome which ended with the destruction of the Jewish state.

## II.

In addition to these four parties and their various programs there was a common hope, shared by all except the Herodians and the Sadducees, who were satisfied with things as they were. It was the revolutionary hope of the kingdom of God.

For the Jews, this was first and primarily the reign of God—not the reign of God in heaven, but the reign of God on earth; not the reign of God over individuals merely, but also and basically, the reign of God over the nation.

The reign of God meant for the Jews not only the reign of God but also the blessings which the chosen people would enjoy when the reign of God became a fact. These expected blessings fell into at least five different categories:

First, political: The Jews would be freed from the might of Rome and the empire of David and Solomon would be re-established and extended. Second, economic: Poverty would be abolished and there would be abundance for all. Third, social: Justice would be established among men; the rich would no longer be able to take advantage of the poor, or the strong of the weak. Fourth, international: Nations would beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks; neither would they learn war any more. Fifth, religious: God would write his law upon the hearts of men, and the knowledge of God would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

The general expectation was that this new society would be established by the advent of a divinely commissioned leader —the Messiah. Some, particularly in Galilee, where the influence of the Zealots was strong, expected this Messiah to be a military and political leader, especially equipped by God for the work of deliverance through the sword, great David's greater son. Others, particularly in Judea, where apocalyptic hopes were cherished, expected the Coming One to be a pure heavenly being, whom God would supernaturally send in his own time, one like the Son of Man, whom Daniel had predicted would come riding on the clouds of heaven. But all agreed that the chief function of the Deliverer would be the overthrow of the oppressor, the crushing of the ungodly power which held the Chosen People in subjection. And there was a widespread belief that the time was near.

This, briefly, was the situation when first John and then Jesus came preaching: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven [or kingdom of God; the two terms are synonymous] is at hand." (Mt. 3:2; 4:17.)

## III.

But Jesus was not content to preach the good news (gospel) of the kingdom. As Matthew makes clear, he went about all Galilee teaching, as well as preaching (4:23). The teaching was necessary because he accepted some elements in the common hope, others he rejected. His was not the way of force, (i.e., that of the Zealot), not the way of flight (that of the Essenes), nor the way of compromise (that of the Sadducees), nor the way of devotion to God divorced from devotion

to man (the way of the Pharisees); it was the way of love to God and man (not some men but all men).

The fullest exposition of Jesus' way, of the blessings to be enjoyed by those in the kingdom, and of the standards (i.e., the righteousness) required of those who would enter the kingdom, is found in that body of instruction which we call the Sermon on the Mount.

"Seeing the crowds," Matthew tells us, "he went up on the mountains, and when he sat down his disciples came to him. And he opened his mouth and taught them saying. . ." (Mt. 5:1-2).

It does not follow that the whole of the "sermon" which followed was given on a single occasion. It is likely, as most scholars contend, that some material given on other occasions is brought in to give a more rounded view of Jesus' teaching.

In the weeks that follow we shall consider very carefully some of the blessings of the kingdom which Jesus affirms at the outset of the Sermon (those familiar words which we speak of as the Beatitudes).

In the present lesson we consider two passages which contrast Jesus' teaching with that of his contemporaries, the standards demanded by God of those who would enjoy the blessings of the kingdom as over against those inculcated by the Zealots, Essenes, Herodians, Sadducees and Pharisees.

## IV.

To the Jewish mentors in general it seemed that Jesus' teaching undermined the Law and the Prophets (the Scriptures as they knew them). Actually, it was their interpretation of the Law and the Prophets that was in danger.

"Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets," Jesus explains in 5:17; "I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them." Jesus is not speaking here of fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament, but, as the context plainly reveals, of fulfilling (i.e., of filling full) the ethical and moral teaching of the Law and the Prophets, of giving their incomplete teaching and their imperfect ideals their complete and perfect expression. As Theodore H. Robinson puts it: He came

"to make complete, to perfect, to amend, to give the temporary thing, with its numerous occasional details, an eternal validity. The Law had been an interim expedient, the best that could be devised until the fulness of time, for the securing of certain ends. But under the regime of Jesus these ends can be still better secured, and the Law, though superseded as the final authority, will be fulfilled, completed, absorbed into a higher rule of life."

This statement throws light on the Old Testament revelation. In Jesus' estimation, it was neither perfect nor final; it reached its culmination and found its completion in him. Christians, then, must read their Old Testament in the light of that fuller revelation which has been given in Jesus Christ. Any moral ideal, any conception of God, in the Old Testament which falls below the revelation given by Jesus must be regarded as inadequate and incomplete.

In their subordination of human values to supposed legal requirements, in their fatal belief that one could love and serve God without loving and serving their fellow man (without distinction of race, nationality or condition) the religious teachers of Jesus' time had missed the true essence of the Old Testament revelation which Jesus now seeks to recover.

The statement in vs. 17 is further explained in vss. 18-20. Vs. 18 emphasizes that he did not come to destroy. Some scholars think that this and the following verse are interpolations, added by Jewish Christians who opposed the movement of the early Christian communities away from the Mosaic Law. If spoken by Jesus, as we shall assume, vs. 18 probably means that not one bit of the Law shall pass away until it has served its purpose, until all things be accomplished by it that God has meant for it to accomplish. As someone has put it: "Whatever does pass away does not pass by destruction but by fulfillment—i.e., the evolution of its hidden life, as the bud passes into the rose. The bud is there no longer, but it is not destroyed, it is fulfilled in the rose." This leads Jesus in vs. 19 to sound a

"warning to anyone who would assume a hostile or trifling attitude toward great moral verities. Whoever believes himself to be above the law will find in the last great day that he is least in the kingdom of heaven. But whoever will accept these imperishable principles and builds his life thereon, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

Vs. 20 explains why it was necessary for Jesus to perfect the Old Testament teachings. For, says he, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees (regarded as the most religious people of their day) you will never enter the kingdom of heaven. It is difficult for us to conceive the full impact of these words for those who originally heard them. The Pharisees were men who bent every effort to keep the Law in its smallest details; the scribes were the scholars of the party and gave themselves to the understanding and interpretation of the Law. Yet somehow they had missed the way.

Jesus emphasizes this fact, it may be, because that substitution of orthodox beliefs and practices for vital piety (love of God) which is exhibited in the religion of the Pharisees is the most subtle danger that religion faces in every age.

## V.

In Matthew 9:14 we read that John's disciples were troubled because Jesus and his disciples did not indulge in the frequent fastings which in that day were regarded as essential accompaniments of religion.

Jesus explained that his disciples did not fast, first, because, for them, it would be a meaningless form. It would be just as incongruous for them to fast as it would be for guests to fast at a wedding (at an Oriental wedding seven whole days were spent in festivity and rejoicing). In this passage Jesus does not forbid fasting nor does he command it. He simply teaches that if it is to be practiced it should spring from a sense of need rather than from a desire to gain merit with God. "The days will come," Jesus continued, "when the bridgeroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast." He refers here to his death. The disciples will fast in that day, not because it is a binding or meritorious duty in itself, but because it will be the appropriate expression of their feelings.

Jesus explained that his disciples did not fast in accordance with traditional custom, in the second place, because such customs were not in harmony with the Good News of the kingdom of God. He illustrates his point by two analogies. In the first he points out that new, undressed cloth shrinks, and if used to mend old cloth, is apt to drag away and increase the rent it is meant to cover. The second analogy is equally as forceful. Wine bottles were skins in those days. But skins in time get stiff and crack; and in that condition they are unable to endure the pressure put upon them by newly fermented wine.

By these two figures Jesus suggests that to combine the new spirit of the gospel with the old forms of Judaism would be as disastrous for the one as for the other. The old religion attempted to regulate conduct by rules and forms, the new by principles and motives, and these are foreign the one to the other.

The danger of reducing religion to a set of meaningless forms is one that is ever with us. It is perhaps the most common way in which man in every age seeks to avoid the searching demands of God.

Jesus' subsequent teachings, some of which we are to study, will clarify the point.

Lesson theme and scripture copyrighted by the Division of Education, National Council of Churches. Scripture quotations from the Revised Standard Version.

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# BOOK NOTES

**THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HEROD THE GREAT. By Stewart Perowne. 186 pp., Abingdon Press, Nashville. $5.50.**

**THE LATER HERODS. The Political Background of the New Testament. By Stewart Perowne. 199 pp. Abingdon Press, Nashville. $6.50.**

Mr. Stewart Perowne is a British civil servant who, amid the preoccupations of a busy professional life, has succeeded in making himself something of an established authority on the history of the Near East during the two centuries before and after the birth of Jesus Christ. These two volumes, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* and *The Later Herods,* are the fruit of his research in and reflection on Near Eastern history, particularly with respect to King Herod the Great and the members of his family who succeeded him in the government of Palestine. Each of the two books is self-contained and independent, but the second takes over where the first leaves off, and between them they cover the history of Palestine during that period of more than a century when the family of Herod played such an important part in its government, and indeed in the wider Roman Empire of that day.

The first volume deals with Herod the Great, King of Judea from 37 B.C. to 4 B.C., an Arab by race but a Jew by religion. He appears in the New Testament as the jealous instigator of the massacre of the Holy Innocents at the time when Jesus was born. In spite of this atrocity, however, he was a man of considerable ability and of real political achievement. He was, in fact, the most gifted of the "client kings" of the Near East, during the period when the Roman Republic was being replaced by the Roman Empire under Augustus Caesar. Under his leadership the Jewish kingdom attained hitherto unprecedented political prestige, partly because of the diplomatic finesse which he displayed in his relations with the Roman rulers, and partly because of his grandiose building schemes, of which the Temple in Jerusalem was the most significant illustration.

The second volume, *The Later Herods,* is appropriately subheaded, *The Political Background of the New Testament.* It treats the history of Palestine from the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C. to the end of the first century of the Christian era. Its basic theme centers not on any particular personality—for none of Herod's successors was his equal in ability or achievement—but in the steadily deepening conflict between Jewish nationalism a yeasty ferment on which Herod the Great had managed to keep the lid—and the claims of the Roman Empire, of which Palestine was a province. The final outcome of these conflicting pressures was the Jewish rebellion against Rome, which broke out in 66 A.D. and which was ended only when four years later, Titus, the Roman general, conquered Jerusalem and razed Herod's Temple to the ground. Thereafter the dynasty of Herod disappeared from history.

These books are the fruit of prolonged and careful research, not only literary—in the works of men like Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius, not to mention secondary modern authors—but also archaeological. They are also well-written, with clarity and grace of style. Between them they portray in vivid and compelling fashion the story of a formative period in religious history, namely, that which saw the preparation for, and the emergence of, the Christian faith in Palestine. For all who wish to know about this development Mr. Perowne's works will be of absorbing interest.

NORMAN V. HOPE.
Princeton Theological Seminary.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

**The Secret Sayings of Jesus.** Robert M. Grant. Doubleday & Co., N. Y. $3.50.

**The Pioneer.** K. A. Kuntz. Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo. $1.75.

**American Heritage** — February 1960. Bruce Catton, ed. American Heritage, N. Y. $3.95.

**The Quest for Church Unity.** Matthew Spinka. Macmillan Co., N. Y. $2.50.

**The World's Last Night.** C. S. Lewis. Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y. $3.

**A Handbook for College-Bound Students and Their Counselors.** Donald U. Noblett, ed. $1.50, paper.

**Is College for Me?** Editors of Sterling. Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., N. Y. $2.95.

**Study Abroad.** International Handbook. UNESCO. $3, paper.

**Thirty Years With the Silent Billion.** Frank C. Laubach. Fleming H. Revell Co., Westwood, N. J. $3.95.

**Happiness Is A Habit.** Gordon Powell. Hawthorn Books, Inc., N. Y. $2.95.

**An Errand of Mercy.** Charles I. Foster. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. $6.50.

**Let Wisdom Judge.** Charles Simeon. Inter-Varsity Press, Chicago, Ill. $3.

**This Is God's World.** Mabel A. Niedermeyer. Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo. $1.75.

**Growing Steady.** Verna J. Joiner. Warner Press, Anderson, Ind. $1, paper.

**The Town and Country Pulpit.** Benjamin H. Cain. Warner Press, Anderson, Ind. $1.25, paper.

**The Dying and Living Lord.** Helmut Gollwitzer. Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pa. $1.25, paper.


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# MINISTERIAL MENTION

### CHANGES

**Presbyterian, U. S.**

**Charles A. Sheldon,** Bryan, Texas, will become pastor of the Greystone church (2600 Guilford Lane), Oklahoma City 16, Okla., early in April.

**D. Yandell Page,** Middlesboro, Ky., will become pastor of the Princeton, W. Va., church (1707 Honaker Ave.) Apr. 1.

**M. J. McChesney** from Wilmington, N. C., to the Williamston, N. C., church.

**William O. Smith,** Rt. 2, Chapel Hill, N. C., will become pastor of the Alderson, W. Va., church May 31.

**John A. Womeldorf** has resigned as pastor of the Faith church, Guilford College, N. C.

**Albert L. Vreeland** from Enterprise, Ala., to Rt. 1, Box 274, Montgomery, Ala.

Regional Office change: The Office of Christian Education, Presbyterian U. S. Synod of Florida, is now at Suite B-8, 320 N. Main St., Orlando. **William M. Belk** is regional director.

**E. Ashby Johnson** of the faculty of Austin College (Texas) will become professor of religion and director of the Western Civilization program at the new Florida Presbyterian College.

**F. H. Mitchell** from Basle, Switzerland, to New College Residence, 2 Mound Pl., Edinburgh 1, Scotland.

**Richard F. Perkins,** Blackstone, Va., has been called to the Bon Air, Va., church.

**United Presbyterian, USA**

**T. Matthew Gilland** from Elyria, Ohio, to 392 S. Main St., Greenville, Pa.

**John T. Sandlund,** Warwick, R. I., has accepted a call to the River Road church, Washington, D. C.

**James R. Eakin** from Barton, Md., to the Parkhurst Memorial church, Elkland, Pa., May 1.

**Robert H. R. Loughbrough** from Coudersport, Pa., to assistant minister of the State Street church, Schenectady, N. Y., May 1.

**Douglas S. Vance,** Phoenix, Ariz., is to become synod executive in Pennsylvania, with his installation planned for the synod meeting at Grove City College in June.

**Haven C. Kelley,** Williamsport, Pa., has been called to the Mahoning church, Danville, Pa.

**Donald L. Nead,** Chicago, Ill., has been appointed associate field director of Christian Education for the Synod of Texas.

**Norman G. Webster,** formerly of the Gibson Heights church, St. Louis, Mo., has become associate pastor of the West church in the same city.

**Robert L. Lindsey,** Lincoln Park, Mich., has been called to become missionary pastor in St. Louis Presbytery in establishing the John Calvin church at Carrollton.

**D. Barry Lash,** formerly of Garner, Iowa, has become associate minister in the Wallace Memorial church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

**Edwin A. Shoemaker,** from Pittsburgh, Pa., to the Sistersville, W. Va., church.

### DEATHS

**Charles C. McNeill,** 80, Pompano Beach, Fla., died Feb. 29. Following long service in pastorates and other church-related agencies and activities, Dr. McNeill made his home in Washington, D. C., until recent years.

### CAMPUS SPEAKERS

**Forrest Whitworth,** Dallas, Texas, was preacher at the Goodland Indian Orphanage campus, Hugo, Okla., for Religious Emphasis Week this month.

At Centre College (Ky.) Christian Emphasis Week speakers included **Thomas B. Cowan,** Berea, Ky., and **Olof Anderson, Jr.,** executive secretary of Louisville Presbytery.

### AUSTIN LECTURES

Announced for the mid-winter lecture series next Jan. 30-Feb. 5 at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas are: **Paul Lehmann** of the Harvard Divinity School; **H. Shelton Smith,** Duke University; **Warner L. Hall,** Covenant church pastor, Charlotte, N. C.

### JERUSALEM FACULTY

**William F. Albright,** professor emeritus at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., has been appointed the first professor of Biblical Archeology at the nearly completed Jerusalem School of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Dr. Albright was for 15 years director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

### DCEs

**Mary McLean** of the Plaza church, Charlotte, N. C., will become director of Christian education at the Covenant church, Augusta, Ga., April 10.

### AWARDS

Among the annual Freedoms Foundation awards announced at Valley Forge, Pa., were the following:

**Paul W. Johnston,** Worthington, Ohio, for a sermon on "Freedom's Holy Light."

First U. P. church, Germantown, Pa., and station WRCV-TV for a film telecast, "Land Where Our Fathers Died," featuring a visit by the pastor, **Reginald Thomas,** to the Revolutionary War Monuments at Valley Forge.

Awards ($100) for sermons went to: Chaplain **Luther D. Fletcher,** Maxwell AFB, Ala.; **J. M. Vander Meulen,** Santa Ana, Calif. **Edward L. R. Elson,** Washington, D. C., received a medal for a public address. **L. Nelson Bell,** Montreat, N. C., received a medal for a Christianity Today article in the Spiritual Values category.


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**Louis C. LaMotte, President** **Maxton, North Carolina**

July 8, 1960

WF MF

Affached is a label for Mr. Albert N. Wells, Laurinburg Presbyterian Church - North Carolina. Please send him ten (10) copies of Mr. Dabbs' "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners."

mf thanx

# Laurinburg Presbyterian Church

Laurinburg, North Carolina

Albert N. Wells, Minister

July 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

About two weeks ago there came into my hands a copy of an address by James McBryde Dabbs in Little Rock sometime ago entitled "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners". I was deeply impressed with this address and wonder if you could send me as many as ten copies of it. I would like to make some distribution of it among our local interested people.

We continue to profit from the splendid and authoritative information that the Council is making available. I'm sure your service in the long run will contribute a substantial part to the working out of the problems of southern society.

With every good wish and many thanks, I am

Sincerely,

Albert N. Wells

Albert N. Wells

ANW:lb

MF. Pls send + return it to me. H.

Materials mailed:

20 copies each of:
SRC Reports the Chainging South
School Desegregation: The First Six Years
March issue of NEW SOUTH
New South promotional piece
The Church in Areas of Racial Tension
What the Supreme Court Said
Three Views

July 12, 1960

Mr. Harry E. Smith
Westminster Fellowship
The Presbyterian Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, some materials which may be useful for your Youth Assembly Council.

If we can be of additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

WESTMINSTER FELLOWSHIP

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

HARRY E. SMITH
MINISTER TO STUDENTS

July 9, 1960

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I will be leading a workshop on "The South" at the Assembly's Youth Council meeting of the Youth and Student Leaders of the Presbyterian Church, US, at Banner Elk, North Carolina, August 3-9. In this workshop we will be dealing with some of the vast social, economic, and political changes taking place in the South and especially with the problem of school desegregation. I would appreciate very much if you could send me any materials which might be useful in such a study. There will be approximately fifteen or twenty students in the group, so that any materials which I could give out to each of them would also be appreciated. I know of the very fine work which Southern Regional Council has done in this area and I know that the supply of your reports is limited, but I am anxious to introduce your organization and its work to these young people who will someday be leaders in churches across the South. These should be sent to me at the Presbyterian Church, Box 505, Chapel Hill.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Harry E. Smith

Harry E. Smith

HES/ccl

February 3, 1961

Rev. James M. Howard
Pastor Emeritus
First Presbyterian Church
2606 Sunrise Boulevard
Fort Pierce, Florida

Dear Mr. Howard:

Thank you for your letter calling attention to the Rev. William O. Byrd's sermon in THE PULPIT and for your letter to Mr. Haselden.

I received a copy of THE PULPIT in this morning's mail but have been unable to read the presentation as yet. I will let you know as soon as possible concerning our decision.

Again thanks and very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

2606 Sunrise Boulevard
Fort Pierce, Florida
28 January 1961

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Have you seen the February issue of THE PULPIT? It contains an exceedingly poignant sermon by William O. Byrd, pastor of the First Methodist Church, New Orleans, on "Mistakes I Have Made in Race Relations."

This is the kind of message which should be broadcast far and wide among Southern pastors: simple, searching, moving, with no attempt at argument or persuasion. Just personal testimony.

I have written the editor, Dr. Haselden, asking whether the sermon could be reprinted as a pamphlet for wider distribution. Barring that, I have asked him to send a copy to you, believing that you could find a place for it in NEW SOUTH. If it comes, do please consider publishing it.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Howard.

James M. Howard, Pastor Emeritus
First Presbyterian Church, Fort Pierce,
Member Board of Directors,
Florida Council on Human Relations.

February 17, 1961

Miss Athalie Lindler
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Presbyterian Building
8th North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Miss Lindler:

Please pardon the delay in answering your letter concerning photos for Presbyterian Youth. Unfortunately, I have been unable to turn up anything which might be of any great help to you.

The only suggestion I have is that you might write Mr. Edward King, secretary, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 197½ Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. King may be able to give you the names of people in different localities who would supply you with the photos you need.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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RUTH D. SEE, *Editor*
PEGGY ROSS, *Editor*


January 30, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

In our July-September issue of Presbyterian Youth, a quarterly magazine of program and activity suggestions for high school age young people, there will be a unit on "Progress in Christian Relationships." We are wondering if you can help us with illustrations.

Enclosed is an outline of this three-program unit. If you have any photos in black and white along a positive line that you think would be appropriate, we would appreciate your sending us several.

Thank you so much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Athalie Lindler

Athalie Lindler

UNIT XIX: PROGRESS IN CHRISTIAN RELATIONSHIPS (3) (C.G.C., Unit XI, '61)

Purpose: This unit will help Seniors to become acquainted with the progress that is being made in interracial relationships and the further steps that must be taken in terms of Christian answers to racial injustices and conflicts in our society; to understand and accept their responsibilities as a part of the contribution that Christians and the Christian Church make to the resolving of this issue.

Scope: This unit will be addressed to persons of any race and will be feasible for use in any church. It should point to the local scene. Exploration may begin in one field - for example, employment practices, although schools or housing may also be explored - to point out what changes have been made in community practices to bring about conditions more fair to members of all races and to reduce or eliminate discrimination on the basis of race. Factors that brought about such changes should be discussed, including individual merit and personal acquaintance, education, the influence of Christian leaders, legal action, church programs in home missions and social action, military and federal government practices, and so on. In addition to the major exploration in one field, illustrations may be given in other areas to show what is happening along the line of progress, with emphasis on relationships as Christians to one another. Seniors should be encouraged to find as many such illustrations as possible in their own community. Stories may be told about practices in the armed forces, employment, travel, and interracial work camps.

1. Spotlight

The local group will select one area to focus this first session. The writer will provide guidance for consideration of each of several areas. If the field of employment is selected - hiring on the basis of ability, hiring on the basis of training, on-the-job training opportunities, salary schedules, opportunities to develop God-given talents, interests, federal employment practices in the South, work as service to men of all races, qualifications that employers require, are some of the questions which the group should consider. The responsibility of individual Christian laymen as employers and employees will be emphasized.

2. Where the Church Comes In

The part that the Church played in progress noted in the first session or reported during this sessinn may be discussed. The Christian bases of relationships between individuals should be clarified. Practices of the Church that are in accord with these bases or in conflict with them will be examined. The program of the denomination through home missions and social action in this field will be explored and youth's part in that program discussed. Emphasize the basic attitude of respect that Christians have for each other as individuals.

3. Next Steps

Christian conduct in everyday interracial situations on the street, in places of business, on buses and street cars, at theaters, in church activities and at school and will be discussed with some "next step" procedures outlined. The degree to which getting acquainted with individuals of another race helps to overcome difficulties that arise from unintelligent generalizations will be discussed. Steps toward becoming better acquainted as Christians with Christians of another race should be considered.

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FEB 12 1963

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY IN URBAN AMERICA

The Department's first 1963 quarterly newsletter HIGHLIGHTS and other materials enclosed in this packet are designed to illuminate various aspects of community responsibility in urban America.

Additional copies of all of this material may be secured from our offices.

Department of the Urban Church

# THE LOCAL CHURCH AND LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A Protestant position paper prepared and endorsed by
The Department of Social Welfare of
The Church Federation of Greater Chicago
for study by the churches of their role in
community organizations

**********

OCTOBER 1962

**********

The Department of Social Welfare is eager that readers recognize this effort as a preliminary statement, each section to be interpreted and understood as a part of a whole document.

Churches should participate in local community organization because:

The people of God are in this world as the Church, and they are never alone with their Lord in isolation from the world. It is the world which He came to save; it is the world in which the Gospel is proclaimed and enacted. Without the Gospel the world is without sense, but without the world the Gospel is without reality. Through all aspects of its life, the Church participates in Christ's mission to the world. Everything the Church does is of evangelizing significance. Witness is not a specialized or a periodic activity, but is rather the dimension of the total life of the Church in the world, within which is fused both the Church's mission in the world and the Church's responsibility toward the world. A church which ceases to witness is not only unfaithful to its Lord, but in fact ceases to be the Church of Jesus Christ. A church which neglects its mission to the world is not only unfaithful in its calling as the people of God, but in fact ceases to participate in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ in the world.

## RESPONSIBLE SOCIETY

"Man is created and called to be a free being, responsible to God and his neighbor. Any tendencies in State and society depriving man of the possibility of acting responsibly are a denial of God's intention for man and his work of salvation. A responsible society is one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it."1

"Man must never be made a mere means for political or economic ends. Man is not made for the State but the State for man. Man is not made for production, but production for man. For a society to be responsible under modern conditions it is required that the people have freedom to control, to criticize and to change their government, that power be made responsible by law and tradition, and be distributed as widely as possible through the whole community. It is required that economic justice and provision of equality of opportunity be established for all the members of society."2

## CRITERIA BY WHICH CHURCHES MIGHT EVALUATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Part of the mission of a congregation is to be active in a community organization. If there is no formal organization with the potential to meet the established criteria, it should take the lead in starting one. If there is more than one formal organization in the community, the following standards may help the congregation in deciding which to join. If there is only one, the church should join and work for the goals set forth in the following description.

---

1 Amsterdam Assembly, Man's Disorder and God's Design, Vol. 3, New York, N.Y., Harper, 1949, p. 192.

2 Ibid.

# A GOOD COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

## WHAT IS THE PROGRAM?

The program of a good community organization is based on broadly-shared social goals; is practical; and the objectives are within reach. The organization needs to be strong enough to achieve the desired objectives based on understanding of formal and informal structures in the community in which decisions are made.

Its program is realistic, because it understands and takes the power represented by these structures into account.

It should have a number of specific programs, which appeal to a broad variety of particular interests and contributes to such objectives as:

a) Preserving and building community and neighborhood morale.

b) Maintaining and improving and/or developing health, welfare and recreational services, public and private.

c) Maintaining and improving educational services in the community.

d) Maintaining and improving public and private housing standards and services in the community.

e) Maintaining zoning regulations, discovering and processing violations.

f) Encouraging lending institutions to provide equal opportunity for home financing.

g) Education toward acceptance of people of varying racial and cultural backgrounds, with open-occupancy being one of the goals.

h) Encouraging community residential stability, and work toward the elimination of racial ghettos.

i) Concern for and cooperation with metropolitan planning and a program to uphold local objectives.

j) Developing cultural activities for persons of all ages and all interests.

k) It employs trained persons who work for the organization and do leg-work which cannot be done by its committees. While these persons are able to offer helpful advice to leaders, committees, and groups in the organization, they are careful not to set policy but implement policy and program which is determined by the membership.

## WHO IS IN IT?

A good community organization includes people who work, who live and who worship in the community.

It freely welcomes persons of every race, religion, and national origin into its organization.

All the people and all the institutions in the area are urged to share in its decisions and work through chosen representatives.

Institutions in the community, such as chain stores, churches, YMCA's, and Fraternal organizations, shall select their representatives from those who actually live or work in the neighborhood, rather than send higher executives who live and work in other areas.

Small groups, such as block clubs, business men's clubs, PTA's and other similar groups, are essential to effective community problem-solving and should be organized if missing. Representatives from these groups should be active in the organization.

HOW ARE DECISIONS MADE?

A good community organization guarantees the use of representative democratic principles in deciding its goals, programs, and policies. This makes it possible for the people to make their desires known, and for their ideas to receive fair consideration through representatives who have decision-making authority.

WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

A good community organization encourages the natural or real leaders in the area to use their abilities in its work. It chooses its leadership by democratic means from among those who live or work in the community and are indeed a part of its life. It recruits and helps develop emergingleaders. Leaders are recognized as those who have a following.

There is a regular turn-over of leadership as new persons with new concerns come into the group.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

A good community organization receives support from all of its participating organizations including the churches. One or two groups by themselves cannot hurt its program by withdrawing their support.

The contribution of money does not give any group the right to think the organization will favor its objectives over those of the community as a whole.

## METHOD IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Community organizations exist for every conceivable purpose: social agency coordination; community development; urban renewal; political organization; ideological promotion; pursuit of social action objectives by vested interest groups; and so on. Most organizations exist for a variety of these purposes.

Methods and process in community organization vary with the objectives of the particular organization. Most of these are not peculiar to social work or any one professional field. In the most general terms, three processes are involved: (a) promotion or sales efforts; (b) administration; and (c) intergroup work. More particularly method can be said to include: (a) recording and statistical service; (b) planning for intergroup and community work; (c) special studies; (d) joint budgeting and fund raising; (e) education, interpretation and public relations; (f) committee work and conference organization; (g) consultation; (h) voluntary agreements through negotiation; (i) promotion of legislation and other political activities on a non-partisan basis; and (j) coordination.

Methods of community organization should assure democratic process; provide continuing and effective opportunity for study and policy debate on every facet of community life, especially those sensitive areas which are controversial precisely because they are important to community life. Methods of community organization should allow focus on every critical issue in community life.

While the Church can never forget its work of reconciliation, nevertheless controversy in community organization can be expected, and to some degree, may be a measure of the vitality and worth of the organization.

Churches will participate actively in a local community organization:

a) As a means to represent effectively and sensitively the Christian ethic in the debate of social issues.

b) As a means to join with others to achieve public responsibility for compassion and service.

c) As a means for the church to be a communication with a representative body of the total community.

d) As a means to participate in policy decisions relative to the destiny of the community, its style and characteristics.

Goals of churches when involved in community organization are:

1. To become informed, to know the issues, to know the resources and to know the power structures in the community;

2. To develop their own resources; to help people in the community get respect for themselves and appreciation of their own worth; to help each one to contribute to community life and development.

3. To open channels of communication between individuals, multifold groups, and various institutions in the community;

4. To develop self-reliance in individuals and groups and conversely, lessen feelings of defear, apathy, and dependency, so frequently found in modern urban life;

5. To assume responsibility to help provide service needed by the community and its citizens;

6. To develop adequate standards, values, goals, and aspirations for community life;

7. To create and maintain appropriate structures and organization for implementation of social values;

8. To participate in decision-making which affects the life of the community and its citizens and to influence public policy;

9. To establish appropriate structures and methods for securing justice for individual citizens.

REPORT OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION
AND RACE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JAN. 14-17th.

"We must make a choice. Will we continue to bless a status quo that needs to be blasted and reassure a social order that needs to be reformed, or will we give ourselves unreservedly to God and His kingdom? Will we continue to march to the drum beat of conformity and respectability, or will we, listening to the beat of a more distant drum, move to its echoing sounds? Will we march only to the music of time, or will we, risking criticism and abuse, march only to the soul-saving music of eternity? More than ever before we are today challenged by the words of yesterday, 'Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds.'"

So did Martin Luther King speak to the hearts of Americans in the closing moments of the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago last week. And in response, the 700 delegates representing the three major faith groups of the nation stated:

"Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We must eradicate it with all diligence and speed. For this purpose we appeal to the consciences of the American people..... Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights..... We repent our failure and ask forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have affronted. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil."

This conference was unique in American religious history. While representatives of the different faiths have met under various auspices on a national level, and under their own sponsorship on local levels, this was the first Catholic-Jewish-Protestant meeting called by national bodies representing the three groupings. In this situation the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, the Social Action Commission of the Synagogue Council of America, and the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference called the meeting. Seventy churches, religious agencies, and other groups responded; 700 official delegates participated; 500 observers were present.

Plenary sessions were addressed by outstanding leaders. Forums were followed by work groups in which positions and recommendations for action were hammered out for later submission to the conferences. The major speeches and the findings of the work groups are being published by the Henry Regnery Company under the title, Race: Challenge to Religion in hard cover at $4.95 and paperback at $1.65. Discounts for quantity orders are being offered.

This book, which will probably be the Bible for religious race discussions for the coming years, is a must for any churchman who takes this problem seriously. Orders can be submitted to the Regnery Company, 14 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois.

But the delegates were determined that the conference should not die with adjournment. A Follow-Up Committee reported plans for the continuation of a Steering Committee to meet periodically; a semi-permanent secretariat to service 10 experimental projects in as many cities and to assist others determined to produce "an integrated church in an integrated society;" the creation of a permanent vehicle to carry on the work; promotion of vigorous local programs, and the holding of a national conference on the subject every five years.

The 10 cities where projects are under way are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Atlanta | Detroit |
| Chicago | New Orleans |
| Oakland | San Antonio |
| Pittsburgh | San Francisco |
| Saint Louis | Seattle |

United Presbyterians not now participating can obtain information on the nature, purpose, and scope of such projects through consultation with their local council of churches.

Delegates were urged not to wait for formal leadership from the secretariat but to begin immediately in their own communities to set up interfaith groups with concrete programs. The Follow-Up Committee made the following suggestions:

1. Go to the top leadership in your community: Catholic, Jewish, Protestant;
2. Select one person, agency, or denomination as the catalyst around which the program can be built and which can supply the staff needed to carry through such a project. Staff need not be paid if volunteers can be obtained willing to give the time required;
3. Make an effort to involve the whole religious community; and
4. Make the project concrete and significant.

Best results will be obtained if the local program takes a specific objective such as voter registration, community organization, desegregation of community facilities, or carefully planned interracial religious programs.

To this participant and to other Protestants it seemed as though our denominations had failed to send their top-flight leaders. Without reflecting in any way on the ability, intelligence, and devotion of those Protestants present, it is significant to note that not a single white bishop was present from any Protestant church. The Roman Catholics were represented by 24 bishops, and the Jews by leaders of their rabbinical and synagogue councils. Also significant was the number of Roman Catholic laymen working vigorously in this field along with Jews, who have been busy against discrimination for a long time.

It was obvious that in this conference, where the Negroes of the United States had an opportunity to observe the commitment of their white brethren to the cause of justice, some unhappy comparisons were being made.

It is also crystal clear that time is running out for the white churches of America. Underneath the universal courtesy and kindness of Negro churchmen a rising tide of impatience is running, impatience not only with judges and courts, with president and governors, with congress and state legislatures, with business and industry, with transportation facilities and housing programs, but also with the churches.

We United Presbyterians along with our co-religionists in other communions, have always known, although we have been slow to act as though we knew it, that we are under the judgment of God. Today we are also under the judgment of 20,000,000 of our fellow Americans who are asking us if we intend to match our protestation with our performance.

-30-

John Park Lee, Secretary of Public Relations and Interpretation
Board of National Missions

DEPARTMENT OF THE URBAN CHURCH

highlights

Board of
National Missions

United
Presbyterian
Church
in the U.S.A.

Room 1151
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

JANUARY 1963

# DOWN WITH ALBANY

by Charles W. Rawlings

Those of us who didn't go to jail in Albany last summer probably feel guilty about this since a number of other important persons did so deliver themselves. "Urban Church Highlights" and other church journals have carried numerous articles about the wonderful spiritual values and insights gained from this incarcerating experience. Surely it must have been a therapeutic experience since most of those involved were able to relieve their frustrations over northern urban problems by helping the South with its difficulties.

The intriguing thing about the "first hand" reports that have come in from the August gathering in Albany is their predictable stress on the charismatic aspects of the venture. To be sure, one writer sees a social revolution in it but he spent most of the time talking about the theological "feelings" and epochal thrill he derived from this vision of the revolution. The damnable thing for all of us in urban church work is that we enjoy emoting with this subject matter. We tend, it seems to me, to spend a good bit less time looking at the hard realities of the revolution and prefer preoccupation with the poetic heights that our sermonic style of writing can create. Specifically, I would raise the following objections to the exultation over the Albany movement.

First, in spite of the generic nature of the "Negro problem" the Albany situation is a limited and regional experience. I have not heard one layman in the city of Cleveland or anywhere else mumble one word about our brave clergy brethren who ventured to the South; and it strikes me that our two quite diverse Cleveland newspapers paid little attention to it. It may have done something for Albany but not one school or discriminatory practice in Cleveland has been improved by the noble witness, and I venture to say the same might be true of our other northern cities.

Second, the particular perspective of the "Negro problem" in the southern community is quite different from the northern urban setting. The Caucasian in the South struggles to retard history; we often speak of it as "the inevitable." However, in the North, the Caucasian is making a new reality and a new history. He is hardening his resistance to the movement for integration. He is beginning to speak in a carte blanche way about the undesirable characteristics of the aggressive Negro. In his suburban planning, in his political maneuvering within the metropolity, in his method of handling conflict, the northern, urban Caucasian is creating vast barriers against racial integration and social justice that make the riot on the Ole Miss campus look like a dance around the Maypole.

On the Cleveland scene this past year I saw a whole neighborhood of 500 middle class Caucasian families leave almost "overnight" as it were. We saw the tax payer reject levy issues that would enable the society to enhance integration, education or governmental process. Moreover, in our little Presbyterian families it

*(Continued on p. 5)*

*Meryl Ruoss* ..... Acting Director
*Catherine Cottingham* ..... Assistant to the Director
*Bryant George* ..... Associate Director
*G. Daniel Little* ..... Associate Director
*Charles G. Chakerian* ..... Administrator, Office of Church and Community
*Marshal L. Scott* ..... Administrator, Office of Industrial Relations
*Robert Thom Whitcomb* ..... Associate Administrator

# POLITICS, PEOPLE, AND RENEWAL

**THE POLITICS OF URBAN RENEWAL**, by Peter H. Rossi, and Robert A. Dentler (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, $6.00; 308 pages.)

The central purpose of this study is to assess the contributions of citizen participation to urban renewal planning in the city. It reads like a suspense novel.

This is an excellent book, one that every pastor in an urban area should have on his active bookshelf. Pastors should read it and should see that the trustees and the session read it. It can serve as a primer on what to do and what not to do if they want to participate actively in the renewal of the city, or if they want to keep a given church building, manse, or home standing, in place of having it bulldozed for urban renewal.

This is a case study of the Hyde Park Kenwood Renewal program in Chicago, and it is mercilessly objective. It indicts equally the local community organization, Hyde Park Kenwood Conference, the University of Chicago, the cardinal's Archdiocesan Conservation Committee, minority groups, bureaucratic governmental structure and many others.

The authors recognize that certain conflicts are endemic to renewal activity; the need for increased housing in urban areas, and the need for reduced population density in deteriorating areas, the need for institutional expansion (defined as a public use) and the shifting definition of the "public good" with the attendant use of the right of eminent domain, the need for the individual citizen to have safety in making his major investment in life, the purchase of a home. One Negro block leader, a widow with four children, testified, "Must we always be on the move, must we always be afraid to invest in anything except expensive cars...?"

Hyde Park Kenwood is in the neighborhood of the University of Chicago, on Chicago's South Side. The author estimates the value of the University of Chicago physical plant at $200-million...the physical plant that the university has gone to great lengths to protect.

The university's interest was partly bound up in the fact that between 60% and 80% of the faculty members have always lived within a square mile radius of the campus (page 66), and they wanted to keep the resident character of their faculty. It is partly bound up in the $200 million investment in building and real estate of the University proper. The author states, page 68, "The University's assets lie behind much of what was accomplished in the process of renewal planning in Hyde Park and Kenwood. We know that other institutions and organizations played very important roles, but the university played the most important one."

The executive of the Southeast Chicago Commission which was effectively financed by the University of Chicago, Julian Levy, lobbied before the state legislature to change the Redevelopment Corporation Act to make it possible to acquire land more easily.

He (Levy) persuaded the state legislature to amend the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act. Originally the law permitted a redevelopment corporation to be organized only for the purpose of eliminating slums. Under the amendments that Levy personally represented before the Legislature in 1953, the public purpose for which redevelopment corporations might be used were broadened to include conservation of deteriorating housing in commercial sites. The original act held constitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court permitted any 3 residents and citizens to organize a private corporation with a capital of not less than $1,000 and then to carry out a redevelopment plan. The local corporation was authorized to make mortgages and prop-

*(Continued on p. 4)*

**HOUSING, PEOPLE, AND CITIES**, by Meyerson, Terrett and Wheaton. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962, New York - $9.75, 386 pages.

For the parish in the city a great deal of interest and time *must* be put in the housing around it. Housing is the key to the whole community - schools, churches, public facilities, and to the less tangible but very real quantities in a community. Housing is one of the major factors determining whether or not your parishioners live within a half mile of the church, or six miles from it. We have passed forever the stage when the church could say "We have no interest in our physical environment; we are here only to preach the Gospel."

This book is written for the layman. It is a compilation of a five-year investigation of impediments to the improvement of housing, and the urban environment. This study was financed by the Ford Foundation, and was done by ACTION. The authors find that one of the major impediments to good housing for all in America is that the technology of housing industry in America is still primitive. It is a rare builder who innovates, simplifies, standardizes or improves technology at rates corresponding to that of other industries. The housing industry has been organized on too small a scale to secure the economies of purchasing, offsite assembly, mechanized site preparation, research and designing material, market analysis, and merchandizing that are available to other industries.

Expenditures on residential buildings account for half of all construction outlays in this country and a third of total new private investment in this country. Accumulated investment in housing constitutes a third of our national wealth. Family expenditure on housing is second in size only to that for food.

*(Continued on p. 4)*

HIGHLIGHTS — The official publication of the Department of the Urban Church, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Published 4 times yearly at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y. *Bryant George,* Editor. January 1963 issue. Unsigned material written by Editor.

# PUBLIC HOUSING - A FERTILE FIELD FOR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

by Robert Davidson

*"He that has ears to hear, let him hear - what the spirit speaks to the Churches."*

Because the patterns of life and the physical surroundings of public housing projects are not familiar to most traditional Presbyterians and other main-line denominations, we have accepted too many premature conclusions and stereotypes about the quality of life within public housing, and the ability of Presbyterians to serve in these areas. On the basis of seven years experience with one public housing project, I would like to suggest that there are more positive possibilities than we have usually been willing to accept.

Certainly there are many differences between and even within projects.

Various *external regulations make a difference*. For instance, the maximum income limits both for entry and continued occupancy make substantial difference, determining whether there is to be a relatively broad or narrow income sweep among the tenants. Federal regulations give local housing authorities considerable latitude in income standards and rental charges. (Perhaps there is a need for Presbytery and Church Councils to give attention to the narrowness with which some public housing authorities interpret the income requirements for occupancy.)

*The attitude of the local project manager* can make a significant difference. Does he administer for human beings or for "efficiency"? What efforts are made for tenant housekeeping education? What orientation does he give to the project police about the goals of their work? What is his attitude toward problem families? With one manager, upon my visiting him in behalf of families scheduled to be evicted, I was told "I must abide by the rules." Contrast this with the second manager who called me with this urgent plea, "Will you please call upon Mrs. X. She is in serious trouble and so are the children. Perhaps, as a minister, you could persuade her to go to X clinic for psychiatric counseling. If she is receiving counseling help, then I can use this in my report to justify maintaining the family in the project. She really needs help." The other administrative personnel, who take their cues from the manager, also contribute or detract from the quality of life.

While the opportunities for anonymity are great, there are also strong possibilities for many meaningful friendships. In "X" houses there were certain structures that contributed to a sense of community. There is the huge child population which breeds an inter-dependence among women as they share in playground watching, baby sitting, shopping and school escort pools (unlike the suburbanites usually on foot instead of by car). As in any community there were many sub-communities within this large project of 1250 families. Some buildings had a deeper common life, usually traceable to a gregarious family within it. It was in these buildings that the most significant house church meetings were held.

Jane Jacobs in her external observations in "Death and Life of Great American Cities" stated that there were no *neighborhood gathering places* within public housing projects. In our project for over a year, a strong primary group of unemployed and out of school teenagers were a part of the community. I could usually find them on any good day *at a particular lamppost*. In their "lost" state, they were a source of mutual strength. If all the world thought they were bums, at least they had a minimum status of belonging to a group of bums. (Out of this crowd, we recruited three released-time teachers for our weekly religious instruction program. Their need for something to do was wedded to our need for teachers.)

*There are really very few barriers to the church which* wants *to be a part of a project community*. Most doors would open at the announcement that Rev. "X" was knocking. Pastoral counseling was frequent though much more haphazard, less orderly, usually taking place within the apartments, or on a playground bench or on the sidewalk.

As experience grew, we came to know the natural leaders and the centers of communication within each building. (They were not always the same person.) Some buildings either did not have these important agents or else we did not ever come to know them. Announcements of activities or fishing expeditions for information concerning the latest rumor of a rumble could be carried out through these persons.

### MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT

There were several important factors in membership recruitment.

1. Since most of the Protestants were Negroes, the *identification as a "civil rights church"* provided a framework for our acceptance. (This "image" was not projected by overt verbal testimony during visits, but by constant identification through N.A.A.C.P. and by acting on various civil rights issues.)
2. *The House Church* - irregularly, improperly and unsystematically operated - was still the most effective channel for reaching the unaffiliated. It was one of the few ways to reach the husbands (when there were functioning husbands). Neighbors, who would not have come to the church building, did come to meetings in the homes of friends. As in most other types of membership recruitment, the most effective forms are indirect.
3. *Playground Evangelism* - The project community center and the playground were good places for developing contact with unchurched youth. Our colleague, the late Rev. Edicer Rodriguez, was a specialist at this task. He carried lollipops or balloons in his

*(Continued on p. 7)*

# POLITICS, PEOPLE, AND RENEWAL

## POLITICS OF URBAN RENEWAL

*(Continued from p. 2)*

erty loans, propose street closings, propose new construction, call for demolition of old buildings. In brief, to undertake a great variety of redevelopment operations.

Incredible as it seems, under the law three people could incorporate and redevelop an area, using the power of eminent domain.

In the process of this renewal operation it became apparent that those who sought to have the area renewed introduced facts that actually were not facts.

The authors charge that "The plans for southwest Hyde Park however involved the removal of structures not clearly deteriorrated with university facilities replacing them."

Politics, this book says, are involved in urban renewal from top to bottom. Whether or not the final plan will be a plan that removes you from the community, and/or removes beauty from the community, worthwhile uses from the community, diversity from the community, is dependent upon citizen participation. This citizen participation cannot be Milquetoast. It must be active fighting participation. If eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, it is also in part the price of retention of, or creation of community. Since this case study, the Housing Act has been changed. One of the requirements now is citizen participation. Citizens would be well advised to know how to call the Urban Renewal commissioner about even the tiniest specific in urban renewal plan. Political process breaks down if you as a citizen do not operate responsibly. If you operate irresponsibly, or not at all, you may find yourself renewed out of the community.

If you read no more in this book, read chapters 5 and 6 which compare one community in which citizen participation was unsuccessful and another in which it was successful.

## HOUSING, PEOPLE, AND CITIES

*(Continued from p. 2)*

The authors list four major schools of thought about the housing market vis-a-vis Federal governmental action: One particularly popular in depressions and recessions is that housing should be employed essentially for purposes of offsetting swings in the business cycle; that is, that housing should be a countercyclical industry. Opponents of this position of course contend that continuous and wide swing in housing construction is the thing basically responsible for the inefficiency of the high cost, spasmodic, and inadequate progress in housing standards. Another widely held idea is that people should be encouraged to buy rather than rent houses. FHA of course has greatly favored the building of houses for sale, and many consumers who would prefer to rent are forced to buy because of the shortage or the low quality of rental accommodations. These social engineers believe that the transition of the United States to a country of home owners will be the most significant of the social revolutions that could take place. Still another idea is to eliminate risk for the produce of housing in much the same way as it has been eliminated for the commercial farmer, by government guaranteed profits, easy credit, a kind of "crop" insurance, and technical assistance in the form of publicly supported materials testing and market analysis.

And a fourth theory is that all governmental policies to date may have only subsidized marginal producers who might have gone out of business and thereby strengthened the stronger producers. What is needed, this reasoning goes, is a policy that helps the consumer more directly; for example, as the TVA helps electricity consumers wherever the private market does not provide standard housing for all.

This is a good book to have for reference.

## LOUISVILLE CHURCH PLANS NEW CENTRAL CITY STRUCTURE

Central Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Arthur Hall, pastor, plans to move downtown into a structure incorporating the facilities of a church, a high-rise commercial building and an underground parking lot.

Central Church has signed an agreement with Leonard Styche & Associates of Milwaukee for development of a valuable downtown corner lot in Louisville. No final determination has been made as to whether the buildings, apart from the church structure, when completed will consist entirely of office space or apartments or a combination of both.

### RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

There will be a visible religious identity: This may consist of a chapel or a free standing nave. Whatever its position the nave, when completed, will seat 500 to 600 people. There will be a public lounge, library or reading room with easy access to the street, a chapel open 24 hours a day, a great hall for dinners, exhibitions, public meetings and forums, and group meeting rooms for study groups, committees, and Sunday church use. This Church is planned to be a service to the downtown area.

Styche, the developer, won the 1962 Progressive Architecture Magazine Design Award for one of his other projects.

## ENCLOSURES

Enclosed in this mailing are: 1) An article by Howard Moody, pastor of Judson Memorial Church, New York, entitled "The City: Necropolis or New Jerusalem?" 2) An article by Matthew Ahmann, entitled "Catholics and Racism in the North." This is reprinted by permission from *THE CATHOLIC WORLD*, publication of the Paulist Fathers. 3) A Protestant position paper entitled "The Local Church and Local Community Organization," prepared and endorsed by The Department of Social Welfare, Church Federation of Chicago.

# DOWN WITH ALBANY

*(Continued from p. 1)*

should be secretly stated (and you must not quote me) that almost every Presbyterian congregation facing the arrival of the Negro in its parish area is either making plans for protection, the moving van, or holding an eternal "wake."

Thus, I say down with Albany lest it delude us into thinking that we (a) understand the problem, or (b) have done something about it, or (c) improved our perspective.

We should be more radical about perspective and action related to a problem. For example, how many urban projects of the churches are related in depth and with effect to the legislative process that defines the rules of the game. Or, in what mechanism of church or sectarian community have the in-groups and out-groups of our society been brought together for confrontation or dialogue. Where, for example, would one expect to see in Presbyterianism (our little esoteric experiments excepted) the industrial leaders who are the laity of our upper middle class churches engaged in creative dialogue with the union boys. Upper class churches support projects for this purpose to keep such interaction out of their churches. Where in the churches would one expect to find the Baptist Negro leaders telling our clergy and elders what is really on their minds. Or where, outside the women's association programs, does one find even the mild inclination among Caucasian groups to listen to the problem of minority peoples or economically deprived groups.

If the truth is to be honestly confessed, we would admit that the most dynamic posture Protestantism has found in the urban scene rests on printed pages written by professionally trained preachers and analysts. Most of this group are primarily skilled in histrionic writing. At the action level we are a highly organized institution dedicated to disguising the fact that the urban problem has truly and fundamentally overwhelmed us all.

The Albany movement represents this disguise in one of its purest forms. We justify it by describing it in terms of intangible matters of the heart. Here's one vote for some urban church movement that is not centered in the endless cliches of the "preaching segment of our communities or in those delightful efforts of the Church to do social work and solve all the problems because it is the *Church* doing the job. Let's face it, aside from the men who attended, the Albany movement does not seem to have impressed many people. Aside from those of us who do urban church public relations work, most of the ADC families seem to be just as hungry as ever.

### LET'S TAKE THE PLEDGE

Why not try something related to the points in our society where values are formative and decisions are made? Here is how I want to take the pledge from the sins (including my own) described above:

A. Let's put some urban church mission money into broad community organization and dialogue. From their initial encounter with urban problems let Presbyteries organize and participate in the dialogues that are desperately needed between industrialists and central city politicians; between militant urban leaders and the quiet but murderous organization man who objects to minority aggression. Let action pour from this if it will.

B. Let's be in politics up to our necks. We need mission staff personnel at urban presbytery levels who specialize in city hall power struggle analysis and action. This social action that reaches Presbytery in resolution form is as impotent and meaningless as last year's Easter eggs.

C. We desperately need staff at the state capitals for purpose of liaison on legislative issues and for "politicking" where we have real convictions.

D. More of the same is needed in Washington. (So it's a wild dream requiring a large staff! What economy do we find in a Church that continually acts on and affirms what it doen not even vaguely understand?)

E. We need to stop employing clergymen to do every kind of church work in the urban scene. If secular professionals in various areas will not work under church aegis it suggests to me that we don't really want what they have to offer. If we don't believe anyone else can do the job, well....

F. Finally, let's recognize that our failure since World War II to develop the church in the city is *a failure* not to be mitigated by the solace of our new knowledge about class and cultural differences or the spiritual power of those few who have found relief in the Gospel for the poor. Perhaps the mission of the Church today is not a return to the city but a transforming influence upon the city. Let's make the Word *live* before we build a house for it.

## MINISTERS IN INDUSTRY

The PIIR program has been cut back to one Chicago term this year April 15 to May, because of the press of duties as Moderator on the Dean of the Institute. The Ministers in Industry program is scheduled May 31 to August 11 and the laymen's seminar is scheduled October 19-26 in Chicago.

## OPEN COLUMNS

We invite comments on subjects of interest in the urban church field. Please feel free to react to the enclosed mimeographed material as well as material in the newsletter.

Please write your own response to the editorials and/or any other items of interest to those in urban church fields. We will publish all that we are able to accommodate.

# GOVERNMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

From the beginning of the urban renewal program it was recognized that a major problem in making better housing available was the difficulty of obtaining mortgage financing for new or rehabilitated housing in deteriorating or deteriorated areas. To meet this problem the FHA Section 220 program was initiated in 1954.

Another problem confronting communities contemplating urban renewal activities was the relocation of displaced families into decent, safe, and sanitary housing, as required by Federal law. As a means of providing such housing, or supplementing relocation housing resources in a community, FHA Section 221 was also enacted in 1954 to provide special mortgage insurance for families whose income permitted the payment of economic rent. For those families whose income was below the economic rent level, preference for occupancy of public housing units was granted.

Since 1954, Congress has amended, expanded, and liberalized the housing assistance programs, most importantly in 1961, when a number of major new provisions were added. Of these, Section 221 (d) (3) appears to hold out greater promise for making low and middle-income rental housing available than any earlier enactment.

### FHA PROGRAMS

*Section 220* provides special mortgage insurance assistance in urban renewal areas. It may be used to assist in financing the rehabilitation and conservation of existing housing through the refinancing of an existing mortgage plus the cost of home improvements. It may also be used to assist in financing new sales or rental housing, on single or multi-family structures, in certified areas.

Before redevelopment, a 26-acre neighborhood in *Florence, Alabama,* called Handy Heights contained 86 substandard dwellings. All the families were low income, with more than two thirds receiving public assistance. Many could not afford to pay even public housing rents, let alone rents for standard private housing. Only 2 houses had indoor plumbing; there were no streets, gutters, or paving. About half the owner-occupied properties were worth between $1,500 and $2,500. Some ranged from $800 to $1,500; a few were valued as high as $3,500. Those renting were paying about $15. per month.

The urban renewal plan for the area called for the retention of a church and 16 homes. After replatting and subdividing, installation of gutters and sewers, and widening and paving of streets, a number of these homes were moved to new lots. With the money received from the sale of their property, many residents were able to pay for moving their homes within the project area and upgrading them. The local public agency provided guidance in do-it-yourself improvement.

In addition, 78 new single-family houses have been built. Each has 3 bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bath, storage room, and carport. These houses were sold under the FHA Section 220 program at prices ranging from $9,700 to $10,700. Not only were the purchasers able to buy better housing than was ever before available to them, but they also can enjoy neighborhood amenities not formerly present - a modern, new school, a recreational area, garbage collection, fire protection, and a bus line. Water, electricity, sewer, and gas are in each house.

### PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT DISPLACEMENTS

*Section 221* authorizes FHA to insure mortgages on new or rehabilitated housing for sale or rent to families displaced from urban renewal areas or by other governmental action causing displacement, such as the construction of schools, highways, or other public improvements. Mortgage insurance is available for new homes, and for the purchase and repair of existing homes, containing from 1 to 4 units. Down payments are $200 per dwelling unit for displaced families, which may include legal fees and other items contained in closing costs. Section 221 also provides liberal terms for the purchase of houses and the repair of housing by any low or moderate income family.

**Low Interest Rate Housing** - The Housing Act of 1961 created FHA *Section 221(d)(3),* a below-market (low interest rate) rental housing program for displaced families and other low and moderate income families. The mortgage financing for a new or rehabilitated rental housing project can bear an interest rate below the market rate and FHA can insure the mortgage with reduced insurance premiums or no premiums. These mortgages are available in communities having a Workable Program for Community Improvement certified by the HHFA Administrator, and may be obtained by nonprofit corporations, or associations, limited dividend corporations, and cooperatives.

The most dramatic growth in the use of a new FHA program has been in 221(d)(3). Since its initiation in 1961, applications for over 10,000 units have been filed. The reason for the popularity of this program is quite obvious when the savings in rentals are analyzed. Through the lower interest rate (currently 3-1/8%) and no-premium financing it provides, a typical apartment rents for about 20% less than if regular market-rate financing were used. In the case of an apartment costing $10,000 to produce, the rental under 221(d)(3) is $84.74, in contrast to $103.79 under normal financing practices.

In *Atlanta,* the Wheat Street Baptist Church (a Negro Church) has formed a nonprofit corporation known as Church Homes, and construction in the Butler Street urban renewal area has begun on 65 structures, containing 8 units each, to rent for $65 to $70 monthly. The garden-type project will contain 2 swimming pools, stoves and refrigerators are furnished. This will provide the first moderate-rental apartments built in downtown Atlanta in many years.

### NON-PROFIT HOUSING

In *Greensboro, North Carolina,* the first private corporation in the country to build low-cost, non-profit private housing received its charter from FHA. The corporation plans to build 182 units of

*(Continued on p. 8)*

# Woodlawn Report

In April of 1959 the first Presbyterian Church of Chicago began discussion of a proposal to join with other churches and groups in the Woodlawn area of Chicago in a community organization and development project. In January of 1961 the Session of the Church requested support from the Department of Urban Church of the Presbytery for their involvement in the Woodlawn community organization project begun under the direction of the Industrial Areas Foundation at the request of the Woodlawn Pastors' Alliance. A special committee of the Department of Urban Church studied the proposal; upon their recommentation, the department approved a three year project to begin in June of 1961 and to be supported by a special grant from the Board of National Missions, the Department of Urban Church of the Presbytery of Chicago, and the resources of First Presbyterian Church.

After its first year of operation, the project was reviewed and evaluated at a consultation called by the Department of Urban Church. Upon the recommendation of the consultation, the department has reaffirmed the following goals and objectives of the First Presbyterian Church in their participation in the Woodlawn Organization:

1. The Church must evangelize in this kind of community in a way which is consistent with the dynamics of this urban situation, not only in the traditional individualistic way;
2. The Church must take the initiative in the development of this area so that adequate standards and values for community life are established and maintained;
3. The Church must avail itself of the opportunity for Roman Catholic and Protestant cooperation for *community renewal;*
4. The Church must support citizen participation in the planned redevelopment of a "disorganized" community;
5. The Church must support the development of independent and responsible Negro leadership in this urban Negro community;
6. There must be Protestant identification with legitimate Negro interest rather than with the traditional identification with exploitive forces;
7. This organizational work must attempt to become part of a larger strategy for the break-down of segregated patterns in the total Chicago Metropolitan area;
8. The whole Church, clergy, local lay people, youth, etc., must be involved in the work of solving some of the crucial problems of community life;
9. There must develop a strong enough organization to be able to adequately counteract the power of those interests which seek to continue to exploit segregated Negro neighborhoods.
10. As the Church participates in community life it must acknowledge its own guilt for present practices and accept its particular responsibility to create in the emerging new set of relationships a delicate balance between love and justice;
11. We have a positive responsibility to interpret correctly the full implications of our work within this community organization in order that greater public understanding may emerge.

The consultation affirmed the need for the Church to be involved in experiments in direct participation in community life and issues. As the urban society continues to undergo change and restructuring, the Church must be related to the change and restructuring in such a way as to make possible adequate value structures and structures of justice. Many of the responses to the changing society will of course be tentative and many times improper. It is, however, only as there is direct action and involvement (with proper evaluation and review) that the Church can learn how to minister responsibly and effectively to the city. The discussion which has developed concerning the appropriate role of the Church has served to clarify and identify many issues of significance both within the Church and in the society.

## PUBLIC HOUSING - A FERTILE FIELD

*(Continued from p. 3)*

pocket which he dispensed to the younger children. The children would see him coming and go to meet him. Thus, contacts were established with the parents. The "Rodriguez Case Work Referral Service" operated more consistently on the playground benches than in his church study. Mothers with welfare problems, troubled youth, men with need for voter registration information, etc., were directed toward various agencies during these playground visits. Often the way was cleared by a phone call to the agencies by Mr. Rodriguez.

4. *Youth Outreach* – Most obviously the best evangelists among the teenagers were the teenagers themselves. Frequent dances were a point of contact between youth and clergy and other adults. The pattern of Sunday Evening Program developed by one of our seminary students was especially helpful. He usually began the program at 6:30 P.M. with the first arrivals. Various singing groups – quartets, trios, quintets, mambo bands, etc. would gather to sing in various rooms and various corners of our one larger room. Others would listen to records – a very few would dance. During the first hour the seminary student would work over program details for the evening meeting with those entrusted with the evening presentation. At about 8:00 P.M. the formal discussion began running until about 9:00 P.M. with most of the group. Toward 9:00 P.M. some would drift loose while those more interested and concerned would continue on, possibly even until 10:00 P.M. Those who drifted off from the discussion circle returned to the activities which they called "recreation." Then at 10:00 P.M. or later, there would be a closing worship service. This kind of flexible program provided "a place" for youth who wanted to gather; a *feeding of the souls* of those who were ready and able to be involved in serious discussion; an *experience of worship* for all. Many young people were funnelled into the membership and worship of the church through this program.

# Reapportionment and the Churches

by Dan Little

The recent Supreme Court decision on reapportionment of state legislatures (Baker vs. Carr) has led many of us to respond in some such way as this: "Now that is settled. Things will work out more fairly."

A crucial step was taken in the Supreme Court decision, but rather than settling anything it only opened up many possibilities. These possibilities will not always exist in quite the way they do now, because anti-reapportionment forces are moving to limit the influence of the Supreme Court decision by Federal amendment and and by an unfair reapportionment process.

Among the possibilities which lie before urban areas are these:

1. The possibility of a basic public debate of the principles of state government: What is the purpose of state government, which we now can reshape? Such a debate has not been undertaken since the states were established.

2. The possibility of a basic discussion in state government of metropolitan issues. There is no such discussion now, because legislators cannot do anything about problems which are metropolitan in scope. Since there is not the opportunity for an effective coalition between representatives from the metropolitan areas, discussions now concern local neighborhood issues. Attention to metropolitan concerns could bring far greater suburban concern for the city.

3. The possibility of greater sensitivity to urban problems at all levels of government, as effective action concerning them becomes more and more likely. If reapportionment is equitably effected, governors will no longer be able to advance mock urban bills, which are sure to be defeated in the rurally weighted legislature. State government will have to wrestle more and more with urban problems as mayors find they do not have to run to Washington every time they want a sympathetic ear. Local city governments can be more effective and responsible as state-imposed restrictions on cooperatives, financial structure, administrative staff, urban renewal, etc. are removed.

The important thing to note is that these and other opportunities inherent in the reapportionment decision are not actualities now, nor automatically in the future. Furthermore, there is not an unlimited amount of time for urbanites to use their opportunities; new patterns will be shaped to the continued disadvantage of urban areas if several things do not happen:

(a) Full scale public debate and information concerning the problems and implications of reapportionment.

(b) Active participation by citizens in the political action necessary to bring off equitable reapportionment. It is particularly important that urban representatives now in office know that they have active, militant support out in the district.

Why address these thoughts to churches? Because churches *can* take responsible part in both (a) and (b) above, and *can* perform an important ministry in relation to this issue. The opportunity is before us as churches: a real, live, urgent, approachable, important issue, the implications of which relate directly to the concerns we have in our Christian mission in urban areas.

Most churches, denominations and councils of churches, however, will miss the opportunity entirely, because the national church machinery cannot operate on the local level, and the local church machinery is not related to local issues such as this. Beyond machinery, the church is ill-prepared psychologically to think (much less do something about) issues which have to do with other than private-residential or individual-personal concerns.

A sense of "golden opportunity" has to grip church forces if they are to overcome these handicaps. But for those with this sense of urgency, the first step is to get with as many other church forces as feel, or can be made to feel, this urgency. The next step is to define the issues as clearly as possible in terms of the concerns of the Christian mission. Some study on local education may be necessary here. Then legislative representatives and government officials will have to be approached in specific terms, so that a coordinated strategy can be worked out. If local representatives are not aware of the implications of reapportionment, then the churches will have to help educate them. On this issue church involvement can and must pass the workshop stage and get into specific local issues, as understood and affected by specific local politicians and citizens. Local denominational executives and councils of churches staff can do much to alert their constituencies to the opportunity which lies before them. Such an issue might provide a much sounder basis for relations between urban and suburban churches than the usual attempt at good intentioned helpfulness that now exists. In reapportionment, for once, there is a real issue that affects both urban and suburban groups.

The point is to begin debating and investigating and influencing the governmental processes, in relation to reapportionment. It has more to do with the future shape and life of our metropolitan areas than almost anything else about which the church may concern itself in the near future.

## GOVERNMENT HOUSING ASSISTANCE

*(Continued from p. 6)*

garden-type apartments in the Cumberland Redevelopment Project.

While churches and labor unions have organized similar corporations, this is the first instance of a group of private citizens forming one. Two whites and three Negroes, serving without compensation, make up the corporation's board of directors. The financing of the apartments will be under the terms of FHA Section 221(d)(3), and these apartments will rent for $57.50 a month for the 1-bedroom units and up to $75 a month for 3 bedrooms.

# The City: Necropolis or New Jerusalem?*

HOWARD MOODY

IT ILL BEHOOVES a layman in any professional or technical area of life to presume to tell the experts their business, but my courage to write in this highly controversial field of urbanization and city planning is bolstered by what I see happening today in the destruction and rebuilding of cities, accompanied by the cries of numerous Cassandras and Pollyannas adding their voices of doom or new day. Frankly I have a suspicion that if the people complaining today about the state of our cities had been writing and speaking thirty years ago we would now have different places in which to live.

However, we ought not to be surprised at the cultural lag in city planning and urban thinking when we realize that we live in what is probably the most thoroughly anti-urban nation in the world. More than half of our people live in cities and urban regions; yet the point of view, the value system and the mythology of this nation are basically rural and village oriented.

### "God Made the Country"

In fact this anti-urban attitude even has a quasi-religious base for its prejudice. There is a saying that "man made the city, but God made the country." Some people talk about the city as if it were an adjunct of hell, and their true feeling is evident in the pity they show when they discover you live in the city. They believe that in order to feel close to God you need the country, some lake, mountain or the oceanside. While I love all these places of physical beauty, they have no monopoly on speaking to our souls or arousing our aesthetic sensitivity.

Who has not been stirred by the sight of New York's skyline at dusk, or by the dramatic appeal of Michigan Avenue in Chicago with its juxtaposition of skyscrapers, traffic arteries, parks and lake. Or coming into San Francisco Bay by steamer—the beauty of the harbor encompassed by the city and overarched by one of the world's most beautiful bridges (man-made). Let's not limit mystical experiences to Grand Canyon and Yosemite National Park.

But if this anti-urban feeling is related to certain religious feelings and moralism associated with rural and small-town values, we ought not to be surprised, for our whole social and political philosophy and literature are shot through with this same rejection or ignoring of the city—a feeling that the city is not a fit habitat for living and raising our children. Nor is it a healthy symptom in the social and political growth of this nation. Morton and Lucia White in their significant essay on "The American Intellectual Versus the City" state it starkly for us:

> We have no tradition of romantic attachment to the city in our highbrow literature, nothing that remotely resembles the Greek philosophers' attachment to the *polis* or the French writers' affection for Paris. . . .
>
> Throughout the nineteenth century our society was becoming more and more urbanized but the literary tendency to denigrate the American city hardly declined in proportion. If anything it increased in proportion. (*The Future Metropolis,* p. 215)

We know from the writings of Thomas Jefferson that he hoped to arrest the development of the city in American life because for him it was an "ulcer" on the "body politic" in addition to being a physical and moral eyesore that would prove detrimental to American progress. Emerson agreed with Jefferson about the city. Rather than argue against it in political terms or agree with Jefferson's deprecation of the nasty manners and principles of the city, however, Emerson undergirded his feeling with metaphysical theory. There is hardly space here to develop in detail this intellectual crop of anti-urban feeling but in order to escape it one would have to ignore Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Poe, Henry Adams, Henry James, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and John Dewey. In other words, we are the inheritors of a very dubious legacy that the city is tantamount to being godless and un-American.

It is little wonder therefore that though the rise

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of cities was detected in the 1840's and their growth greatly increased in the 1890's, there was no real attempt to deal with the city as an American social phenomenon until well into the twentieth century. There was no heritage but the rural, small-town one on which to build, accompanied by a deep anti-city mindset. I would venture to guess, incidentally, that Mr. Kennedy is the first truly urban President we have had in the White House. There is reason to hope that this fact will have a significant effect upon the way in which the Federal Government deals with the city.

This inheritance that I have outlined has created a serious vacuum of presuppositions for city planning. It has left our planners a built-in antipathy for the city even as they planned, designed and attempted to rebuild it. Planners and urban reformers seem to have a deep feeling that there is no important metaphysic or mystique on which to base their principles.

I do not propose to offer a theology of city planning (even if I knew what it was) but I would like to say something about the presuppositions of the significant urban philosophers and thinkers.

**"Tale of Two Cities"**

First, however, I want to reveal a feeling of mine that is basic to my acceptance of the city and does not, I believe, overly romanticize it. It is this: the story of every city is a "tale of two cities"; there are two sides to city life, a mixture of good and evil. We have seen this aspect of the city throughout human history. Every city has been a Babylon, each a New Jerusalem. All cities have things that remind us of hell.

In New York City babies still have their throats ripped by sewer rats; there are places where ten or more people live in a coal bin; there are women who have to sell themselves, and pimps and pushers and junkies and precocious kids, wise to the ways of the streets at nine years. There are skid-rows and black ghettos, and you will find the smell of death in the city, not of people dying but of a city deteriorating.

Surely there is in every city a foretaste of Necropolis, a city of death. But these things are no more the city than cancer is a man. Imperfection is the broken reflection of perfection. The city of destruction is a working model for the city of life and redemption, albeit a clumsy and imperfect one.

Now I would like to consider what I have presumptuously called a metaphysic or mystique for the building of a city of life. In doing this I will deal with several aspects of the nature of the city and look at the insights and implications that these characteristics have for planning and providing for the growth of cities.

First, I would suggest that the city is sacramental. The classic theological definition of that term is "an outward and visible symbol of an inward and spiritual meaning." The physical and material outline of the city, its visible structure and form, is the outward manifestation of what it truly is—the soul of its people. If the city's only purpose is to house an inordinate number of people, or build roads to accommodate a ridiculous number of cars; or to police and protect an ungovernable quantity of human beings, then we might as well decentralize now and simplify the job. Lewis Mumford puts it succinctly:

> We must restore to the city the maternal, life-nurturing functions, the autonomous activities, the symbiotic associations that have long been neglected or suppressed. For the city should be an organ of love; and the *best economy of cities is the care and culture of men.* (*The City in History,* p. 575)

But this is not enough, for a city at its best is a civilization and the creator of civilization. This is the brightness and beauty of ancient Athens, and one of the reasons that it is still held up as a working model of the city. A civilized man is, by definition, one who lives and thinks in the city. To produce such men is the function the city performs that makes it a civilization.

An important thing for the planner to keep in mind is the way in which the physical and material planning for the city enables its people to create a civilization. If a city is true to its nature, it will be complete and whole, and it will be generating and creating a civilization. This, in part, will distinguish it from an urban conglomeration.

This means that the experts who plan for and govern cities must ask if their efforts are enabling men to be complete human beings. Cities go through cycles. There is a law of obsolescence, and slums, disease, decay and delinquency have to go. They are the symptoms of civic immorality. The redemption of a city from these immoralities comes from a sense of humanity. The regeneration of a city has no other reason than to civilize, to restore its humanity. It is to our eternal discredit that "urban renewal" in the twentieth century seldom coincides with this objective.

There is great evidence that the thesis of Jane

Jacobs in her concluding chapter in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* is all too true, namely that the city planners and philosophers of city planning have approached the city from the viewpoint of the physical sciences in which cities were seen as "problems in disorganized complexity, understandable purely by statistical analysis, predictable by the application of probability mathematics, manageable by conversion into groups of averages." Out of this mentality has come the demolition of neighborhoods, the destruction of communities, the breaking of the fabric of human interrelationships; the creation of large traffic arteries that help the flow of cars but bisect, mutilate and isolate neighborhoods; the clearing of large patches of space and light called parks that are unused and nonfunctional.

The true *civitas* has an economy, a culture, a civilization that grows out of the interaction of the spirits of its people. It does not matter how tall are our buildings, how capacious our apartment houses, how extensive our public housing projects, how modern our office buildings. It is not the size of our cities that matters but the kind of life one is able to live in them, not the mountain of manufactured goods that flows in and out of their industries but the kind of men created in the process, not bank clearings but abundant life. T. S. Eliot puts the question to us in his chorus from *The Rock:*

> *Though you have shelters and institutions,*
> *Precarious lodgings while the rent is paid,*
> *Subsiding basements where the rat breeds*
> *Or sanitary dwellings with numbered doors*
> *Or a house a little better than your neighbor's;*
> *When the Stranger says: "What is the meaning of this city?*
> *Do you huddle close together because you love each other?"*
> *What will you answer? "We all dwell together*
> *To make money from each other"? or "This is a community"?*

The physical city is sacramental—a material manifestation of the invisible reality.

Secondly, *the city is symbiotic relations.* The biological meaning of the word symbiotic is the "living together in intimate association of dissimilar organisms." This characteristic lies deep at the heart of the city and its true nature. There can be no civilization without this essential fact—the melting pot of a great diversity of humanity, as well as facilities and centers of culture. We are all aware without dwelling on the point that there has been a steady eroding at neighborhood, district and city-wide levels of this diversity of human beings. We are rapidly becoming a two-class city: the very poor and the very wealthy, those who live in luxury dwellings and those who live in tenements. The great middle has been distributed in the green belt and at great loss to the city.

**We Must Plan for Diversity**

The city needs a heterogeneous population composed of persons from *every* socio-economic background, and the more ethnic and cultural diversity a city houses the richer it will be in its offering. Just as a city plans for diversity of land uses through its zoning laws, so also it must plan (and plan wisely) for the maintenance of a diversity of humanity.

But whether it is premeditated or not, our cities plan for the destruction of diversity. In housing, for example, we make sure that there is no mixture of income groups, sentencing all those of low-income range to vast areas of unrelieved sameness called housing projects. More often than not this project is not only a low-income ghetto but a racial and ethnic ghetto as well. And the tragic fact is that these are not the accidental groupings of people who huddle together competitively in the race for low rents; this is the *destruction of diversity by design.*

The heterogeneity of a great city may have been spontaneous and somewhat accidental in its beginning but will remain so only by wise and intelligent planning. The city must protect diversity wherever it thrives, nurture it wherever it is a potential and build for diversity. Every neighborhood and district must be conscious and jealous of its diversity, ever alert to each destructive tendency that seems to presume that it would be desirable if "those people" were not next door to us, or on our street. We must learn to value the place of every kind of human being—rich and poor, success and failure, beat and square, white and black, ugly and beautiful. If the city passes laws, plans land uses, builds housing so as to vitiate the principle of diversity, of these symbiotic relations, then we will be beginning the cities of self-destruction.

Thirdly, *the city as drama and dialogue.* One of the most interesting themes that Mumford develops in his *The City in History* is the concept of the urban drama. The development of the city and drama go hand in hand. In the fifth century Athens, the *ecclesia,* was a great agon or contest of statesmen. There were also contests of potters,

of horse breeders, singers, composers and dramatists. The practice of choosing leaders and taking sides was one of the earliest forms of social differentiation. The city magnified this process and multiplied its occasions. The city actually became a vast theater housing a drama of inestimable proportions.

It is Mumford's contention that the great dramatic occasions of urban life—the courtroom, the arena, the parliament, the council meeting—are what give meaning and value to so much of the activities of the city. Out of this ritual and dramatic action has come the dialogue—the ultimate expression of city life. The first urban communities were only monologues—a priest or ruler gave the orders and there was no reply. But dialogue was the first step out of tribal conformity. Only where differences are heard and valued, and opposition tolerated can struggle be transmuted into the dialectic—the dialogue of the city. Let me quote one very significant statement from Mumford's thesis:

> And if provision for dialogue and drama, in all their ramifications, is one of the essential offices of the city, then one key to urban development should be plain – it lies in widening the circle of those capable of participating until in the end all men will take part in the conversation.

In a sense, therefore, the dramatic dialogue is one of the fullest symbols of what the city is, and it has important implications for those who are planning its future.

### The Structures of Power

Today two important and interrelated changes have served to deafen the dialogue and deaden the drama, namely *growth* and the *shift of power*. This is true of every American city, but let's take New York as an example. It has 300 square miles packed with 8,000,000 people and a budget of two billion dollars. The police force numbers 24,000 men out of a municipal work force of 220,000. The sheer weight of people crowded together in the metropolis, the tremendous size of the bureaucracy and the enormous power wielded by the multi-million dollar budget all point to the problem of the shift in power.

The prime way in which the power structure in the city has changed is that now the power rests primarily at the *top*, which is cut off in a serious way from the public to which it belongs. C. Wright Mills in his chapter on "The Mass Society" in *The Power Elite* makes the point that the growth of the metropolis has atomized community, and the growth of bureaucracy thrusts decision-making centers beyond the effective range of understanding and influence, leaving the individual isolated and exposed.

It is the inaccessibility of the structures of power in the city that makes the average citizen feel so helpless to do anything. Mills illustrates this importance of structural relevancy by discussing unemployment. For example, if a handful of men do not have jobs and will not seek work, we look for the cause of the situation in the character of the person. But when 12,000,000 men are unemployed they can't all be "lazy" and "no good." Economists call this "structural unemployment" meaning that the men involved can't control their job opportunities. In fact, there is little *one* man in *one* place can do about it when it sweeps over his personal existence.

The foregoing illustrates the relationship of the individual and the public to the power mechanism in the city: the individual is so far removed from it that there seems no way to understand it or affect it.

The consequences of this are obvious. Everywhere one goes he hears protests against injustices or corruption or inequities in which people talk about "they." "They" are making taxes higher; "they" are demolishing the city until nothing will be left but high-rise luxury apartments and low-rise tenements; "they" are conspiring against the public. The use of "they" symbolizes the basic feeling of detachment from the process of governing. Two reporters put it thus:

> ". . . there is a sharp cleavage between the congested and struggling and essentially helpless millions and the lives of an official and business aristocracy, which has lost virtually all its old connections with the grass roots. If it was true that in the old Boston the Cabots spoke only to the Lowells and the Lowells spoke only to God, it is even more true in today's New York that power speaks only to power and no further." (Cook and Gleason, "The Shame of New York," *The Nation*, October 1959.)

Some urban statesman has rightly said that the next big concern for the city electorate is how to "curb the bureaucrats, how to keep the experts under control and how to keep them from making all the decisions." This battle transcends all partisan and political interests and will require an alert and concerned citizenry. The battle has al-

ready begun in cities all over the nation and memorial battlegrounds are springing up, sometimes streets or housing projects or parks.

One of the best known of these battlegrounds is Washington Square Park where the lines have been drawn time and again. Though the issues have varied the principle is the same—that the dialogue must be restored, the people who live in and use the city must be allowed to participate in the decisions that affect the future of the neighborhood and district in which they live—the monologue of power and planning must cease.

Finally, *the city is finite and passing.* Whatever may be one's position on the finitude of man (and I believe there are few who want to argue for our infinite durability), it is almost impossible for us to accept the fact that the cities man has planned and built will pass away. Though most of us have heard of the dire predictions about Necropolis and have visited those inner ecological areas with the smell of decay about them, I don't believe we can see in our mind's eye the Empire State Building standing in overgrown ruins, a mute testimony to what once was a thriving city. Nor can we envision the thoroughfares and main streets of the cities as asphalt paths with weeds and grass growing through the cracks.

It has just begun to dawn on people, though we do not talk about it freely as yet, that the city—this city and every other—is utterly destructible. Such intimations of mortality are no longer just that but are broad, suggestive hints of the future. Not only do we face the possibility that cities die from instant megaton bombs but that they will also expire when their decay outstrips their renewal, even though they may look as if they are alive and growing. It ought to be understood by those who plan cities, those who govern them and those who live in them that a city may be destroyed by the push of a button, but it also may die from soul-rot, which is worse. A city may die when it no longer creates civilized men, when it destroys diversity in the humanity that occupies it and when it debilitates the dialogue that makes for its true drama.

A city is dying when it has an eye for real-estate values but no heart for personal values, when it has an understanding of traffic flow but no concern about the flow of human beings, when we have competence in building but little time for ethical codes, when human values are absent at the heart of the decision-making and planning and governing of a city—it is dead and all that is left is decay.

The vision that has stirred the conscience of man for centuries and moves us today is the vision of an eternal city—we do not yet know it in time and space. The vision that the biblical story paints is one where there are no tears, no mourning, no death. It is incredible and unbelievable. Though we do not now have it, we have a clumsy, imperfect model that prefigures it and that we are continually trying to recreate.

# Catholics and Racism in the North

Matthew Ahmann

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# Catholics and Racism in the North

*On June 10, Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan ordered the integration of Catholic schools in the diocese of Atlanta, the order to take effect in September. The secular as well as the religious press hailed this decision as a courageous move that swept aside long years of tradition. While the Catholic Church is active in eliminating segregation in the South, little is being said about its role in racial justice in the North. The great bulk of Catholic power and population is in the big cities of the North. What are Catholics doing to dissolve the massive black ghettos in these cities? What are they doing—and what should they do—about discrimination in housing? Employment opportunities? Is the Northern Catholic practicing the injustice he affects to despise in certain Southern cities?*

*Matthew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, sees the response of Northern Catholics as too little and too slow. He presents some practical programs for organized Catholic effort in the North. Mr. Ahmann is editor of* The New Negro *(Chicago: Fides, 1961), and a member of the Steering Committee of the newly established National Conference on Religion and Race.*

DESPITE the wise, necessary and socially significant action of the Archbishop of New Orleans in declaring each grade of all Catholic schools open to *all* Catholic children, the larger job for the Catholic community coming to grips with racial segregation is in the Northern city. In establishing a diocesan policy on schools, the Archbishop took a giant step ahead of many Northern Catholic communities which are still searching for the things they must do to resolve a virulent Northern racism and deal with the great human deprivation and misery found in massive Negro ghettos.

Northern racial segregation and its concomitant human problems are more insidious, hypocritical and dangerous than Southern segregation has ever been. In the seven years since the Supreme Court decision, which declared segregation in public education unconstitutional, racial misery and racial ghettos in Northern cities have expanded. It is far easier to overcome segregation by law and create a climate of growing freedom in the South than it is to dissolve the massive intrenched black ghettos of the North.

During much of the decade of the '50's, fifty to sixty city blocks a year changed from all white to all Negro occupancy in Chicago. Some realtors and mortgage men have bled Negro and white families and have set the key conditions for the growth of slums. Segregation in Northern parochial and public schools has increased. And white people have fled to suburban areas with torn and bleeding consciences and intensified bitterness toward Negroes.

This process has been developing in many large Northern cities—Detroit, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, Boston, San Francisco. Such cities as St. Louis, Baltimore and Washington have become more Northern in their characteristics than border South. Even smaller Northern cities and towns have increasingly felt the tensions produced by strains in an unjust and segregated social order, as Negro communities continue to grow in size. More than one fair-sized city with no Negro population, which maintained it had no interracial problem, discovered a bitterness toward those of another race on the arrival of its first Negro family.

HIGHWAY PROGRAMS and urban renewal in their early years dealt harshly with impoverished Negroes and those most often found in neighborhoods subject to these programs. Forcible relocation, without attention to problems of racial segregation, has only pushed the ghetto boundaries over into new neighborhoods and created new slums elsewhere. The lack of provision for low and middle-income housing even now means that the burdens of badly needed urban programs are all placed on the poor while a handful of developers have grown rich.

When Negroes have made attempts to move into unsegregated neighborhoods — away from the slum and the ghetto, perhaps to a suburb—they have been faced with massive and nauseating reactions from supposedly educated and sophisticated white people, and not infrequently with the arson and bombings that symbolize for Northerners the racial climate of Birmingham, Alabama or Shreveport, Louisiana. It is *the* hypocrisy of the North that it has gleefully criticized and pressured the South while trying desperately to bury its own grave sins under the carpetbag.

The still-growing Negro ghettos and the expanding slums, the segregation on beaches, in public accom-

← Parents whose children have been refused admittance in a Chicago school ponder their next move. Note white child and mother entering the school.

→ Children play a rough-and-tumble game in a street in the Harlem section of New York City.

Sit-in demonstrator in Englewood, N. J., protesting claimed segregation by local school board is arrested after an all-night vigil in the Municipal Building. ↓

modations, schools, hospitals and employment in the North are developing a generation of millions of people without hope and little human motivation. In the large urban slum in the North there is misery comparable to that of the Negro in the sugar cane country in southern Louisiana.

These are facts. It is also a fact that the major task of the Catholic community in race relations and in dealing with the human problems of the city, is in the North. Catholics are an urban people, by and large, and most Catholics live in the North. The wealth of the Catholic community and the wealthy dioceses are in the North (and East and West). The large Catholic associations and organizations have their strength in the Northern city. Without the active participation and commitment of the Catholic community in improving the city and in fighting its devastating racially segregated patterns, the Northern city cannot become a home for free and dignified men. There are signs of hope, but the Church must respond more rapidly and with a still larger heart.

AMONG THE HOPEFUL signs is a growing restiveness and political sophistication in the Negro community. Old Negro leaders are increasingly being threatened with loss of power. On the plus side, whites and the dominant power groups setting city policy are faced with growing pressure from an increasingly organized Negro community. On the negative side, we can observe a growing, though perhaps necessary, confusion of issues —in urban renewal, for example, and even in battles over *de facto* segregated schools—and the steady growth and influence of movements like the black "Muslims." The recent riot involving "Muslims" and the police in Los Angeles is a case in point.

Slowly, but surely, the Catholic Church is beginning to respond, too. You can see this in the expanding horizons of the Catholic Interracial Councils and in the increasing concreteness of their work. Eight years ago many CICs lacked effective contact with institutions in their dioceses and only conducted youth education programs, ran speakers bureaus and the like. Today, these programs are becoming more effective and the Councils are discovering the techniques of getting at problems of urban renewal, all white suburbs, the lack of freedom in housing, the misery and loneliness of the slum. CICs are also rooting themselves more deeply in the Catholic organizational networks of their dioceses so as to have growing and steady contact with the larger Catholic public. Increasingly they seem to be called upon as experts and people with sophistication and skills, as they should be, regarding some of the many problems of race, housing and connected ills. In some cities the Councils are organizing networks of people throughout the metropolitan area so as to be able to carry on their work more effectively.

You can see the gradual response, too, in the growing number of Catholics who are communicating with each other informally across diocesan lines on problems of urbanism, race, planning and community change. In Cardinal Spellman's Urban Renewal Committee, Cardinal Meyer's Archdiocesan Conservation Council, the Archbishop's Committee on Human Relations in Detroit, Bishop Wright's service on the board of Pittsburgh's Action Housing, you can see the deliberate plan of bishops to give all their priests experience in heavily Negro and inner city parishes.

But the response is yet too little and must come more rapidly. There seems to be a reluctance on the part of Church authorities to develop definite diocesan policy and experiment with what must be done. There is still a reluctance to commit the Church to a genuine effort to teach concretely about interracial justice and the many other areas of concern for the Christian in the city. There is no organized national Catholic interest, outside of the Catholic Interracial Council network, no one connected with NCWC who has the time to specialize on problems of urbanization.

There is, moreover, too little realization of what the shifting, changing city means for the Church: the opportunities to give witness, to provide religious inspiration, to serve the people God created, to fight blatant injustice and the unscrupulous use of power.

Broadly the approaches to solution, the programs, can be grouped under five headings: education, employment, center city slum, housing and the ministry of the Gospel. The large Catholic resources of our dioceses on the East Coast, in the Middle West, on the West Coast and in the formerly border South must be mobilized to carry on and support a unique witness in each of these areas. In most of them the new ecumenical spirit should prove an asset, for the churches and synagogues together must hammer out in public the agreed-upon values which will underlie the more practical programs necessary to make the city a servant of all men, and undergird, for example, the coming federal Department on Urban Affairs.

EDUCATION. There is hardly a city where some Catholic parochial or high schools do not try to dodge accepting Negro pupils. They resort to almost all of the ruses used in the South. Some schools refuse them flatly; some have racial quotas; some parishes informally revise their boundaries by agreement with a bordering school. Obviously, an effective, enforced policy has to be devised to bring practice in line with Catholic belief.

In some areas where neighborhoods have become heavily Negro, Catholic schools are under-utilized or closed because of a lack of Negro Catholics to fill them. Often this action is taken in situations where public schools are bulging with overcrowded classrooms and second shifts. Here the Catholic educational system can be of real social

service to our cities and to the Negro parents who often appreciate a Catholic education for their children. Those places that have a policy of maintaining open schools have found they can easily fill their school — charging sufficient tuition to maintain the plant and teaching staff.

Such utilization of Catholic schools is most urgent in the inner-city slum neighborhood. Here special teaching programs designed to help pupils with special educational, cultural and social disabilities can be devised. This can be done more easily and in a better fashion than in the cumbersome structure of a large public school system. Many of the children of these neighborhoods come from unstable and very poor families. They have little motivation to learn, or even to stay in school. Their home environment is not conducive to school work. They are exposed to a multitude of bad influences. Their parents do not encourage them to learn. Because they know of employment discrimination through seeing many unemployed Negro men about, they realize they will grow up without a job. And they will, unless—unless special programs are gotten underway. Efforts can be made in these programs to involve parents more closely in the educational process, as is done in the Banneker school group in St. Louis. This will help the children, and can also have a beneficial influence on the stability of family life itself.

The school plants can be used also for special adult educational programs, to help increase the employability of those living in underprivileged neighborhoods and for special summer programs for the children.

EMPLOYMENT. Many employers say they will hire Negroes when they possess the requisite skills. And happily, under governmental pressure this promise is being fulfilled in many cases. But a study, a few years ago, of white collar jobs offered by the employers in a large Northern city indicated 98% of the employers specifically refused to consider nonwhites of any kind. A 1960 research report on apprenticeship programs by the labor department of the NAACP indicated that at the then existing rates of progress it would take Negroes 138 years or until 2094 A.D. to secure "equal participation in skilled-craft training and employment." A recent U. S. Labor Department report rejoiced that Negro wages had reached 58% of those of whites by 1958. Slight cause for rejoicing in the Negro community! Discrimination in employment is still rampant; few employers, apparently, feel the slightest pang of conscience, and few employers will go any further toward justice than the point to which they are forced by massive public and governmental pressure.

What are the programs? First of all, as Catholics, what are the employment policies of our Catholic organizations and institutions? Justice does not happen in this area of concern unless there is a policy and someone to see to it that it is fol-

lowed. We still do have organizations and institutions, hospitals and others, where there are patterns of discrimination in employment. We also, sad to say, have rectories where no Negro housekeeper is welcome. Catholics, obviously, have to abandon these practices.

Catholic employers have to be reached from the pulpit and by other means; they need help in their attempts to live up to the social doctrine of the Church. Sermons on interracial justice that leave the conscience of an employer undisturbed are really meaningless, if intended to help the Catholic be a better Christian.

As an organized Church we can use the economic power that is ours to help shape fair employment practices in civic society. Our investments, our real estate, our purchasing power, our building contracts are either perpetuating discriminatory patterns, or working to break them down. They do not act in a neutral way. Surely we have a grave duty to use these resources with responsibility and prudence.

The idea for this latter program was originally presented at the 1961 Convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice by Father John Cronin of the Social Action Department of the NCWC. Soon we hope to see some breakthroughs in announcements of new policy in this area.

CENTER CITY SLUM. I have already referred to some of the ways our schools can be used in slum areas to give help and hope to people. We must build into programs for Negro youth and parents a drive for education which will help them go far enough in school to pick up the training and skills that will make them employable in the more skilled labor market of the future. Already in some areas of employment there are jobs available for Negroes, but not enough applicants to fill them.

The Catholic community has a large organized program of social service, administered through various Catholic Charities departments. We should give more serious thought to how these programs can be used on a local neighborhood basis to meet the needs of an underskilled, problem-filled neighborhood. People here are not oriented toward downtown agencies; we should bring the programs to our parish centers, and open them to the total community there. One such program, on an informal basis, is operating in the well-known "Corktown" parish of Pastor Clement Kern in Detroit. Another operates out of Philadelphia's Gesu Parish, and there are several existing experiments run by Protestant churches. It seems obvious that social services in the parish also can increase the vitality of parish life as well as its witness in the local community.

Our parishes should join with other churches in working to strengthen such organization in the Negro community as will enable people to participate in civic life more fully, speak up for their own needs and interests, and end the

control by distant downtown groups.

HOUSING. There are at least four important aspects of the housing problem in which we all bear responsibility for action. We know the conditions of slum neighborhoods, and I have itemized some of the work we must do there. But we must also help work out ways to rehabilitate undermaintained housing, reduce artificially high rents, improve building code enforcement and reduce the density in the overcrowded tenements. We must strive to reduce the blight-inducing concentrations of massive public housing projects which, in many cities, are built almost exclusively in the Negro ghetto. Smaller public housing projects — row houses, for example, or reconditioned houses and apartments—can be made available for purchase by families whose incomes rise, thus introducing some stability into these areas.

We must also have programs which get at the jobs of organization and education necessary to meet the problems of racially changing neighborhoods in order to stabilize them, maintain the housing quality, and still allow for interested Negro families to move in without extending the boundaries of the racial ghetto.

It is in the changing neighborhood that white people grow most bitter toward Negroes. Yet, since 1950, a variety of experiments in many cities taught us what must be done in these communities. There are so many Catholics in our cities that the endless process of harmful change will not end without deliberate support and action by the Church and the Catholic community. Sometimes, I have discovered, this will mean dealing with Catholic groups who operate on the self-defeating as well as morally unsound policy of keeping Negroes out.

We must do what we can toward making it possible for Negro families to move far out of the ghetto if they choose — even to the all-white suburb. Negro families are beginning to look around for decent housing out in the reaches. They have the same desires as the ordinary white family—and the same rights—but too often they are denied their rights. Put it this way: a fine upstanding white Catholic family can move into any suburb where it can afford housing. A fine upstanding Negro family cannot. Why not? What is wrong? What must we do about it?

FIRST OF ALL, the Catholic community should support fair housing legislation. It is needed to eliminate the factor of race from the judgment a realtor or family makes in deciding to sell a house. Secondly, we should give the support of our suburban parishes to the rights of these families. This means preparing our communities so that the climate is favorable for a family looking for housing. It means supporting that family if they should be threatened, upon moving in. In the past several years, the

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago has done some magnificent work in helping parishes live up to their Christian obligations in this regard. It can be done. And surprisingly enough to many, property values do not drop when a Negro family arrives.

Finally, there are special governmental programs such as public housing and urban renewal which should concern us. The relocation and other provisions of urban renewal can be a great aid in reducing the amount of racial segregation in our cities, if citizen watchdog committees keep their eyes open. But any city needs a conscious policy to encourage racial integration before these tools will be of any use. As a religious people, committed to racial integration, we have responsibility to work with members of other groups to see that necessary city policy is developed.

MINISTRY OF THE GOSPEL. What is gained, despite all these practical programs, if people do not understand why they carry them out? What is gained if people do not know why they should support racial integration? One of the key elements in any Church approach to the problems of racism and racial segregation in the North is to preach the Gospel. From observation and many interviews, I would say that most Catholics have a vague knowledge that the principles of Christianity argue against discrimination toward other people because of their race. The work of well-known churchmen in the public eye and to some extent, the Catholic press, have taught them that. The dramatic work done by the Archdiocese of New Orleans has also spread the message.

But few Catholics ever hear a sermon on interracial justice. This year several dioceses do have sermon plans which make a deliberate point of preaching on race. Many of the sermons given are timid, however, and insufficiently concrete to trouble the placid, but prejudiced, conscience.

Practice, or support, of racial segregation denies some of the key doctrines of Christianity: men are one, created by a common Father; one in the redemption by Christ; essentially equal in their human nature. The Mystical Body binds men despite their race, culture or education in a unique community of love. Christ told us that it was by our love that all men are to know we are the Christian community. Racism is a heresy in its denial of these basic truths of our Faith.

If it is urgent, as the 1958 Bishops' statement on "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" said, that men of good will take the lead from the racist before it is too late, how much more urgent is it that our teaching and preaching be done with sophistication and a spirit of courage, in an attempt to be concrete enough to awaken the conscience of the Catholic to all of his responsibilities. The Church's doctrine is not vague. It has specific meaning. Let's get on with the job of communicating that meaning.

CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
201 WASHINGTON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA. / TEL. JA 2-7522
OPPOSITE THE STATE CAPITOL

File: Rel. Orgs. Presby. Church Gen. Comm

Tuesday, April 21, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. William Stringfellow, an outstanding young writer and thinker on the church and the city, will talk to a luncheon meeting to be held at Central Presbyterian Church at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 28.

Mr. Stringfellow is a practicing attorney in New York City and a partner in the law firm of Ellis Stringfellow & Patton. His activities include frequent contributions in both legal and theological fields. He has lectured at many law schools and universities, including Columbia University and the University of Georgia. Among other legal responsibilities he was a Special Deputy Attorney General of New York, and a consultant to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. In 1960 he delivered a principal paper at the Faith and Order Session of the World Council of Churches in Strasbourg.

We want to invite you as a top professional person intimately involved in the problems of the city to come to this luncheon and hear Mr. Stringfellow. Mr. Stringfellow was in Atlanta last spring to lead a week-end conference for the men of All Saints. We who heard him can promise you that what he will have to say will be penetrating --- and possibly explosive.

Please telephone Ja. 2-7522 and advise the office if you can come. We are looking forward to seeing you at the luncheon.

Earl H. Metzger, Jr.
Earl H. Metzger, Jr.
for the men of All Saints

Guy H. Schneider
Guy H. Schneider
for the men of Central

OK

Jab.
Rel. Orgs - Presbyterians - gen. corresp.

July 20, 1964

The Rev. Hugh Wire - Presbyterian Minister
24 Sanderson Street
Springfield, Mass.

Dear Mr. Wire:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter of July 11.

Two ministers in the South are in a much better position than we to advise you. They are the Rev. Will Campbell, Executive Director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, 1106 - 19th Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee, and the Rev. Elbert Jean, Consultant and Resource Leader on Methodist Church and Race, Rt. 5, Pine Circle Road, Franklin, Tennessee. You may well have written them; if not, I urge you to do so.

Should you come South we will be happy to have you visit us here in Atlanta and/or share any information on persons in places you plan to visit.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: The Rev. Will Campbell

24 Sanderson St.
Springfield, Mass. 01107
July 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

We are interested in the possibility of locating for a while in a city of the deep south, most likely in Birmingham, Alabama. I believe that there are possibilities in the changes piling up on the south of great good for all, and that there is need for more within the white community to affirm this and to help white people get involved in ways that will make this more probable. Furthermore, as a Christian, I feel that there are resources of the gospel that can strengthen the Christian in the face of change that many churches are witholding from their white constituents.

Enclosed is a draft of a type of ministry we are considering for ourselves in a southern city. Any reactions you or members of your staff have to the ideas proposed here I would appreciate.

The cities of the south that seem most in need of a transfusion of rational white manpower would seem to be those of Mississippi and Alabama. We have little hope that we could make contact with people with concerns similar to ours through the churches. We have been wondering about the existence of efforts of organized labor or of any other efforts to organize people in the white community for community improvement, outside of the White Citizens Councils. If you have any information on such, we would appreciate receiving it. Moreover, we would like to know more about the White Citizens Councils themselves, and any suggestions as to what we should read in this area would be appreciated.

Finally, I would welcome names of any persons familiar to you who live and work in Birmingham who share the concerns of the Southern Regional Council, whom I might write or visit if I get south at the end of the summer.

Sincerely,

Rev. Hugh Wire

P.S. I am a Presbyterian minister, now employed by the Council of Churches of Greater Springfield, Mass., and a friend of Dunbar Reed, a member of the staff of the Southern Area Council of the YMCA.

# A MINISTRY IN THE SOUTH: A PROPOSAL

This is a proposal for a Christian witness through grass-roots community organization in a poorer white section of a city in Mississippi or Alabama.

We do not need to resign ourselves to the near total resistance to change shown now by the white community in the deep south, of which we caught a glimpse while visiting white friends recently in Jackson,Mississippi. The blindness and fear, and the silence that seemed to prevail are not necessary. Hard changes are coming and not only in race relations. Boss and worker bound to each other by long-time personal loyalty (as we saw even in a small steel mill in Jackson) will find themselves increasingly separated by an impersonal bargaining table which better protects against exploitation. And as the rising classes organize, political power will also come to involve more than knowing the right person. These changes are threatening to all involved but can, I believe, benefit all, especially the men near the bottom. These changes are national and world wide, yet in the white south there seem to be few looking to them with hope, and these few are identified with the intellectual rather than the working world.

There seems to be a role of leadership within the white community that more of us must assume, in the north, but most urgently in the south. As the SNCC and CORE workers are giving supplemental and even substitute leadership to the Negro communities in the south to bring them through radical social change, so there probably must be outside help given the white south if any significant number are to see and seize upon the possibilities for good that change is presenting them.

There are resources of the gospel that can strengthen the Christian caught in social change that the church in the south is obscuring or even witholding from the people. In Christ we know a freedom to face the truth, even though threatened by it, and we find strength to act, even though afraid. There must be more to help the white Christian see how the gospel frees us from the rule of fear and gives us the strength to live in hope in a world of change.

THE PROPOSAL.

We would migrate to some urban community in Mississippi or Alabama. My wife and I evision a ministry for ourselves something like this: I would find work in a recreation or welfare agency, or on construction, where I have had some experience, or in some other form of secular employment. We would live in a low-status white neighborhood. Through our contacts in the neighborhood and on the job we would listen and learn, about the way people felt, their fears and their hopes, and their opportunities. We would seek out and work in any local groups involved in community improvement--PTA, church, neighborhood civic association, union, nursery school, club--or possibly we would help revive or initiate such organizations. We probably would study the local political situation and try to maximize people's effectiveness in getting what they want or need from their government. We might initiate a Bible study group with interested people in our neighborhood.

We would cultivate friends as we found them in the Negro community and try to be a bridge of some honest communication between white and Negro. We would not hide from white associates who we were or what we felt, for

this would defeat the purpose of our being in the south. On the other hand, there are felt needs of the white people whose lot we would be sharing which we could solidly affirm. Through effectively building relationships on these shared concerns we could gain the acceptance necessary to our survival, we would hope.

In short, we would seek to participate fully in life as southerners, we would be ready to see our world with open eyes, and in so far as we are given the gift we would join in God's work in that world and make His work there known to others.

- - - -

We feel that in order to carry out this kind of ministry at this time we probably should have no direct ties with any organization, since the only ones we can conceive sponsoring such work would be of the northern "enemy." I would ask for permission from my presbytery to undertake secular employment and go as a layman.

However, we are interested in informed evaluation of the feasibility of such a project. How does it fit in with other projects now being conceived or in operation? Is it possible that other white Christians, lay or clergy, might be enlisted in a similar ministry? We would like guidance as to which city in Mississippi or Alabama might provide the most fertile ground for such an effort, where there might be the greatest likelihood of finding a local group or groups with similar concerns.

This idea of a ministry within a southern urban community is projected on the basis of a similar ministry among low-status Negros in Springfield, Massachusetts. We have been maintained by the Council of Churches of Greater Springfield, but we have functioned as "detached workers" in the slum neighborhood in which we lived. The great difference, of course, is the crisis atmosphere of the south, weighing against the kind of concerns we represent, as opposed to the apathetic but relatively open social climate of Springfield four years ago.

We are a family of husband and wife four years out of seminary with two pre-school children. We are leaving Springfield in September. We are going south or to the far west. We are looking for a clearer vision, or call, on which to make a decision.

Hugh and Anne Wire
24 Sanderson St.
Springfield, Mass. 01107

.... MJ files

✓ES - fyi

PA - please reply;

suggest you
send a copy of
the letter & +
attachment to
Will C.

I suggest you tell him - gently -
to forget it. ES

October 22, 1964

Reverend Robert W. Hare
1806 Peter Paul Boulevard
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Reverend Hare:

I look forward to seeing you and speaking to the Richmond-Petersburg Chapter on October 29.

I shall be in the city anyhow, and I don't think I will need any help in transportation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Recd 10/22/64

# First Presbyterian Church

(OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S. A.)

Monroe and Catherine Streets

Richmond 20, Virginia

REV. ROBERT W. HARE, PASTOR
1806 PETER PAUL BOULEVARD
DIAL 649-2790

DR. J. M. TINSLEY, CLERK OF SESSION
402½ NORTH SECOND STREET
DIAL MI 8-7113 OR MI 8-2640

October 20, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Heslip Lee has informed me that you should be available to speak to the Richmond-Petersburg Chapter on October 29th. We would be most pleased to have you. We would anticipate hearing from you on the South and the Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

We will meet at 8:00 p. m. at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church in the central downtown community. We ~~also~~ will allow time for questions.

Please let me know what assistance I may be to you-transportation, etc.

Yours sincerely,

Robert W. Hare

Robert W. Hare
Program Chairman
Richmond-Petersburg
Chapter, Virginia Council
on Human Relations

RWH/eas

CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
201 WASHINGTON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA. / TEL. JA 2-7522
OPPOSITE THE STATE CAPITOL

Rec'd 12/4/64

December 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Confirming our telephone conversation of several days ago, I want to thank you for agreeing to be the moderator for a discussion for the film "Birth of A Nation" on Sunday evening, January 10, 1965. The film will be shown at 8:00 here at Central Presbyterian Church, 201 Washington St.S.W.; and the discussion will take place immediately after the film.

This will be the fourth film festival we've had in three years. We have had good response from the general public, and have found that the use of the film medium is excellent in opening up communication on significant issues which are relevent to many persons concerned. Anywhere from 50 to 150 people have come to these films; and we usually have about 50 to 75 who stay for the discussions following.

Your role as moderator is to react personally to the film, initially, for about five minutes; and then stimulate the thinking and discussion of the group. The discussion usually lasts about one hour.

The first day or two in January I will send you the list of all six films and moderators we are having in the festival, to give you some idea of what we are attempting. Also, we would like for you to preview the film a day or two before the 10th. at a time of your convenience. We will be calling you about this three or four days before January 10th.

Thank you very much for your willing cooperation; we are looking forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Ed Grider

Edgar M. Grider
Minister of Community

EMG/ra

# A CROSS AT THE HEART OF ATLANTA

Rec'd 1/27/65

file

BUILDING FUND CAMPAIGN
CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
201 WASHINGTON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
CAMPAIGN OFFICE PHONE: 525-5275

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DR. STUART R. OGLESBY

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GENERAL ORGANIZATION CHAIRMAN
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BUILDING FUND TREASURER
ROY T. GREENE

January 26, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want to express to you our deep appreciation for your taking the time to come down to Central Church for one of the films in our current Festival, to serve as moderator for the discussion period.

We were delighted with the attendance at this film, and we felt that the discussion was stimulating and informative.

Thank you again for your service.

Sincerely,

Fred R. Stair, Jr.
Pastor

FRS DAW

April 28, 1965

Mr. Dean H. Lewis
Chairman
Staff Committee, Religion and Race
The United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

In response to your request of April 10, we are enclosing information on the Southern Regional Council for the Annotated Listing of Organizations and Programs Seeking Racial Justice. The Council is pleased to be included.

Pursuant to your request for literature, under separate cover we are forwarding the Council's 1963-64 publications. Please call on us if we can be of further service.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Fwd 5-6-65

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

**Organization and Staff:** - The Southern Regional Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational. The Council consists of a body of one-hundred members drawn from both races and the thirteen southern states. An Executive Committee of fifteen members meets periodically to plan and review programs and direct the staff.

John H. Wheeler is the president of the Council, Raymond M. Wheeler is chairman of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director is Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar.

**Publications:** - New South, a periodical, special reports and studies, pamphlets, books.

**Tax Exempt:** - Yes

**Budget:** - The Council operates on a yearly budget of approximately $235,000, plus an equal or greater amount for special projects.

**Area of Operation:** - The South; the publications have a national audience and influence.

**Pattern of Operation and/or Purpose:**

The Council's predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was formed in 1919 and the Council was chartered in 1944. It believes that southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The program and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Pattern of Operation and/or Purpose, Cont'd:

The present functions of the Council may be summarized as follows:

It provides consultative services to private and official agencies; it publishes a monthly magazine and works with press, radio, and television; it is a clearing-house and coordinator for other agencies concerned with southern problems. It is an educational organization seeking practical working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. The Council seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South; it seeks an integrated society, through the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion.

V5 - correct pg. 11 for them

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
*Telephone:* PENNYPACKER 5-6722

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

April 10, 1965

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of the Annotated Listing of Organizations and Programs Seeking Racial Justice developed recently by our Staff Committee on Religion and Race, of which I am chairman. We developed it to guide and stimulate contributions from our constituency, and to answer requests for information on one or another of the civil rights organizations. We tried to use reliable sources such as the publications of each group, New York Times stories, and in several instances I telephoned to authenticate information. However, I am sure you will find inaccuracies and omissions and we want to know about them for future revision.

I would appreciate it very much if the proper person would check the listing for your organization. I am particularly interested in the answers to three questions:

1. Is the information concerning address, staff and governing body, publications, tax status, budget, membership and area of operation correct? Please give the correct information where needed.

2. Is the statement concerning the pattern of operation and purpose of your organization fair and comprehensive? We intended to give a little of the history of each group, its distinctive style and flavor, and its own unique place in the pattern of civil rights action. If you are not satisfied with the result (and some are not very comprehensive) would you please say what you would like to see changed or added concerning your group.

3. Are there organizations or causes that you feel belong in this listing that are not now included? Please give full name and address where possible.

I would, of course, like to have your general comments on this endeavor. Our committee would very much appreciate copies of your current literature and latest reports available. We wish you well in the continuing struggle for human dignity and civil rights and assure you of our own continuing involvement with our funds and our selves.

Cordially,

Dean Lewis

Dean H. Lewis, Chairman
Staff Committee, Religion and Race

DHL/es
(Enclosure - 1)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Staff: ~~James M. Dabbs~~ John H. Wheeler, President, ~~plus 7 other officers~~ an Executive Committee of 15 members. Governed by board of ~~some 80~~ 180 Southerners, from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director

Publications: The New South, a periodical; special reports, pamphlets, books.

Tax exempt: Yes

Budget: $597,000 from various ~~agencies, including~~ foundations, church groups, labor denominations ~~and individuals~~ and.

Area of operation: Southern States, although the publications have had a national audience and influence.

Pattern of operation and/or purpose:

The Council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational. Its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was formed in 1919 and the Council was chartered in 1944. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The program and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

The present functions of the Council may be summarized as follows: It provides consultative services to private and official agencies; it publishes a monthly magazine and works with press, radio, and television; it is a clearing-house and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems. It is an educational organization seeking practical working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. The Council seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South; it seeks an ~~unsegregated~~ Integrated society, through the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion.

STUDENT INTERRACIAL MINISTRY (SIM)
Room 574, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Organization and Staff: - The Southern Regional Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational. The Council consists of a body of one-hundred members drawn from both races and the thirteen southern states. An Executive Committee of fifteen members meets periodically to plan and review programs and direct the staff.

John H. Wheeler is the president of the Council, Raymond M. Wheeler is chairman of the Executive Committee. The Executive Director is Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar.

Publications: - New South, a periodical, special reports and studies, pamphlets, books.

Tax Exempt: - Yes

Budget: - The Council operates on a yearly budget of approximately $235,000, plus an equal or greater amount for special projects.

Area of Operation: - The South; the publications have a national audience and influence.

Pattern of Operation and/or Purpose:

The Council's predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was formed in 1919 and the Council was chartered in 1944. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The program and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Pattern of Operation and/or Purpose, Cont'd:

The present functions of the Council may be summarized as follows:

It provides consultative services to private and official agencies; it publishes a monthly magazine and wrks with press, radio, and television; it is a clearing-house and coordinator for other agencies concerned with southern problems. It is an educational organization seeking practical working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. The Council seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South; it seeks an integrated society, through the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion.

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

File Religious Orgs

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

Rec'd 5/17/65

PA
MJ file

May 13, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you very much for the copy of the Director's Report of the Southern Regional Council and also for the fine help the Council is giving in these days of the changing South.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

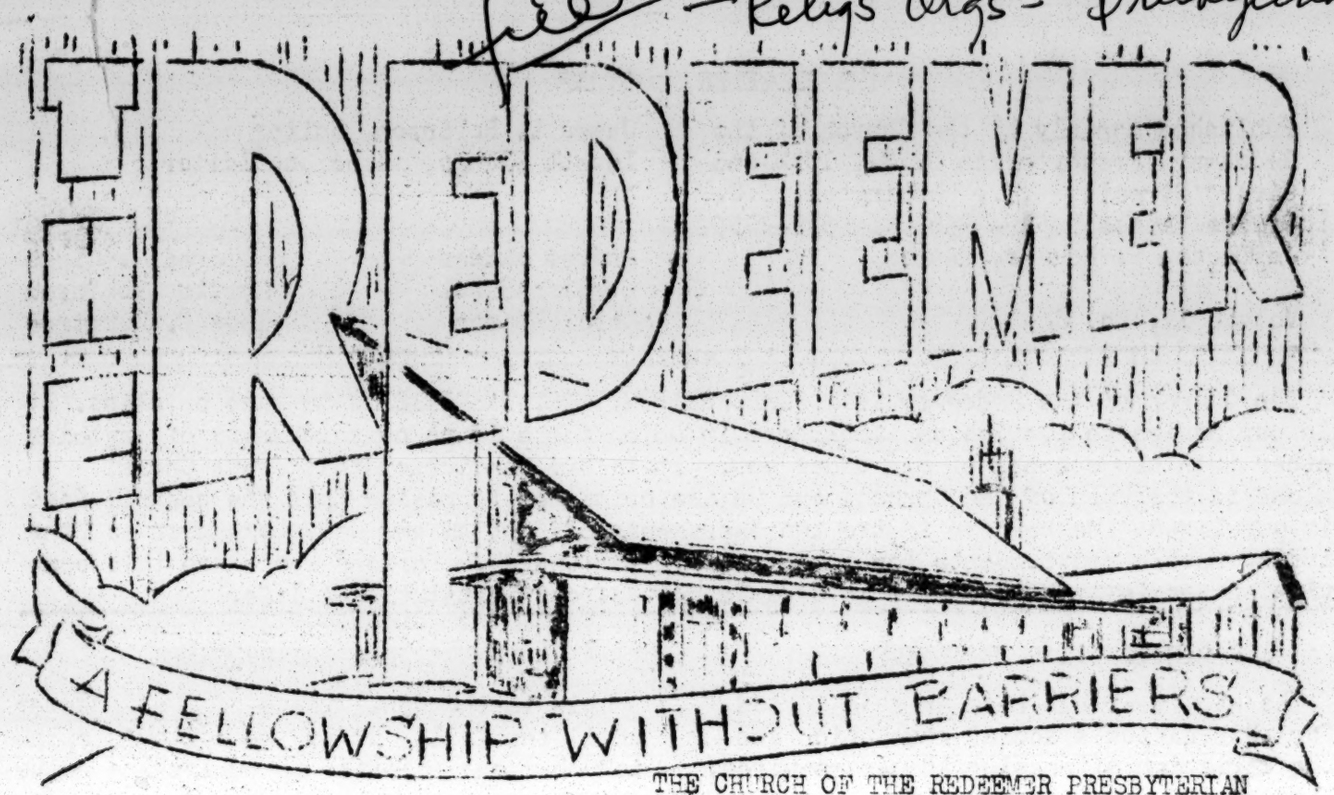
Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:pc

free — Religs Orgs — Presbyterians — gen.




THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER PRESBYTERIAN

Volume IV, Number 8 Washington, D. C. June, 1965

## ORGANIST AND BARITONE IN SACRED MUSIC VESPER SERVICE

The Christian Church has a rich heritage of music in worship which came from the Hebrew Temple. The first Christians used the Hebrew psalms for their own religious devotions. These psalms have remained, down through history, the most important body of poetic, religious expression. An enriching, listening worship experience based on selected passages from the Psalms will be the theme of the vesper service on Sunday, June 6, at 6:30 p.m., in the sanctuary. This service of sacred music will feature in a combined presentation the leaders of our ministry of music, Mr. Garland Butts, organist-choirmaster, and Mr. George Harshaw, baritone and assistant choirmaster.

As a prelude to this service, Mr. Butts will play the eminent Venetian composer, Benedette Manillo's majestic and triumphant setting of Psalm 19, "The Heavens Are Telling the Glory of God." Other organ selections will include two chorale-Preludes from Opus 122 of Johannes Brahms. The titles are "O Wie Selig Seid Ihr O och, Ihr Frommen (Blessed are ye faithful souls) and O Gott, Du Frommer Gott (O God, Thou Faithful God). These organ

Continued on p. 3.

## PASTOR TO PARTICIPATE IN COVENANT LIFE CONFERENCE

The Covenant Life Conference to be held at Montreat from July 7-13 will have as one of its leaders of the study group the pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, The Rev. Mr. Jefferson P. Rogers. Mr. Rogers will participate in the study group on "Christians In Social Crisis Responsibility." Other speakers in this group are Mr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Murphy of the Druid Hills Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.

Other themes for the conference are: "Christians In Political Responsibility." "Christians In Economic Responsibility," and "Interpreting The Christian Faith In a Scientific Age." The major address will be given by Stuart D. Currie, Professor of New Testament Language and Exegesis, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

Persons wishing to register for the conference may make hotel reservation by sending a deposit of $5.00. The cost including meals ranges from $8.00 to $10.00 per day. For additional information, write to Rev. Irvin Elligan, Director, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209.

THE REDEEMER

Published monthly by the Church of the Redeemer, Presbyterian U. S., 15th and Girard Streets, N.E., Washington, D.C.
Office Phones: 529-4356 529-2055
Jefferson P. Rogers, Pastor

Volume IV, No. 8

STAFF

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Lovett Elango, Associate Editor

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Barbara Hazel
Carol Hobson
Mildred B. Riggs
Myrtle Robinson
Inez B. Rountree

FELLOWSHIP STATEMENT

The Church of the Redeemer is a FELLOWSHIP WITHOUT BARRIERS as to race or class. It is our desire to provide an atmosphere in which there is no consciousness of anything other than the oneness of man under God. It is our conviction that Jesus Christ alone is the Head of the Church, and we are committed to making this the central fact in our lives. We believe in the two Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion as the indispensable requirements for membership in the Church. Persons who share this conviction are invited to become an organic part of our institutional life.

## CHRISTIANITY'S NEW BREED

The past year has been an epic period for this nation's social revolution and the Christian witnessing it has required. Many of the developments reflect well on those adherents of the Christian faith (the same is nonetheless true for believers in Judaism). It appears that white Christians in increasing numbers are becoming sensitive to the fact that their practice of religion cannot remain a sterile and ineffectual testimony to our nation's god--materialism. This is simply not enough, given the forces which are working to change the fundamental moral orientation of this country.

As most of us know, the white Christian churches have, on the whole, abetted the conspiracy to demean human beings who have a different skin color. Yes, let me state that idea more candidly--the white Christian church has historically been one of the primary instruments through which this economic, social and political system has systematically attempted to dehumanize and methodically exploit people of color. But the assertion we with to make at this writing is that, Christianity as it is now practiced, appears to be on the threshhold of a revolution of its own. And if this concept is too strongly stated, we can at least say that some members of the church are beginning to take a fresh look at the fundamental concepts of the Christian gospel. The religion seems to be moving closer to the teachings of Christ on the issue of essential human relations than it has ever been.

(Continued on p. 5)

## THANKS FROM THE REDEEMER

This is the final issue of The Redeemer until the fall. It is the editor's opinion that our efforts in publishing the church newspaper represent some measure of success for the Church and for those of you who worked with dedication in getting the job done.

Excluding the staff, many members of the Church made noteworthy contributions to the collective effort during the past eight months. The editor is grateful for the time and effort given consistently by David Bryant and Miss Ogner Daniel. Wilbur Ray and James Caul left the warmth of their hearths on a cold and blustery day, and on short notice in answer to an urgent request for help.

The exceptionally good efforts of Mrs. Adeline Tilly in typing and proofreading during recent months were more than welcome. Thinking aloud, Mrs. Tilly would be a valuable addition to the staff for the fall. I must also give a hearty thanks to the staff for their work on The Redeemer--adding to their number Alfred Spicer, Roscoe Nix, Mrs. Talitha Morris, Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers, Charles Perry, Talmadge Moore and other members of the congregation.

Of course, there is always need for conscientious people to assist in an effort such as this. Therefore, with the coming of fall many other members will be needed for the job of producing a better newspaper for the Church of the Redeemer. So those interested in lending a hand need merely to let us know.

James L. Robinson

## PERSONALITIES IN PROFILE

Our personality for this month is one of the most well known 12 year olds in our church community. He is Weldon Douglass Rogers, 6th grade student at Brightwood Elementary School, where his favorite subjects are math (of all things---with this new math too) and literature.

But his real interest is in sports, both as a participant and as a spectator. He gives me the impression that he excells at tennis, and for those who are in the know about tennis scores, he tells us that his best scores have been 6-Love and 6-1. When asked how often he has played games with such a high score, he answered, "Oh, lots of times." Last summer he attended the Betz-Taylor Tennis Camp, and played tournament tennis as far away as New Jersey. Incidentally, he uses a Spaulding and a Davis racket, strung with Victor Imperial gut.

What does he do in the summer when he is not playing tennis? Why, he plays baseball of course. It automatically follows that he plays football in the fall. We don't recall any mention of basketball; however he loves all sorts of sports. His biggest problem in the winter is getting to play in the snow--he likes the snow to fall very hard on school days so the schools will be closed and then he can sleigh.

He is THE boy soprano in our Youth Choir, and although he likes music, he is "not much interested in dancing yet."

Incidentally, Weldon is the youngest son of our pastor. So---where do you think he developed the interest in tennis and ball games???

VESPER SIRVICE (cont'd from p. 1)

works are products of Brahms' "contemplative period," near the end of his life. They are based on well known melodies. The first, "Blessed Are Ye Faithful Souls," is a Johann Crueger melody of 1640, harmonized by Bach in 1746. The second Chorale-Prelude, "O God, Thou Faithful God," is a longer setting from a Gesanguch of 1646, used frequently by Bach in cantatas, also in nine partilas for organ. Additional organ works to be played include "Jubilee" by the contemporary American composer of church music, Leo Sowerby, and Psalm 33: "Sing Unto the Lord a New Song" written by Herbert Howells, contemporary English composer of church music.

Mr. Harshaw will initially sing the bass aria from cantata No. 157 of J. S. Bach's "Ja, Ja, ich halte Jesum feste." He will be assisted by Messrs. Edward Drennon, violinist, Arthur Dawkins, flute; and Mr. Garland Butts, organ. The text of this aria tells the story of the old man Simeon who took Jesus up in his arms and sang, "Lord, Now Lettest Thou Thy Servant Depart in Peace."

Other selections sung by Mr. Harshaw include Four Psalms For Baritone, by the eminent American composer and educator Howard Hanson. The titles are: Psalm 46 (God is Our Refuge and Strenght); Psalm 6 (O Lord, Rebuke Me Not in Thine Anger); Psalm 47 (O Clap Your Hands); and Psalm 8 (O Lord Our Lord, How Excellent Thy Name). Mr. Harshaw will close his portion with the singing of two Negro spirituals: "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," arranged by Harry T. Burleigh, and "My Soul's Been Anchored in the Lord," arranged by Florence Price.

A reception will follow this service in the Fellowship Hall adjoining the church.

## PROTESTANTS LEAD
### In Maryland's Mental-Alcoholic Patients

While alcoholism accounts for approximately one-third of all patients admitted to Maryland mental institutions, 71 per-cent of this group were Protestants. Roman Catholics accounted for 26 per-cent and Jews accounted for only four-tenths of one per-cent.

The number of persons admitted to Maryland's mental institutions because of alcoholism has risen from 25 per-cent of all mental patients in 1962 to 31.2 per-cent in 1964. Alcoholism now accounts for the greatest per-cent of admissions.

The rate among male admissions is two out of five and among women one out of eight. The total admissions in Maryland mental institutions for alcoholism approximates 80,000.

## WHAT EVERY PRESBYTERIAN SHOULD KNOW FROM THE BOOK OF CHURCH ORDER

1. Where does the original jurisdiction over all church members belong?
   A. Original jurisdiction over church members, Ruling Elders and Deacons is in the Church Session of the church to which the members belong.

2. Can the Session demand from members satisfactory explanations concerning their christian conduct?
   A. Yes, it is the duty of all Sessions and Presbyteries to exercise care over those subject to their authority; and they shall with due diligence and great discretion, demand from such persons satisfactory explanations concerning reports affecting their Christian faith or conduct.

3. How many church censures are there?
   A. There are four censures. They are Admonition, Suspension, Deposition and Excommunication.

4. Can the offender be suspended from the Sacraments or from his office?
   A. Yes, he can be suspended from the Sacraments or his office, until he exhibits signs of repentance or until by his conduct, the necessity of the highest censure is made manifest.

## PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH CALENDAR FOR JUNE

Hymn of the Month - "O Spirit of the Living God"

Monthly Emphasis - General Fund Agencies

Special Days: JUNE 6 - Pentecost and Montreat Sunday

Men of the Church -"Bridging the Gap - Word to Life"

Women of the Church -"Bridging the Gap - Word to Life"

## DR. HENDERLITE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN U.S. WOMAN MINISTER

Dr. Rachel Henderlite, a member of the faculty of the Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, Virginia, became the first woman to be ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church, US. Dr. Henderlite's ordination ceremony was held in All Soul's Presbyterian Church on the evening of May 12.

Dr. Henderlite will add another first to her career when in January she will become the first woman to hold a professorship in a Southern Presbyterian Theological Seminary. She will become a professor of Christian Education at Austin (Texas) Theological Seminary. She has been Director of Curriculum Development for the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. Dr. Henderlite's approval by the 125 members of Hanover Presbytery was unanimous.

## ASSEMBLY-WIDE CONFERENCES AND SCHOOLS 1965 AT MONTREAT

| | |
|---|---|
| Institute for Outgoing Missionaries ..... | June 12 - July 28 |
| Children's Work Consultant Service Session ..... | June 14 - 18 |
| Church Business Administrators ..... | June 17 - 19 |
| Administrative Conference for Christian Education . | June 24 - 27 |
| Association of Christian Educators Conference .... | June 25 - 30 |
| Christian Education Workshop ..... | June 25 - 30 |
| Christian Education Covenant Life Conference ... | July 7 - 13 |
| Women's Workshop ..... | July 9 - 13 |
| Women's Advisory Council.. | July 9 - 13 |
| Presbyterial Presidents... | July 13 - 15 |
| Women's Conference..... | July 15 - 21 |
| Music Conference ..... | July 22 - 28 |
| World Mission Conference ..... | July 29 - Aug. 4 |
| Church Extension Conference ..... | Aug. 5 - 11 |
| Bible Conference ..... | Aug. 12 - 22 |
| Directors of the Mountain Retreat Association ..... | August 13 |
| Campus Christian Life .... | Aug. 13 - 20 |
| Ministers' Wives ..... | Aug. 17 - 19 |
| Christian Action Conference ..... | Aug. 20 - 22 |

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we must make an important distinction though, at this point. The new and warm reflection of the Christian spirit comes not from the church establishment or official hierarchy, but rather from individual churchmen--from religious leaders who have found it necessary, for the most part, to step outside of their official establishment in order to witness and work as individuals for the rights of all men. The white estaslished church in its antiseptic embodiment continues to exist, by custom and comsent, secluded from direct involvement in any thing so controversial as civil rights activity.

This is not to deny that some churches have taken action officially in this regard, but the truth is that most white Americans are afraid of social change and, as a result, the church estaolishments are also afraid of social change. They are conservative and will probably remain so for years to come.

Because of this inherent conservatism, aggressive church people such as Bishop James Pike (Episcopal), Sister Mary Leoline (Catholic), Father Don Orsini (Episcopal), Dr. Theodore Gill of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, and many others of their faith and courage become all the more important in the total scheme of things.

It goes without saying that a substantial price is often exacted from them because of their involvement in the social revolution. But it is good that they are involved--the movement needs them, the nation needs them, and Christianity needs them. Establishment churches will not lead--they must be led, and by following Christian leadership, they may eventually lose their identity as sterile and exclusive social clubs, thereby, finding their place in the sun--God's sun to be sure.

James L. Robinson

## UNITED PRESBYTERIANS GIVE PRELIMINARY APPROVAL TO "1967 CONFESSION"

The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, meeting in Columbus, Ohio, gave preliminary approval to a new statement of faith, often referred to as the "Confession of 1967." The Assembly took this action on May 25. The vote was overwhelming, 643 - 110. This vote was to receive the report of the Special Committee on a Brief, Contemporary Statement of Faith. A new committee was appointed and another committee continues its work toward adoption of the Confession.

The Brief Statement of Faith which must be approved by two more annual meetings of the General Assembly and two-thirds of the Presbyteries before becoming a Part of the Church's Confession, does not replace the Westminister Confession which was adopted in 1647, but it provides a modernized version to supplement it.

The Columbus Assembly also approved by large majorities recommendations which denounced racism. Part of the statement reads as follows: "Recognizes that the issue of interracial marriage is a reality that cannot be ignored and finds no scriptual or theological grounds for condemning or prohibiting the marriage of a man and a woman of different races.

"Urges United Presbyterians to work with others for the repeal or nullification of laws that prohibit interracial marriages."

## CHORAL SERVICE SET

The Redeemer Chancel Choir will sing its final special music service before vacationing in August, on Sunday, July 18, at 6:30 p.m., in the sanctuary. This vesper service will be one of anthems and Negro Spirituals. Mr. Garland Butts, organist and

THE PASTOR'S WORD

C. S. Lewis indicates in his now classic work, Screwtape Letters, that the devil's most dependable devise for nullifying the creativity of man is to engage him in the doing of irrelevant things for purpose of keeping his mind occupied with trivia. Active indolence is regarded by the devil as being the most perfect means assuring that no helpful or worthwhile endeavor will become the goal of one's stewardship. This is to say that to keep one constantly busy is the best way to keep one essentially idle. Irrelevant action, not illeness is the devil's workshop.

Kenneth Clark, whose recent book is reviewed in this issue of The Redeemer, makes a distinction between social action and social change which is reminiscent of C. S. Lewis' insight. A great deal of the social action programs in both church and secular institutions fall into the category of trivia, active indolence or idleness. While I am concerned about all of the programs that have to do with social action, it is understandable that I have a partisan interest in that which emanates from the church. I am quite certain that too much of the church's social action falls into the category of that which either brings diminishing returns or renders it ineffective in the promotion of social change.

The Church of the Redeemer justified its creation largely on basis of its anticipated role as catalyst for social action consistent with the creating of The Great Society. As I look back over the Church year now drawing to its close I am more aware of our active idleness than I am appreciative for our stewardship of real change. I am most acutely aware that one does not act to promote change merely because one figures to profit from that change more handsomely than others. One of the noxious facts about human nature that the Apostle Paul knew so well is that it often tends to do most of which it ought to avoid like a plague, and to avoid most of which it ought to pursue with all of the diligence heart and mind can muster.

The conditions which promoted our demand that our program be one of action in keeping with our historic needs have changed in such manner as to make our resolve more pertinent now than it was in 1957 when we started our stewardship pilgrimage. Our need to believe that modern day disciples of Christ are as responsible for social change as those of the first century is considerably greater. Our need is for the power not simply to act, but to act in such a way as conduces change. The two areas into which we specifically propelled our interest in change are those of race and class. This year's results have not been effective enough as far as change is concerned. We must look more to our performance than to our own press releases in this matter. We need to examine our interest in CHANGE as this is reflected in what we ourselves are doing to bring about change. It is not enough to be involved in action. The pertinent thing is action for what?

In the process of attending the Kingdom of God on earth one will have the need to examine one's failures as well as one's successes. Often one can learn more from certain types of failures than from one's successes. I am convinced that God sends some trials to men precisely because he wants them to learn how to be strong. As the saying goes: Whom the Lord loves he chastiseth.

Cont'd on p. 8

DARK GHETTO: Dilemmas of Social Power, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, 1965, 240 pages.

Dark Ghetto might well become for the latter half of the twentieth century what Dubois' Souls of Black Folk was for the first half. Just as The Souls of Black Folk was focussed as much on the spirit of white folk, Dark Ghetto holds as much meaning and provides as much therapy for Caucasians as for Negroes. Kenneth Clark combines the sure ground of the careful scholar with the passionate involvement of an expectant American to illumine the tasks our society must face and the equipment which it must forge if hope is not to go the way of "a dream deferred." It is not enough to say that the author demandingly points to a realism in keeping with the character of the problem of racial adjustment which history has belatedly placed in the lap of the twentieth century. For whatever Dark Ghetto is, it is not a didactic book. Scholarly though it is, it is not a book for scholars, if they are scholars alone. Neither is it a book for actionists who disdain analysis as the stuff of paralysis. It is a book of pain and truth which, akin to the logic of Holy Writ, allows no one to hide who has the capacity to understand. As one reads and makes the effort to escape the relevance of the book's message by invoking his private virtues or recalling his transcendent achievements in the field of race-relations, a deeply submerged conscience fingers Donne's disturbing line: "seek not to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

Three pivotal declarations stand out in Dark Ghetto: 1. The Ghetto is an inclusive American problem the amelioration of which is crucially necessary to the health and viability of the total American society; 2. Social power must be aligned with the ostensible morality of the American democratic ethos in order to facilitate social change rather than unproductive emphasis on the ritual of social action; 3. The old ethics of Negro - Caucasian relationships in which whites assume a spychology of privilege, and Negroes act on a platform of "distrust," must be readjusted to the factuality and spirituality of American peers who are sufficiently, historically alert to save the nation from disaster. It will be particularly instructive for liberals and so called racial radicals to read Dark Ghetto. For the white liberal the initial reward might well be the discovery of the depth of his racial conditioning, providing him thereby some insight into the singularly baffling and often noxious problems which his stance of friendship creates for even the most astute Negroes. Clark writes:

> The liberal has become a curious and troublesome adversary, often harder to deal with than the bigot who, at least, states his position honestly in unmistakable terms. The bigot will react with contempt and hatred to Negro criticism, but the liberal looks hurt and expresses his continuing and forgiving friendship, thereby creating in his Negro counterpart a sense of frustrated rage and guilt that adds to the psychological burden already difficult to bear--a burden seemingly doubly unjust. When a Negro responds with anger to an act or an attitude that seems to him discriminatory, he is often regarded as having violated the rules of conduct among gentlemen. He has not been amiable. He would seem, therefore, to have no way out. The choice is to alienate his friends or to suffer a sense of self-alienation.

For the racial radical of the anti-analysis stamp - (if he could be made to read a book of this type) it would reveal the irrelevance of substituting undisciplined social action for social change, the latter which, after all, is the pressing historic need.

> Random defiance, no more than meek accommodation, is based on the facts of life. The pretense of the Muslims who call for a separate black state, and of the extremists who threaten to close down the public schools if immediate and total integration is not forthcoming, have in common a failure to face the truth. It is clear--or ought to be--that immediate and total integration of the schools is not possible in cities with large and growing Negro populations. It is clear--or ought to be--that American society would not sustain a separate black

(Cont'd on p. 8.)

CHORAL SERVICE SET Cont'd from p.

choirmaster, has planned a program of choral selections from all periods of Christianity beginning with J.S. Bach's "With Grateful Hearts We All Art Met." Also in the opening group of anthems will be the Brahms motet from Psalm 51, "Create in Me, O God" and H. Balfour Gardiner's "Evening Hymn." From the Russian Liturgical school, the choir will sing Teschneskoff's "Let Thy Holy Spirit" to be followed with the nineteenth century Mendelsohn's "He Watching Over Israel" from the oratorio "Elijah." The final selection in this group, "The Lord is Thy Light," is from the writings of one of America's foremost twentieth century composers of religious music, Horatio W. Parker.

A group of Negro spirituals will close the service and will include "King Jesus is a Listening" arranged by William Dawson; "There is a Balm in Gilead," arranged by William Arms Fischer and "Daniel, Daniel, Servant of the Lord," arranged by Undine Smith Moore, a former teacher of our organist and choirmaster, Garland Butts. Mr. George Harshaw is assistant choirmaster and will be heard as baritone soloist, along with Mary Anderson, soprano; Lloyd Medas, soprano, and Emanuel Bobo, tenor.

DARK GHETTO Cont'd from p. 7

nation. For Negroes to justify any such demands on the grounds alone of militancy is to attempt to deal with a distutbing reality by wishful fantasy.

Finally it must be reiterated that the most emphatic insistence which this book underscores is that the Dark Ghetto is an American dilemma which frustrates all Americans and jeopardizes the American ethos for all the inhabitants thereof. In like manner the removal of the jeopardy to insure the survival of the dream is the responsibility of white and black ~~equall~~ equally. "There will be inevitable irrationalities" Clark writes, "in any move to a higher stage of rationality and justice. Above all one must not retreat in the face of pain." "White and Negro must fight together for the rights of human beings to make mistakes and to aspire to human goals. Negroes will not break out of the barriers of the ghetto unless whites transcent the barriers of their own minds, for the ghetto is to the Negro a reflection of the ghetto in which the white lives imprisoned. The poetic irony of American race relations is that the rejected Negro must somehow also find the strength to free the privileged white."

THE PASTOR'S WORD Cont'd from p. 6

The Church of The Redeemer has had an ample portion of chastisement this year. It has suffered more reverses and seen more active idleness than ever before. However, in fact of this fact, we must thank God for his keeping and for the goodness which he has bestowed on us, and for the opportunity he keeps ever before us. It is in this resolve and spirit of gratitude that we should review the church year now ending and anticipate the new moment of hope approaching.

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November 8, 1965

Dear Friend of Atlanta Presbytery:

Enclosed is a pamphlet listing you as a resource speaker on significant issues in our community for Presbyterian church groups in the Atlanta area.

On behalf of our Christian Action Committee, and the members of our churches, I thank you for your willingness to give of your time with us for these important matters. One objective of this program is to educate our people to specific needs in our community. Your participation will enable us to move toward that objective.

Please feel free to evaluate our churches' response to this program and your participation in it; and please share such with the Committee by contacting me at JA 2-7522.

Thank you,

Ed

Edgar M. Grider, Chairman
Christian Action Committee

EMG:pc

Enclosure

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# AWAKEN YOUR CHURCH TO THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF ATLANTA

**THE COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN ACTION OF ATLANTA PRESBYTERY HAS AN UNIQUE SERIES OF PROGRAMS FOR YOUR CHURCH FOR THIS YEAR. THE FOLLOWING TOPICS DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES WE HAVE IN THE CITY. AN IMPRESSIVE LINEUP OF PROFESSIONALS HAVE OFFERED THEIR TIME TO MAKE YOUR CHURCH PROGRAM ONE THAT WILL BE A CHALLENGE TO ALL YOUR MEMBERS.**

These resource persons have offered their time to speak before any church group you might have which is interested in learning about the problems and opportunities listed in this pamphlet. Mailing addresses and telephone numbers are included for each resource person. We encourage your church group to make its own plans, contact the resource persons by its own initiative, and set up dates mutually convenient to the group and the resource speaker.

If you have competent resource persons in your own congregation and church community, we encourage you to use them as well. Let's WAKE UP to the problems and opportunities of our community.

## HOW SERIOUS IS ALCOHOLISM IN ATLANTA?

**DR. E. A. VERDERY**
Dept. of Pastoral Services
Ga. Bapt. Hospital
300 Boulevard, N. E.
JA 5-7861

**DR. THOMAS H. McDILL**
Dept. of Pastoral Counseling
Columbia Theological Seminary
701 Columbia Dr., Decatur, Ga.
DR 8-3659

**DR. SIDNEY ISENBERG**
Suite 804
401 Peachtree St., N. E.
521-2865

**DR. MELVIN B. DRUCKER**
Georgian Clinic
1260 Briarcliff Rd., N. E.
873-5341

**REV. JOHN M. CROW**
Clinical Chaplain Supervisor
Georgian Clinic
1260 Briarcliff Rd., N. E.
873-5341

**REV. GEORGE DOMINICK**
Clinical Chaplain Supervisor
Georgian Clinic
1260 Briarcliff Rd., N. E.
873-5341

**DR. CHARLES METHVIN**
Director, Alcoholic Rehabilitation Service
1260 Briarcliff Rd., N. E.
873-5341

## OUR MENTAL HEALTH IN ATLANTA — THE WORK OF THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA MENTAL HEALTH ASSOCIATION

**DR. DONALD SPILLE**
Executive Director of Metropolitan Atl. Mental Health Assoc.
209 Henry Grady Building
688-2732

**MR. PAUL CADENHEAD**
President, Mental Health Association
2434 Bank of Ga. Building
JA 2-2200

**MISS MAURICE LONG**
Chairman, Education Committee
1036 Somerset Dr., N. W.
233-5690

**MRS. ROBERT BOHRER**
2840 Greenbrook Trail, N. E.
938-3137

**MRS. MARION FERN**
Director of Friendship House
163 4th St., N. E.
876-2231

**MR. HENRY JACKSON**
Director of Alcoholic Rehabilitation Program
165 Decatur St., S. E.
JA 4-7890

## WHAT IS THE LIFE OF POOR CHILDREN IN THE ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

**MR. OTIS WHITE**
Principal, E. A. Ware Elementary School
3092 Peek Rd., N. W.
794-7836

**MISS CAROLYN HALL**
Principal, Home Park School
1291 Middlesex Ave., N. E.
TR 4-2669

**MRS. G. RAY MITCHELL**
Member, Atlanta Board of Education
3986 Club Dr., N. E.
233-2783

## HOW ADEQUATE IS THE REPRESENTATION OF THE INDIGENT CITIZEN IN CRIMINAL COURT?

**MR. DAVID GAMBRELL**
President, Atlanta Bar Association
2046 Bank of Ga. Building
34 Peachtree, N. W.
523-1461

**MR. DONALD L. HOLLOWELL**
Attorney
859½ Hunter St., N. W.
525-8372

**MR. HORACE T. WARD**
Senator
39th District
859½ Hunter St., N. W.
525-8372

## WHERE DO NEGROES IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U. S. FIT INTO THE PICTURE?

**MR. JOHN R. SMITH**
Division of Urban Church
Board of Church Extension
341 Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
TR 5-8921

**MR. IRVIN ELLIGAN**
Associate Secretary
Division of Christian Action
Board of Christian Education
2910 Seminary Ave.
Richmond, Va. 23220

**MR. LAWRENCE BOTTOMS**
Asst. Sec., Div. of Home Missions
Board of Church Extension
341 Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
TR 5-8921

## WHAT OPPORTUNITIES DOES THE NEGRO HAVE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION?

**DR. RUFUS CLEMENT**
President, Atlanta University
233 Chestnut, S. W.
JA 3-6431

**DR. JOHN A. MIDDLETON**
President, Morris Brown College
643 Hunter St., N. W.
525-7831

## NEIGHBORHOODS IN RACIAL TRANSITION!

**DR. JOHN S. MARTIN**
Assistant Superintendent
Atlanta Public Schools
224 Central Ave., S. W.
522-3381

**MR. ROBERT A. THOMPSON**
Asst. to the Regional Administrator
for Inner Group Relations
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Room 645, Peachtree 7th Building
526-5585

## THE WORK OF THE KIRKWOOD CHRISTIAN CENTER

**REV. LAURENCE ROBINSON**
1895 Boulevard Dr., S. E.
377-6353

**MR. DANIEL S. BRYAN, C. A.**
1895 Boulevard Dr., S. E.
377-6353

## WHAT IS THE WORK OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA?

**MR. JACK SCHMITT**
Research Director
215 Palmer Building
525-7695

**MRS. INEZ TILLISON**
Associate Director
215 Palmer Building
252-7695

**MRS. MARIAN GLUSTROM**
215 Palmer Building
525-7695

**MR. A. B. PADGETT**
Executive Director, Metropolitan Foundation of Atlanta
1423 Candler Building
688-4117

**MR. BRADLEY CURREY, JR.**
Vice President, Trust Co. of Ga.
588-7449

**MR. JAMES P. FURNISS**
Chairman, Community Council of the Atlanta Area
215 Palmer Building
41 Marietta St., N. W.
525-7695

**MR. ELLIOTT GOLDSTEIN**
1130 Citizens and Southern National Bank Building
521-1900

**DR. NAPIER BURSON, JR.**
Suite 214, Bapt. Professional Bldg.
340 Boulevard, N. E.
525-7464

**MRS. THOMAS H. GIBSON**
1646 Mt. Paran Rd., N. W.
233-1458

## HOW THE WAR ON POVERTY IS WAGED IN FULTON COUNTY

**MR. DAVID BEECHER**
Director, Neighborhood Services Organization
101 Marietta St.
525-4262

**MR. JIM WOOD**
Asst. Dir. of Coordination & Interpretation
101 Marietta St. Building
525-4262

**MISS FRANKIE ADAMS**
Asst. Director Training & Staff Dev.
101 Marietta St. Building
525-4262

**MR. DAVID POWELL**
Asst. Director of West End Neighborhood Center
725 Lawton St., S. W.
753-6101

**MR. VERNON JORDAN**
Consultant Community Action Program of Economic Opportunity
101 Marietta St., N. E.
526-6068

## WHAT IS THE WORK OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL?

**MR. PAUL ANTHONY**
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
JA 2-8764

**MR. AL ULMER**
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
JA 2-8764

**MR. E. T. KEHRER**
Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept.
40 Marietta St., N. W.
525-8549

**MR. JOSEPH HAAS**
Attorney,
1st National Bank Building
525-6141

**RABBI JACOB ROTHSCHILD**
The Temple
1589 Peachtree St., N. E.
TR 3-1731

**MR. L. D. MILTON**
President, Citizens Trust Co.
Board of Aldermen
212 Auburn Ave., N. E.
524-0614

## TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OPERATE IN THE SOUTH?

**REV. J. EDWARD LANTZ**
Interdenominational Theological Center
671 Beckwith St., S. W.
522-1772

**DR. HARRY RICHARDSON**
President, Interdenominational Theological Center
671 Beckwith St., S. W.
522-1772

**MRS. PHIL NARMORE**
595 McAfee St., N. W.
872-5862

**EVELYN L. GREEN**
Executive Director, Board of Womens Work
341 Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
TR 5-8921

**MRS. H. KERR TAYLOR**
Inter-Agency Committee of the General Council
341 Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
TR 5-8921

**MR. DAVID WALTHALL**
Regional Director
Board of Christian Education
341 F Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
TR 5-8921

**MRS. FRED PATTERSON**
United Church Women of Atlanta
2959 Andrews Dr., N. W.
CE 3-1624

**DR. RAYMOND D. WOOD**
President, Southeastern Synod of the Lutheran Church in America
731 A Peachtree St., N. E.
876-0369

## IS CHRISTIANITY LOSING OUT ON ATLANTA'S CAMPUSES?

**DR. E. H. RECE**
Professor of Religion
Emory University
377-2411

**DR. WM. O. SHROPSHIRE**
School of Business Administration
Emory University
377-2411

**REV. ROLAND PERDUE**
Presbyterian Minister,
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

**MR. DAVID S. HARGROVE**
Presbyterian Campus Minister
Emory University
377-2411

**DR. WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEE**
Professor of Religion
Emory University
377-2411

**RON CARLISLE**
Student
Emory University
377-2411

**CAROL THIGPEN**
Student
Emory University
377-2411

**GORDON WILLIAMSON**
Student
Emory University
377-2411

**JUDI GILES**
Student
Emory University
377-2411

**The Christian Action Committee, Atlanta Presbytery**

Forward Inquiries to: Edgar M. Grider
201 Washington St., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

*United Presbyterian Women*

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Room 1258, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 212-870-2760

January 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 27th and your prompt reply to my invitation to participate in the seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation". Our planning committee is very pleased that you have accepted our invitation.

I am now enclosing a copy of the agenda in what we believe to be close to its final state. We will have another, complete with the names of the leaders for the various sessions, for distribution just prior to the seminar. In the meantime, this copy will give you some orientation to our plans.

Please do not let a written manuscript interfere with the effectiveness of your presentation. We would like a manuscript so that we can report accurately on the seminar, but most of all we want you to make your contribution to the seminar in the manner most effective for you.

I shall be in touch with you again before the seminar. Meanwhile, if you have questions, please do not hesitate to write to me.

Sincerely,

Lois Montgomery

Lois Montgomery
Chairman
Seminar Planning Committee

LM:ps
Enc:Agenda

"The Changing South and the New Generation"

A Seminar for Church Women United

Dates: February 24-26, 1967

Place: Howell House, 710 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

## AGENDA

**Friday, February 24**

| | |
|---|---|
| 2:00 - 2:30 p.m. | Introduction to the Seminar |
| 2:30 - 3:15 p.m. | Film - "1800 Days"<br>Discussion |
| 3:15 - 3:30 p.m. | Coffee break |
| 3:30 - 4:30 p.m. | "Social Change in the South - Where We Fit Into the Picture" |
| 4:30 - 5:00 p.m. | Discussion |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 7:00 - 8:00 p.m. | "The Problems We Inherit - The Goals We Seek"<br>a panel of young adults |
| 8:00 - 9:00 p.m. | Discussion |

**Saturday, February 25**

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:00 - 9:45 a.m. | "Education for Tomorrow - Today" |
| 9:45 - 10:30 a.m. | Discussion |
| 10:30 - 11:00 a.m. | Coffee break |
| 11:00 - 12:00 | Discussion |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 2:00 - 3:00 p.m. | "Closing the Economic Gap - The Changing Economy of the South" |
| 3:00 - 3:30 p.m. | Discussion |

| | |
|---|---|
| 3:30 - 4:00 p.m. | Coffee break |
| 4:00 - 5:00 p.m. | "How We Approached the Problem" |
| | Discussion |
| 7:00 - 8:30 p.m. | "Our Hopes for the Future and How to Achieve Them" a panel of American and overseas women |
| 8:30 - 9:30 p.m. | Discussion |

Sunday, February 26

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:00 - 10:00 a.m. | "A Relevant Christian Faith" |
| 10:00 - 11:00 a.m. | Discussion and Coffee |
| 11:00 - 12:00 noon | Closing Worship and Dedication: "Moving Into the Circle Beyond Fear" |

2

File
Reports
Presby. Church.

Call while in NY

December 27, 1966

Miss Lois Montgomery
Chairman
Program Planning Committee
United Presbyterian Women
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive, Room 1258
New York, New York 10027

Dear Miss Montgomery:

Thank you very much for your invitation to speak at your meeting on February 24th. I am pleased to accept and to be a part of this important meeting.

It will take some doing, but I will make every effort to have my remarks written out and have a copy sent to you before the meeting.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

*United Presbyterian Women*

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
475 Riverside Drive, Room 1258, New York, N.Y. 10027

212-870-2760
December 22, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, INc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On February 24-26, 1967 a group of about 60 women will be meeting at the Howell House in Atlanta, Georgia to engage in a seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation". The seminar initiated by United Presbyterian Women, is the result of planning by participating denominations in cooperation with the national staff of Church Women United.

All of the women participating will have been especially invited and will represent most of the major Protestant denominations and, hopefully, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches as well. All of them - with the exception of a few staff - will be from the Southeast. About 30 will be Negro women and 30 white women.

The purpose of the seminar is to enable these women to:

1. confront social change in a group that in itself crosses racial and denominational barriers;
2. face their mutual and continuing responsibility for influencing the direction that change will take.

While change will be viewed in its national and worldwide perspective in the seminar we hope to focus on the Southeast as the logical area in which these women experience change most acutely and in which they will fulfill most effectively their roles as responsible change agents.

Topics to be considered by the seminar include:

"The Next Decade - What Lies Ahead for the Nation"
"Social Change in the South - Where do we fit into the picture?"
"The Problems We Inherit - The Goals We Seek" (young adults)
"Education for Tomorrow - Today"
"Closing the Economic Gap - The Changing Economy of the South"
"How We Approached the Problem" (particular attempts)
"Social Change in World Perspective"
"A Relevant Christian Faith"

Of necessity plans for this seminar have had to be developed quickly on short notice and only now are we able to issue invitations. However, the planning committee is bold enough to seek top leaders, busy people like you, trusting that calendars may still be open on a week-end and that what we are trying to do in this seminar will carry its own appeal for investment of your time and talent.

In this spirit of expectancy the committee invites you to participate in the seminar by speaking to the topic "Soical Change in the South - Where Do We Fit Into The Picture?" Your speech would come at about 3:30 on Friday afternoon, February 24. We have allowed about 40 minutes for your presentation which will be followed by a question and answer or informal discussion period. The topic is the second on our agenda. In a real sense you would be the keynote speaker for the seminar.

At the time of the seminar we would like to have a copy of your address so that we may make this available in the seminar report, to denominational women's magazines and in other program and interpretive materials which may grow out of the seminar.

We are able to provide you with travel expenses, and would be happy for you to be our guest for dinner following your seminar presentation. We will give you a $150 honorarium.

Please give this invitation your careful consideration. I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. I hope we may have the benefit of your contribution to this seminar.

Sincerely,

Lois Montgomery

LM:ps

Lois Montgomery
Chairman
Program Planning Committee

File Religious Orgs "Presbyterians" gen

March 6, 1967

Miss Lois Montgomery
Chairman
Seminar Planning Committee
United Presbyterian Women
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Room 1258
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Miss Montgomery:

Thank you very much for your letter and good words. It was a real pleasure being with your group.

There were no expenses involved.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

*United Presbyterian Women*

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Room 1258, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

February 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your participation in the seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation". Your keynote address set us on the right course for the week-end.

I'm glad that you did not have time to polish your written text. The mixture of advance planning and on the spot evaluation was just what we needed.

It turned out that the seminar was one of the most relevant and stimulating educational events for church women that I've ever had anything to do with. The credit goes in large measure to you and the other speakers who responded to our invitation and respected the group by giving us your best, and to the women of the Southeast who participated so fully in each session.

I am enclosing a voucher which you may submit for any expenses related to our meeting.

Thank you again for your very significant contribution to this experience.

Sincerely,

Lois Montgomery

Lois Montgomery
Chairman, Seminar
Planning Committee

LM:ps
Enc:voucher

_____, 196_.

To the Treasurer
United Presbyterian Women

This is to certify that in the interest of United Presbyterian Women in attending the

(meeting) Southeast Seminar - Proposition I

held at Atlanta, Ga. on Feb. 24-26 196_7,

my expenditures are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| Transportation | $_____ |
| Hotel | _____ |
| Meals | _____ |
| Other Expenses : _____ | _____ |
| _____ | ========== |
| Total : | $ ========== |

_____
(Signature)

Please reimburse me by :

____ Check
____ Currency
____ Mailing check to me at

| | |
|---|---|
| Advanced | $_____ |
| Expended | $_____ |
| Refunded | $_____ |
| Due | $_____ |

_____

_____

Return to : Miss Gertrude Seubold, Treasurer
475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 1103, N.Y. 27,NY

Bring up Feb. 20, 1967

extra file cc other orig. etc rtd to PA

January 31, 1967

Miss Gertrude Seubold, Treasurer
United Presbyterian Women
Room 1103
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Miss Seubold:

Thank you for your letter of January 27th regarding final arrangements for the seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation" to be held in Atlanta on February 24-26.

Since I am in Atlanta, I will not need any reservations or travel advance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

*United Presbyterian Women*

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Room 1258, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027 212-870-2760

January 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In making final arrangements for the seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation" to be held at the Howell House in Atlanta on the week-end of February 24-26 we need some information from you.

Will you please let me know whether you would like me to make overnight reservations for you at the Howell House on Friday, February 24 and/or Saturday, February 25? If you stay at the Howell House you may sign your hotel bill when you leave and it will be paid for you. I do not think you can charge your meals, but you will be reimbursed for them.

If you would like an advance to cover travel and board expenses we would be happy to provide this. Please send your request directly to:

Miss Gertrude Seubold
Treasurer
United Presbyterian Women
Room 1103
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Please let Miss Seubold know the approximate cost of your round trip travel. When air travel is used, tourist rates are preferred.

To be sure you receive your advance in time for the seminar please try to get your requests in to Miss Seubold <u>not later than February 10th</u>.

I don't think I shall have occasion to write to you again before we meet in Atlanta. However, should there be questions do not hesitate to write to me. I look forward to working with you on the week-end of the 24th.

Sincerely,

Lois Montgomery

Lois Montgomery
Chairman
Seminar Planning Committee

LM:ps

File
Relig Orgs
Presby Church U.S.
gen.

October 6, 1967

Miss Evelyn L. Green
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341 Ponce De Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Miss Green:

Thank you so much for your nice letter. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your comments about the work of the Council.

Regarding your inquiry, the Fund for the Republic is no longer in existence. The Ford Foundation is, of course, (477 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022). I am not certain of who would be the contact person there regarding international visitors, but a letter to them inquiring would probably bring a prompt response.

It has generally been the case, however, that foundations such as Ford have a great reluctance of funding "local" projects no matter how good they may be. Many foundations, in fact, automatically reject any local proposal that comes to them.

While we have almost no contact with Atlanta-based foundations, they might offer more hope. For instance, the Woodruff Foundation (Peachtree Center, Atlanta, Georgia) is a multi-million dollar one, based on Coca Cola money, has a particular interest in Atlanta and Georgia, and yet certainly ought to be internationally minded. The director for the Foundation is Mr. Boisfeuillet Jones, who also ought to have a particular interest in matters related to health and medicine. Certainly, I think this is worth exploring.

Do let us know what success you have, and please call on us if we can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

**Board of Women's Work**

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341 PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

October 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wonder if you would give us some information. I am working with a committee representing a number of church groups who are interested in establishing a program and a hospitality house for international persons who come to the Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta. This group is interested in making a contact with the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation; yet, they are not sure who could give them some information about a contact person and procedure in making this contact. I am aware of the fact that this fund has been offered for inter-racial work to a number of different groups in the churches, as well as in other inter-denominational and non-denominational activities. I believe our Southern Regional Council has had some grants from this fund. Would it be possible for you to tell me who the contact person would be for us to make inquiry concerning the stipulations for the use of the Fund for the Republic? What we have in mind is inter-racial and international, and it is a unique possibility and a responsibility of the Atlanta community since we have this unusual situation here.

I appreciate so very much the work that you are doing, and we feel that you are representing all of us in heading up the work of the Southern Regional Council which is making such a tremendous contribution to our southland. Thank you again for your leadership.

Sincerely,

Evelyn L. Green

Evelyn L. Green

ELG:elh

NEWS

PRESBYTERIAN OFFICE OF INFORMATION
An office of the General Council of the General Assembly
THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027
AREA CODE 212 - 870-2808

NEW YORK • • • • PHILADELPHIA

6745 Rel. Presbyterian

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 3--The Rev. J. Oscar McCloud of Atlanta, Ga. has been appointed Southern Regional Director of the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race. Announcement of Mr. McCloud's selection for the post was made today by the Rev. Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Executive Director of the Commission.

In his new position Mr. McCloud will have regional responsibility for coordinating resources for a more intensive effort toward integration; the strengthening of urban ministry, community organization, and cooperation with Negro denominations; and increasing the participation of the church's white constituency in the work of the Commission. His office will be in Atlanta, at 1418 First Federal Building.

The Southeast Regional Office will direct the activities of a task force in religion and race including the Rev. Robert Muir of Mid-South Synod, the Rev. Jack Marian of the Board of Christian Education, the Rev. Robert Shirley of Catawba Synod and others representing United Presbyterian judicatories in the region. The office also will seek interdenominational participation in task force operations.

"We feel fortunate to secure the services of Mr. McCloud and believe he will make a significant contribution to United Presbyterian work in race relations, just as he has done in his former position," Dr. Wilmore said. Before accepting the new appointment Mr. McCloud was a field representative in areas of racial tension for the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

(more)

The Southern Region includes the states of West Virginia, sourthern Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Florida.

A native of Waynesboro, Ga., Mr. McCloud holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from Berea (Kentucky) College and a Bachelor of Theology degree from Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He was pastor of the Davie Street United Presbyterian Church in Raleigh, North Carolina before being associated with the Board of Christian Education.

He is a member of the Georgia Advisory Committee, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, a post he has held since 1964. A participant in "Operation Crossroads Africa" in the summer of 1958, he traveled in West Africa and Europe. Mr. McCloud also has served on a number of presbytery, synod, and national agencies of the denomination.

Mr. McCloud is married to the former Robbie Foster. They have two daughters.

-30-

vic jameson

PRESBYTERIAN OFFICE OF INFORMATION
An office of the General Council of the General Assembly

N E W S

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

475 Riverside Drive + New York, New York 10027
Area Code 212 870 - 2808

New York Philadelphia

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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Mr. McCloud is married to the former Robbie Foster. They have two daughters.

Vic Jameson

*Memo* FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

December 27

TO: HCF

Dr. Fifield (First Presbyterian) is to make two talks re Christian attitude in race relations and the schools in Albany, Ga. on Jan. 11 -- one will be televised by Ray Moore.

His secretary, Mrs. North, called and asked for you, said Ralph McGill had told her we had the best materials for him of anyone. When I told here you were in conference and asked her to leave her name and number, she decided to tell me what she wanted, and is coming by Tuesday morning to pick up some stuff and Les will talk with her to be sure she has everything she needs. She is also seeing Dorsey, Judge Hooper, and HOPE.

He wants to bring in the consequences of closed schools, what has happened in Little Rock and Virginia, how well integration has gone in North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the real facts about Washington D. C.

She seems to think that this will result in more invitations over the state if he can get material for a good, solid talk.

I thought you would want to know about this.

# QUESTIONS FOR THE CHARLESTON CONFERENCE

The following questions are a digest of those sent in by delegates to this Conference. They are divided into categories to facilitiate discussion in smaller groups.

A. Ecclesiastical

1. What kind of strategies should judicatories (sessions, presbyteries, synod) devise:

   a. to keep communications between extreme factions open, to alleviate tensions, to avert violence, to achieve justice, to act if violence erupts.

   b. to support individuals and groups deeply involved in conflict situations and perhaps under persecution? (Advisory, Refuge, other functions)

   c. to educate their own members as to the realities (legal, economic, social, political, ecclesiastical--i.e., the Church's position) of their situation?

2. What are the possibilities of interdenominational co-operation? How effective is it?

3. Should ecclesiastical efforts in South Carolina and Georgia be primarily characterized by inter-racial strategy or by separate Negro and white strategy or both.

4. How effective would it be for one of our church courts, like synod or presbytery, to seek co-operation of corresponding church courts of the majority group in a petition to the governors of states where segregation is the law of the state, to seek repeal of any and all laws requiring segregation?

5. How can the judicatories help decrease the "polarization" of Negroes and whites into two extreme positions (i.e., integration at all costs vs. segregation at all costs with no middle ground)? Or is this polarization inevitable and should it be encouraged?

B. Political and Legal

1. The Supreme Court has ruled on segregation in the public schools. But, as we know, there are many other laws in the states, either written or unwritten, which require segregation of Negroes in practically every phase of the life of the citizen in the Southern States: "Would you advise that an attempt be made to list all such laws and through legal proceeding, get a kind of 'package decision' from higher courts, or do you think it best to isolate each case and seek court action on each? Or further still, would you suggest that Negroes just wait until some ones of their race fall victim of one or more of these laws, then go to their defense with legal support?"

2. Would it be advisable to throw the unified support of the Negroes behind a qualified spokesman, and send him or a selected group, preferably churchmen, to the governor of the state affected and ask for repeal of the segregation laws?

3. Efforts to resist the Supreme Court's Decision have resulted in many resolutions proposed for state legislation directed against individuals and groups sympathetic toward the decision such as (a) State and County employees and NAACP membership, and (b) Church property permitting NAACP meetings not to be exempted from taxes. How should local churches, presbyteries, and synods meet this legislation?

4. Is the matter of "Vote Grabbing" so paramount to the politician that it is impossible to appeal to his conscience on the issue of human relations?

C. Economic

1. In the lower income bracket it is essential for people who endeavor to make progress in their living to operate on an installment plan. Frequently, actions which interupt the income of these people, for even a short time, can be very damaging blows and far-reaching in influence. What, if anything, can the Church do?

   a. by way of establishing credit unions and other co-operative "self-helf" efforts re farming, business and home building?

   b. unified support of businesses in economic trouble?

2. Should a local church (or a presbytery) try to encourage organized defensive (or retaliatory, depending upon point of view) moves against local and/or state concerns that discriminate?

3. Closely related to number 2 above, what can the church do to discourage economic pressure groups?

D. Education, Public Relations, and General Questions

1. How can members of a church best be taught the stand of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., on segregation?

2. How can a church best prepare its people (especially teachers) to understand what their rights and responsibilities are? How best counsel them to prepare for and meet the tensions, losses, and possible suffering (economic and otherwise) attendant upon reactions to the Supreme Court Decisions?

3. Is corporate action by a local church possible? How?

4. What are the most effective ways Negro churches and churchmen can bring about the formation of inter-racial groups at the local level for the purpose of discussing the "problems" of living together, and seeking solutions?

5. Newspapers have a tremendous amount of influence in shaping public opinion. What are some of the techniques and methods of influencing editors in using a positive approach toward integration?

Record of Telephone Conversation between Ben Sissel and George S. Mitchell (Southern Regional Council) regarding possible trip by Sissel in June,

March 29, 1954

Ben — Hello, Mr. Mitchell. I am recording our conversation, or most of it, so we can get it down.

G.M. — Fair enough. I think Oscar Lee wrote me that you hoped to work out some deal for sending yourself or somebody else, preferably you.

Ben — Yes, there's a possibility it could be worked out. I can't make a commitment right now, but I should be able to very shortly, if we can work it out.

G.M. — He said I should write you and make suggestions as to areas. I'd rather 'phone you because we get more flexibility.

Ben — Yes!

G.M. — Where have you folks got your greatest strength, Tennessee and Kentucky?

Ben — Well, our strength in all those areas is a kind of limited strength, insofar as they are mostly weak mission areas.

G.M. — Well, haven't you got a good many folks up in east Tennessee?

Ben — Yes!

G.M. — And a lot of kinda mountaineer churches up there.

Ben — Yes, but in terms of strength we don't have too much, depending on what you mean by strength.

G.M. — Well, I think I'd talk to you about stirring up the roots of the mountain.

Ben — Yes.

G.M. — How about taking on a piece of that job?

Ben — Well, I am interested. Now I have a couple of questions to raise. I have had, as a matter of fact, a letter in the middle of dictation to you for the last couple of days, but I just haven't been able to finish it.

G.M. — Well, pull it out of the machine now and we'll finish off.

Ben — Now, what is the minimum length of time which you feel would have enough effectiveness to warrant my even taking the job?

G.M. — I'd say two weeks is about right, but ten days would do some good.

Ben — Yes!

G.M. But it ought really to be two weeks.

Ben Well, two weeks is out, ten days is possible.

G.M. Well, we'd be glad to take ten days. I'd be glad to have it.

Ben Another question. This would be in what area would you suggest, Eastern Tennessee?

G.M. I would say Eastern Tennessee, what we might call old Hostein--we call the districts up there. That's all mountain country.

Ben And perhaps Kentucky?

G.M. Yes, but I doubt if you could do more than a piece of East Tennessee in 10 days--from Bristol on down to Knoxville.

Ben Now, this would necessitate driving a car, would it not?

G.M. No, you could get a railroad or bus. The best thing to do would be to go down to Knoxville and pick up a U-Drive It, or take your own car. It doesn't matter.

Ben I see.

Ben Would a preliminary consultation be necessary with you or any of your people?

G.M. No, as it happened I stopped off up there and explained to you what it was. You've got a copy of the report of the meeting, haven't you?

Ben Yes, the gist of it.

G.M. And I would supply you with plenty of pamphlets ahead of time, either send them to Knoxville or to Philadelphia. You could pick those up and start to work with them.

Ben Let's see if I have this on the tip of my brain. This trip, if it took place, would be a kind of preliminary cultivation which would hopefully have the result that these local groups, particularly if primarily church people would get together in small groups, preferably interracial, to discuss and think together what they will do when the Supreme Court renders its decision, and what are the problems involved in the local community, and what are some possible solutions.

G.M. Yes, you would not yourself have the task of forming local discussion groups. You have only to go to the community leaders and ask them to take on that job themselves. You'd be going on up the road when they get a bunch of friends together.

Ben And it's not even my job to suggest solutions to them, merely to get them together and to start talking and thinking together.

G.M. Of course, they'll ask you your solutions which is healthy. It's a matter of the local community forming some links for discussion and finding the facts.

Ben This could almost be called a public relations job?

G.M. Yes.

Ben Now that's a loaded question. It's leading into another. One of the big problems of my summer and in my thinking on another commitment is that as of now I have two weeks with my family this summer.

G.M. Well, take your wife along.

Ben That's what I was going to ask you.

G.M. By all means, and make it a nice little vacation trip in East Tennessee. Old TVA is full of nice motels--you're in good shape.

Ben Good, that answers one further question.

G.M. As a matter of fact, this is a woman's job anyway.

Ben I was thinking of it from that point of view, that it might be an advantage to have her.

G.M. Oh, the women do the work. We men got to sit down and stir things up, but it's the women in these little back towns that have the meetings and do the work.

Ben We just have to get the men out of the way and take the lid off.

G.M. Well, put it any way you want.

Ben Now, as I understand it, as Vastine did it and also as Kramer did, I would set up immediately upon my arrival at the point of departure the meetings with the people ahead of time. Do you do that?

G.M. No, I don't think so. You'll find that people in one town pass you on to exactly the right people in the next town.

Ben I see, but you do have to set up one or two ahead of time?

G.M. Well, you'd start with somebody in Knoxville, like Mrs. Spahr.

Ben Would you be able to supply me with a few of these contacts?

G.M. The names of about 8 or 10 people up in there. All you have to do is start with the lady who is very prominent in your own church, Mrs. Spahr in Knoxville. I'll write you about her. She knows all the people up in that part of the country that are active and interested. They'd be overjoyed to have you and they'd just pass you on from town to town and cooperate with you in a beautiful way.

Ben Now, my itinerary would largely be determined by the location of our own Presbyterian congregations.

Howard Walton
Johnson City, Tenn
Wautauga Ave. Pres.
Hugh Simon
Joe Kirkwood

G.M. I think so. I'd start working that out with Mrs. Spahr. You know when you go down there you'd have a map with you showing where your own congregations are--and they'll be in Greenville and all those little towns up there. And all you've got to do is telephone ahead maybe, tell the guy you're coming, arrive in town, explain to him what you're after. He'd say, well I'll be glad to get 2 or 3 people over to the house this afternoon. Then sit down and talk about it, then you've got it going. You can move on to the next town. Leave them some books, tell them what to do, cheer them up a little, write down their names and addresses, tell them you're going to check up on them so see what they did do. Go on!

Ben All right. Now, what about financial arrangements on this thing?

G.M. The Church has got to pay your salary and your travel.

Ben I see. Can we get any help from the Southern Regional Council?

G.M. Well, I haven't ordinarily been able to arrange for it but if you need some I'll shell out $50 or $100. Yes.

Ben We think we can get between $100 and $200. Now how close do you think that would come to covering it?

G.M. I think 10 days will cost you around $400.

Ben WOW! This is assuming that my wife's expenses I will pro rata and pay it myself.

G.M. Well, I'll tell you what. I haven't got any money, but I'll put in $150. toward getting this out.

Ben That would give us $350 and if I can't live for 10 days on $15.00 a day . . .! I believe it could be done.

G.M. I think you can make it. Will you be driving your own car?

Ben That's something we'll have to discuss and work out.

G.M. Yes. Well, if you use a U-Drive It, it'll cost you a little more money, about 8¢ a mile or something.

Ben I see.

G.M. I'd be willing to put in $150 for you to work ten days up in there.

Ben It sounds good.

G.M. What dates?

Ben It would have to fall between June 1 and June 13. That's why I say 10 days would be the maximum.

G.M. That's all right. That's a perfectly good time.

Ben On June 13 I think I have to be in Alcoa, Tennessee.

G.M. Well, that would leave you off at exactly the right time.

Ben That's good. Yes.

G.M. Put you in good shape. I don't care whether you work it from Knoxville south, or from Knoxville north. You might consult your own records and see where you've got the most strength.

Ben Suppose I drop you a letter in which I confirm our commitment, Yes or No, and on receipt of the letter you, if this seems feasible, send me another letter in which perhaps you may think of things we haven't said.

G.M. Names of people.

Ben Right. And also the literature, or else arrange for me to pick up the literature somewhere down there. OK!

G.M. All right, you'll find that it's really very easy and that courtesy and eagerness of the people . . .!

Ben Well, it appeals to me very much.

G.M. You bring your wife. I'm all in favor of that.

Ben Thanks very much Mr. Mitchell. Bye!

G.M. Bye!

April 28, 1954

Mr. H. B. Sissel
The Board of Christian Education of
the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Sissel:

Mighty sorry indeed about the shelving of the plan for your trip to Eastern Tennessee. But I think it should be shelved only, and we ought to begin now to figure anytime to take it down off the shelf.

In all probability, October or November, 1954 will be a perfectly suitable time, and I wish you would try to schedule that. On the other hand, if someone else related to your work can make the trip earlier, or even in the Fall, well and good.

It is true that the Fund for the Republic gave us money to put paid personnel in each of the twelve Southern states, and we are proceeding with that. We hope to help the states for three and one-half years with the prospect that they can then continue as independent state agencies in human relations.

The Disciples of Christ have promised us Sam Freeman, from East Orange, to go into low-country North Carolina and up-country South Carolina. Meanwhile, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church have made available some six or seven local church leaders, with whom we are trying to work out agreements for trips. The Episcopal church has given us Mrs. F. O. Clarkson of Charleston, N.C., for the last two weeks in May. Miss Esther C. Stamats will be going to Texas the last two weeks in June. So, the business spreads.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

April 23, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The explanation for the delay in your hearing confirmation from me of the trip into Eastern Tennessee, which we discussed in our telephone conversation of March 29, involves a long story. You should know, however, that I have on my desk a letter dictated by myself April 14 in which I sought to convey to you my decision to make the trip and also my enthusiasm for it.

It now grieves me more than I can say to tell you that I must destroy that letter and cancel my plans for the work in Eastern Tennessee. A recent meeting of one of the administrative counsels in our board reviewed the field schedules of the various departments. Our Department of Social Education and Action led the list in the number of days committed to field work away from the office and has already exceeded the limit which is set by administrative policy. Even so, I had hoped for a special dispensation to be made in this particular case because of the importance of the work. However, when it came out that if I should have scheduled the trip in Eastern Tennessee I would have been absent from our office from April 27 until July 15, it simply became impossible to project. My other field engagements during this period are of long standing and of such a nature that they cannot be cancelled. This is just one of those things which make one very sad and frustrated.

I will investigate the possibility that someone else in our Board staff (it would have to be outside our Department) might find it possible to make the trip, but it seems rather unlikely that I will be successful. If I am, I will have him correspond with you immediately.

I am wondering what the effectiveness of such visits would be at a date several months later, say in the fall of 1954 (perhaps October or November). I suspect that if the Supreme Court renders its decision in May such a delay in stimulation of creative thinking and meeting might seriously mitigate its effectiveness. However, I should appreciate hearing your reaction to this possibility of a series of visits in

Eastern Tennessee at a date several months hence. Meanwhile, please accept my sincerest regrets and apology for making so much ado about nothing.

Just today I read in one of the Negro journals of a sizable grant to the Southern Regional Council by the Ford Foundation. If the information was correct, I rejoice with you.

With every good wish for your continued efforts and the hope that our contact with you may not be permitted to disintegrate, I am

Most sincerely yours,

Ben Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb
Dictated April 22, 1954

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION — INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Rev. Prentice H. Barnett — Date: February 16, 1956

From: H. B. Sissel — C. C. To: Rev. J. Hoytt Boles, Synod Executive

Subject:

Dear Prentice:

I have just learned from a trustworthy source that a Presbyterian lady in Houston has been rendering yeoman's service to the Church and the State of Texas for 25 years now without, so far as I know, much recognition on the part of her church.

She is Mrs. James S. Crate, a widow, a member of the USA Church, and for 25 years, Chairman of the Texas Commission on Race Relations. Mrs. Crate is a devout, plain, simple, motherly lady who has been quietly working for brotherhood through the Texas Commission all these years, and any recognition that she could be given, either by the synod, presbytery, or any Presbyterian church body in Texas, would be a fine and deeply appreciated gesture. Mrs. Crate lives at 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston. Her telephone number is Keystone 8986. The Texas Commission on Race Relations recently had its 36th annual meeting and honored Mrs. Crate for her 25 years of loyal service.

On another subject, Prentice, I understand that there is a YMCA camp (Amon Carter Camp) near Fort Worth at which racially mixed groups have been meeting for some time now, and whose facilities might be available to us, if we plan a conference such as the one we discussed at Atlantic City for eastern Texas. I am sure there must be other such places available for a possible conference. If you feel this is a possibility at all, let me know so we can start making plans.

Sincerely yours,

HBS:atb

Blind copy to Mr. George Mitchell

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION — INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To: Rev. Charles W. Talley

Date: February 16, 1956

From: H. B. Sissel

C. C. To: Field Program

Subject: Fund for the Republic Conference, May 9-10, 1956

This will recapitulate the ~~times~~ things we discussed on the telephone today.

1. The date is Friday and Saturday, March 9-10 (hopefully in Charleston), from 10:00 a.m. Friday until 4:00 p.m. Saturday.

2. You will secure (a) place for meeting--if possible, facilities for small groups, (b) food and lodging, (c) someone to lead brief opening devotion and closing service, yourself presiding and making introductions.

3. I will secure a letter of invitation, either from Paul Payne or Clifford Earle, and send you 100 copies.

4. I will have registration blanks included with the letters.

5. We will ask for a contribution of $5.00 each from the churches represented but, if this causes hardship, it is not to prevent attendance. Perhaps it will be better for you, in your accompanying letter, to request the $5.00, rather than Paul Payne or Clifford Earle. What do you think?

6. All delegates will be reimbursed for actual travel expenses and any room and board, both enroute and at the conference.

7. The letter from Paul Payne or Clifford Earle will request potential delegates to forward to us any questions, problems, etc. they would like to have discussed at the conference.

8. I will lay out a skeleton agenda for planning purposes, but the final agenda will be on hand at the conference itself.

9. I will invite, through Sam Orlandi, three or four key persons from Florida Synod, sending you a copy of the letter which you will follow-up with your own invitation.

10. You will find out how we can get Judge Waring and I will try to get him present at the conference.

11. George Mitchell, Director of the Southern Regional Council, has already committed himself to being present, and I will confirm the invitation to him.

12. Delegates will return their registrations to you, along with registration fees, if you so desire.

13. I will bring along evaluation blanks for delegates to fill out at the conclusion of the conference.

14. We will anticipate something like 50 to 60 persons.

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To..... Date.....

From..... C. C. To:.....

Subject.....



It is rather important that I hear from you at the earliest possible date as to the actual location of the conference (Charleston, Rockhill?), since this information should probably be included in the letter from Payne or Earle.

If you think of any further details that we have overlooked, let me know; and, if they are of an urgent nature, don't hesitate to telephone.

HBS:atb

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

February 16, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum to Rev. Charles W. Talley, the Presbyterian Field Representative in Atlantic Synod (1215 Market Street, Cheraw, S. C.), stating the preliminary details of the conference that you and I discussed on the 'phone the other day. I am delighted that you are free to attend and hope that you can stay for both days.

Mr. Talley raised the question of whether or not a popular meeting, in which you would speak, might not be valuable at the conclusion of the conference and I said that both he and you would have better judgment on that than I would. He informs me that there is one white church in Charleston that has been somewhat sympathetic and open and at which there is a possibility that a mixed popular meeting might take place. This sounds a bit unusual for Charleston, South Carolina, and I may have misunderstood him, but that was the impression I got.

Any suggestions you can make for the planning of the agenda for the conference will be most appreciated. May I suggest that you send a copy of any correspondence with me to Mr. Talley.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

CC: Rev. Charles W. Talley

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

copy to Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council

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*"On Capitol Hill"*

February 17, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 20 1956

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

I have just learned of the loyal and devoted service you have rendered in the cause of brotherhood through the Texas Commission on Race Relations for the past 25 years. It is gratifying and heartening to those of us who are committed to this cause to learn of the brave efforts of people like yourself, particularly in areas where it is not always easy to be identified with such work.

It makes me proud to be a Presbyterian.

Most sincerely,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

CC: Rev. Prentice H. Barnett, Field Director

March 2, 1956

Mr. H.B. Sissel, Associate Secretary
Department of Social Education and Action
The Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S. of America
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Got letter of February 29 and typed script.

Need to know where Charleston meeting is to be. Will show anywhere in Charleston bright and early, Saturday, March 10.

Dismally, shall be in New Orleans March 9, but Atlanta all day March 8. Can see Scanland March 8. Confident technicians can solve problems.

Am struggling with script. Marvelous job your gal did in translating from the Hottentot but there is an occasional spot in which the minutia in the Hottentot would not come through. Am correcting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy to Rev. Charles W. Talley

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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February 29, 1956

Professor Guy Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

On February 21 I wrote you, inviting you to a conference in South Carolina. The dates were in error and the corrected letter should read, in its entirety, as follows.

On May 9 and 10, in South Carolina (probably Charleston) there will be a conference of Presbyterian, U.S.A. pastors and laymen, one from each church, dealing with the role of the local church (particularly the Negro Presbyterian Church in South Carolina) relative to the Supreme Court decision. George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, will be a resource person the second day of the conference. He has recommended you very highly as someone who can provide necessary resource leadership the first day of the conference during his absence.

This conference is sponsored by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. as the first of a series of study conferences in the South on the question of the local church and the Supreme Court decision.

Your role would not be that of a speech-maker, but rather that of an informal guide and monitor to help answer any questions of fact or judgment that might come up.

The content of the two-day program is as yet uncrystallized and it will be played pretty much by ear, on the basis of suggestions from pastors and laymen themselves as to problems they would like to have dealt with. There will be 50 or 60 people at the conference, we believe. We can pay all expenses incidental to your participation.

I am very hopeful that you will be free to lend your experience and wisdom at that time.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb
CC: Mr. George Mitchell

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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February 29, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 2 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As I dictate this letter, the tape recording of your speech to the Methodist women last August is being transcribed and, I trust, can be enclosed with this correspondence.

As you will remember, that speech after careful editing and revision is to become the script for a filmstrip on the economic, agricultural, social, etc., development of the South. As I listened to the speech with an eye to its usefulness for the filmstrip, several problems occurred to me--problems of so complex a nature that it is even difficult for me to discuss them intelligently in writing. Hence, it is with some encouragement that I learned that our Director of Audio-Visuals, Robert Scanland, is going to be in Atlanta on March 8 and 9, and will perhaps have an opportunity to come to your office for a half-hour, or an hour, to discuss with you what is involved in the production of the filmstrip built around your excellent presentation.

I have had several conversations with Bob Scanland and he was privileged to listen to the tape recording. Our present inclination is to send you a copy of transcript, rough as it is, with a wide margin at the right, and ask you to read it thoughtfully with the view of considering possible shots or photographs that would go along with the script. Later on, rather detailed descriptions of the photographs needed would be written out and efforts would be made to secure these photographs. The third and final step would then be to ask you to speak to the sequence of photographs so that your recorded script would be geared rather neatly and precisely into the filmstrip itself (I find myself becoming confused in an effort to put this in writing. I hope that it will be possible for you and Mr. Scanland to get together and to arrive at a mutual understanding as to what is involved).

You may be hearing from Mr. Scanland within the next few days. But in any case, if you are in Atlanta on March 8 or 9, it will be possible for the two of you to discuss this matter together.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Charleston on May 10.

Cordially yours,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab
CC: Rev. Robert Scanland

March 6, 1956

Mr. H.B. Sissel, Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

I believe the various answers required in your letter of March 5 were given in our telephone conversation today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy to: Rev. Charles W. Talley
Mr. George Mitchell

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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March 5, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 6 1956

John Bolt Culbertson, Esquire
P. O. Box 1325
Elford Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Culbertson:

I am delighted that you are able to participate in the conference at Charleston on May 9 (and hopefuil, 10?). Your counsel would certainly be invaluable to people who may not be aware, either of their rights, or of the legal pitfalls into which they might plunge.

The precise location of the conference in Charleston has not been determined, but I shall certainly inform you immediately as soon as I learn it.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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March 5, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 6 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Scanland is arriving in Atlanta on March 9. It is impossible for him to see you on March 8. Could you leave word with someone in your office to meet with him and discuss the matter of the script?

I think you will agree that there will have to be some additions and deletions to your speech as it now stands, but I hope the technicians will, as you say, be able to solve the problems.

Guy Johnson is unable to come to the May 9-10 conference in Charleston, as is Judge Waring. I took a chance on a recommendation by Judge Waring and asked John B. Culbertson, an attorney in Greenville whom you may know, to participate on legal aspects on May 9. I hope he is a responsible and reliable person as Judge Waring said he was.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

CC: Rev. Robert Scanland

March 12, 1956

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

When you called me way back there in February I put down on my calendar that I must be at Charleston March 10. And so it stayed on my calendar. And March 10 duly went I to Charleston. I got in from New Orleans the night before. I arose Saturday morning at 4:00 A.X. and took myself to Charleston on thy account. Arrived at 9:11 and speared about by 'phone and finally dug up your friend, The Rev. Mr. Metz, who said all a "mistakio." Thereabouts they had a notion of April, but it won't even be then.

I had a pleasant lunch at Charleston and got the 4:10 plane home. This morning at the office I noticed that in your letter of March 5 you had made some reference to the May 9-10 conference in Charleston. I had not caught that reference and had not changed my calendar.

In any case that is countered by the fact that I wrote you March 2 and said I would show in Charleston bright and early Saturday, March 10. The highest alertness in your office might have buzzed me to say, "Fly not, March 10."

Now for sho' nuff when is your meeting in Charleston and do you still want me over there?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 21, 1956

Mr. H.B. Sissel, Associate Secretary
Department of Social Education and Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Only a Higher Power could apportion the blame between us.

Perfectly willing to come back to Charleston, May 9 and/or May 10. Had rather be there one day than two. Take your pick. And if it has to be two I will come for the two.

As to the unsuccessful trip I figure it cost about fifty dollars. If your budget could stand a twenty-five dollar check to SRC for the travel I would think that even-steven and even be tter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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*"On Capitol Hill"*

March 19, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 21 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

What can I say or do, except what I must do daily before the Lord, i.e., to ask for grace and forgiveness. One wonders how much of the evil in this world is compounded by the failure of well intentioned people to catch seemingly insignificant human errors until it is too late.

Anyhow, if you will still bear with us, we do hope for and need very much your help:

When: May 9, 10:00 a.m. to May 10, 4:00 p.m.
Where: Charleston, South Carolina, Zion Church (Reverends F. P. Metz, and Edward Miller, host pastors), as of our last (mis)understanding you were to be present the second day only.

Is it possible now that you will be able to be there both days?

A letter from Charles Talley, our Field Director, indicates the desire of the local committee to invite the following people: Mr. James M. Dabbs, Dr. James M. Hinton of Columbia, and Miss Rebecca Reed, community worker of Sumter. Culbertson has already stated his intention to be present. Judge Waring is, of course, not free to attend. Dr. Jesse B. Barbour, of our Board of National Missions, has indicated indirectly that he would like to be invited also. Dr. Barbour has been for some years the director of "Presbyterian work among Negroes." I think it would be well if he could be present.

I have received a letter from Frank H. Willard, Jr., regarding his conversation with Mr. Scanland on the filmstrip and a sample of his work. I will discuss same with Scanland at the first opportunity.

Is my fall from grace irreparable, or do you still love me?

As ever,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

P. S. If you will send me a statement of your expenses on the wild goose chase, I will see that your budget is reimbursed out of our budget.

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
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*"On Capitol Hill"*

April 2, 1956

RECEIVED APR 4 1956

Rev. Charles W. Talley
1213 Market Street
Cheraw, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Talley:

I have worked out a tentative program for the Charleston Conference on which I should appreciate your critical comments. You will note that it is nothing more than bare bones and the flesh will have to be filled in.

It was my feeling that the whole conference should be leisurely and informal, with a minimum of speeches and a maximum of opportunity for self-expression by the delegates. The sharing of problems, insights and experience should be encouraged. We should not work under the pressure of having to prepare formal "findings" or "reports." Attached herewith is the proposed docket for your suggestions.

Please impress on the Atlantic Synod leadership the importance of our knowing ahead of time the problems they especially want to be treated.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

CC: Dr. George S. Mitchell
John Bolt Culbertson, Esq.
Rev. James H. Nelson

Please comment
HBS.

May 9 & 10

April 6, 1956

Mr. H.B. Sissel, Associate Secretary
Department of Social Education and Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for the check and letter which came in yesterday morning.

I will be at your service May 9 and 10 in Charleston.

Let me know later on what more I should know.

Good to see you and the others Wednesday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Reinneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

March 29, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 5 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Alpha

Enclosed you will find a check for $25.00 to cover half the expenses of your trip to Charleston two weeks ago. It should be more.

I think it would be most wise for you to plan to be back in Charleston on May 9 at the very beginning of the conference to fill in the background of historical development in that section of the South, so that that information may inform our discussion from the very beginning. Personally, because of your vast reservoir of experience, I would prefer to have you there both days, and would feel a lot more confident that anything that came up could be handled as old stuff by you. However, I feel very reticent about asking you to do this. Put it this way, it doesn't have to be both days for you, but I would feel a lot better about it.

Shortly I will be sending you and our Field Director, Mr. Talley, a tentative, loose docket for criticism and suggestions. Please bear in mind that we are hoping to have some representative white pastors and laymen from Florida at the conference. Whether or not they will show, remains to be seen. They have been invited.

Sincerely yours,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

ul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

May S. - here - 092

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

April 10, 1956

RECEIVED APR 12 1956

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is a list of the questions that the ministers and leaders of Atlantic Synod would like discussed at the conference in Charleston on May 9 and 10. As you will see, they cover the gamut from ecclesiastical through economic, legal, and political areas. As we prepare ourselves for the conference, we will want to bear these questions in mind, because several of them are searching and crucial not only to the churches in South Carolina but to all of us.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

Dr. George S. Mitchell
John Bolt Culbertson, Esq.
Rev. Charles W. Talley
Rev. Samuel G. Orlandi
Rev. Clifford Earle
Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

April 24, 1956

RECEIVED APR 26 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are enclosing a copy of a few more questions which it may be well for you to have for your consideration prior to the conference in Charleston, May 9 and 10.

In case you may be wondering as to your housing accommodations at Charleston, you should know that the delegates and those who are coming from Philadelphia will be housed in the homes of parishoners of Mr. Metz, who is handling local arrangements. If this is a satisfactory arrangment for your accommodations, you will be assigned to a home on your arrival at the Zion Presbyterian Church, 129 Calhoun Street, Charleston. If you prefer to stay in a hotel in Charleston, would you please make your own reservations? You will, of course, be reimbursed for any expense incurred by your participation in the conference as a resourse person.

Cordially yours,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab
Enc.

CC: Rev. Charles W. Talley, Field Director

May 1, 1956

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Bens

I have written to the Fort Sumter Hotel to ask for a room for me on May 9th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 4, 1956

Mrs. Alice Spearman
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

For Ben Sissell, who runs social behave-yourself part of the (Northern) Presbyterian Church (out of Philadelphia), I am to be in Charleston at a meeting of that Church's parsons and some lay people on May 9 and 10.

You will understand that the local S.C. Churches of that denominational group are without exception Negro (as they stem from the action of their Presbytery in 1867 or so in ordaining a freedman of great eloquence but no special learning). Most of the persons have some link with Johnson C. Smith University at Charlotte.

I believe the local man on Calhoun Street in Charleston has matters more or less in charge. I'll stay the night of the 9th at the Fort Sumter (if they grant me space).

Glad to do any Charleston chores for you, but am not begging for them!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 19, 1956

Mr. H. B. Sissel
The Board of Christial Education, Presbyterian Church USA
Department of Socail Education and Action
830 Wetherspoon Building
Philadelphia, Penn.

Dear Mr. Sissel:

In the absence of Mr. Routh, this is to acknowledge you letter of the 15th and the check for $16.28.

Sincerely,

J. Paul Anthony

JPA/bsc

December 28, '56

Dear Ben,

Sure, that's all right about Gatlinburg, and I'll be there. Right, it will be necessary for you to foot the expenses bill, as I'll be on nobody's payroll. I stop off here January 15.

Fred and Harold Fleming are both tied up in some meeting out of town that day, and can't get there. But, me I think I'm half a historian and a fourth a sociologist; though I do not esteem sociology too much!

Honored to be invited. You see, feeding me the things about when and where to show. And if you get emergencies after Jan. 15 I'll reachable at home, 906 Lillwater Road, NE., Atlanta 7, Ga., where the telephone (unlisted) in Drake 3 - 5961.

Best,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

This 'un's the White one. GSM

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

December 26, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 28 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This will confirm the oral invitation I extended to you last week to participate in the Presbyterian conference on the local church and the Supreme Court decisions to be held at the Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tenn., January 31 to February 1. This conference will be comparable to the one we held in Charleston last May which you attended. Your attendance will be at our expense of course.

The structure of the conference will be something like this. Invited are the pastor and one layman from every Presbyterian church in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. This includes some 50 or 60 Negro churches. It is to be assumed however that a large percentage of those invited will not show up. We anticipate something between 75 and 125 as a wild guess.

These people have been asked to submit to us, in advance of the conference, questions, problems and issues they desire to discuss. These questions, with a bit of help from us, will constitute the content of the conference.

In the past, these conferences have opened with three addresses: (1) on the theological perspective; (2) on the historical perspective; and (3) on the sociological perspective. These addresses have been followed by approximately seven or eight hours of small group discussion on the questions submitted by the delegates themselves.

Obviously we are greatly in need of your help at Gatlinburg as we were at Charleston. I hope you will also show this letter to Harold Fleming and Fred Routh and tell them to regard it as their invitation also. I can handle the theological perspective but need some good men to handle the other two addresses, as well as to serve as resource persons in the small group discussions.

I await, sir, your enthusiastic response.

Cordially yours,

HB Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab
P.S. Have a joyful holiday season.

January 8, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

All straight. I have notified the man at Rockwood that I am coming to your show as a resource man.

I haven't yet figured out how to get up yonder, but I will get there and be on time and I won't leave early.

I am exempt from the January 23-24 meeting in Atlanta, and expect to be packing furniture at home. But if occasion should offer for you to phone me or come out there, the telephone is DRake 3-5961, and the address is 906 Lullwater Road, N. E., (nine-tenths of the way to Emory), and you would be deeply welcome.

Lullwater is right, not Lollwater.

No part I can take in the business about the sound track. Me; I could understand it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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January 4, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Glad we can expect you at Gatlinburg. I am taking special pains to see that the information you have is absolutely correct. It is as follows:

Place: Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee
Date and Time: 10:00 a.m., January 31 to 4:00 p.m., February 1

And I repeat, we pay expenses.

Enclosed you will find a registration card which you should fill out immediately and mail, noting on it that you are a resource person rather than a delegate.

If you are planning to be at the January 23-24 Consultative Conference on Desegregation in Atlanta, perhaps we can speak together then of the matter of the Gatlinburg conference.

I am certainly getting the advice of a number of sound recording experts with regard to THE FACE OF THE SOUTH and am up in the air as to whether to do the whole thing over again or to try to improve what we have with the knowledge that it will not be used (because of a northern inability to understand your voice)except in a rather restricted degree.

Cordially,

Ben

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

P. S. As your typewriter was not performing well, would you state whether or not you live at 906 Lollwater Road, N.E., or some other street?

January 15, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

This confirms my telephone call on January 11th. I will be at Frank Willard's studio at 2:00 on January 22nd expecting you.

I cannot yet decide how to get to Gatlinburg. But I recall that if I chance into Knoxville on the afternoon of Wednesday, January 30th, I will find you and your associates at the Second Presbyterian Church.

But rest assured that I will show at the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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*"On Capitol Hill"*

January 8, 1957

Mr. Frank Willard
3223-B Cain's Hill Place, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lollwater Road, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Frank and George:

On January 22, if you two are free, I shall arrive about noon in Atlanta, a day early for a conference on January 23. I am hoping that the three of us can get together around two o'clock on the afternoon of the twenty-second to discuss the possibilities of reshooting Mr. Mitchell's entire talk in the Willard studios.

THE FACE OF THE SOUTH has been viewed by several people, among them some sound recording engineers in New York and the key people in the denominations who control the channel of distribution to the churches. I have already discussed with both of you the unfortunate reception that the denominational people have given to the film.

Since, as I said, these people control the possibility of the film's being used in the churches at all and they are not as of now receptive to it because of what they consider to be its intelligibility limitations, only one of two courses remains open to us Presbyterians: (a) we can go ahead and order a limited number of prints for our own use and let it go at that, or (b) we can try to retake the whole thing, excluding the location shots, according to the recommendations of the sound engineers in New York, which is that certain minor acoustical measures be taken in the studio to overcome some reverberation and that Mr. Mitchell submit himself to the rather unpleasant discipline of a director, who will give special attention to seeing that every word comes through loud and clear, as they say.

Mr. Mitchell has already indicated his willingness to do this (although I must confess I stated it more felicitously when I talked with him about it). Further, I have reason to believe that The Fund for the Republic will advance us some more money, within limitations, for this project, since they have an interest in the film also. In any case, since I have to come to Atlanta anyway, it would be an excellent idea if we would talk about it on January 22. Responde, please, so that I may make my plane reservations accordingly.

If it is any comfort to you as it is to me, the social action people who saw the film thought that content-wise it was excellent, and the sound people who heard it said that the sound track was one of the best they had ever seen on color.

Cordially,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

Mrs Brooks ch
Kent
apo
30

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

~~University of Tennessee~~

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

February 25, 1957

Dr. Howard L. Parsons
Department of Philosophy and Psychology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Parsons:

It is gratifying to learn that Union Presbytery voted favorably on the resolutions recommended by your social education and action committee. I think they are some of the finest statements made by our Church in this whole matter of integration, particularly in view of the situation in Tennessee at this time.

Many of us are waiting with interest and expectation for Judge Taylor's ruling in March about the Knoxville schools. I imagine that it goes without saying, Judge Taylor will order the Knoxville school system to desegregate in the near future. It is also my understanding that very little, if anything, has been done in Knoxville to prepare for integration. If this is true, it might be well for the SEA committee of Presbytery to know of the existence of certain resources that might assist in this preparation.

May I suggest that you write to Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, using my name as the source of this suggestion. There are many agencies in the South interested in and working for desegregation. The Southern Regional Council is acting as a clearing house and coordinating center for these responsible groups. A very promising approach has been worked out and will be tried in Charlottesville, Va., in the early part of March. I think that such an approach might be very helpful in Knoxville.

The way it works is like this: The agencies that have a constituency in a given city designate southern field representatives as their staff workers and then follow a procedure something along these lines. (1) These field representatives meet for a forenoon in the home of a local leader (perhaps yourself) and receive from him or her a briefing as to the local situation; (2) during the afternoon they go out into the community and make contact with leaders in their constituency, observing the situation for themselves; (3) the forenoon of the second day they return to the original meeting place, bring with them one or two local leaders from their constituency, and evaluate the situation as to the factors and possibilities that are in it; and (4) the afternoon of the second day this same group plans strategy and techniques for the most creative action within the local situation through local people.

Needless to say, the agencies that are cooperating in this mutual endeavor are responsible and respectable groups, including such organizations as the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the National YMCA and YWCA, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Anti-Defamation League, etc.

I wish you would think about this suggestion and evaluate it as to its usefulness in Knoxville, after Judge Taylor renders his decision. If you have further questions, I should be happy to answer them.

It is certainly encouraging to us in the Department to know that we have such fine leadership in our Church in Tennessee.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:atb

P. S. I think you will find the Southern Regional Council a good source of material in this matter.

CC: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mrs. Ben Russell

~~State - Virginia~~
Religious orgs

February 25, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Received your letter of February 21st and concur that Mrs. Russell would be a valuable addition to our staff group in Virginia. Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just sent her.

Best wishes.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosure

May 30, 1957

Motion Picture Laboratories
1672 Union Avenue
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

H. B. Sissel of the Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, has informed us that you are handling the distribution of the film, "The Face of the South." We would like one copy of this film at the earliest possible time since we already have some requests for the showing of the film.

Please bill Southern Regional Council for the cost of the film and thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

Return to HCF.

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

April 29, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

JC
P/S order 1 copy earliest

The George Mitchell film is completed. We have one copy in our hands. I am authorizing Motion Picture Laboratories (1672 Union Avenue, Memphis 4, Tenn.) to sell prints direct to legitimate purchasers upon order. Our office is not set up to perform any merchandizing or order-taking. My understanding is that the cost of the film will be something in the neighborhood of $115. to $125. per copy. Have not been informed as to the precise cost. Your procedure, therefore, would be to order direct from Motion Picture Laboratories in Memphis.

OK

Regarding this other matter we discussed by telephone, I just made a final check this morning and it was as feared. The general categories of our Board's budget are set by the General Assembly and the Southern Regional Council just doesn't fit into any of those categories. Our Board receives a certain allotment of the church's benevolence giving for specific disbursement. It also is permitted to receive special gifts within certain specified categories. The ecclesiastical maneuverings that would be necessary to modify this are unimaginable. In brief, it pains me to have to say it can't be done.

There are a couple of agencies in Philadelphia (for example, Fellowship Commission) that might be able to do the trick. Would you want me to do some inquiring, or should I let the matter drop?

When will be the next meeting of the Council of Agencies in the South? I hope some time in May, since my schedule gets very tight after that, and as we are about to get two full time field staff in the South it is rather important that we keep in close touch with current developments (this latter information is confidential for the moment). If you have any good suggestions as to top notch Presbyterians, either U.S. or U.S.A., who might fill this position (one white and one Negro), I should appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

RECEIVED JUN 13 1957

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

June 10, 1957

TO: Members and Representatives of
Consultative Conference on Desegregation

Dear Friends:

THE FACE OF THE SOUTH, George Mitchell's famous map talk, has been completed in motion picture form and a second version correcting certain sound track difficulties in the first print is finished.

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert has kindly consented to arrange for a screening for representatives of interested agencies to take place in the Anti-Defamation League office, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, on June 19 at 2:15 p.m. You or a representative of your agency are cordially invited.

The film has already been seen by a number of people and they have expressed high appreciation for it. It was produced under a grant from The Fund for The Republic.

Cordially yours,

H B Sissel

H. B. Sissel

HBS:ab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

June 21, 1957

Dear Friends:

At recent meetings of the conference of southern agencies in Atlanta, you or your representative may have seen the film, THE FACE OF THE SOUTH.

If you saw the first version only you will be pleased to learn that it has been completely retaken and the unintelligible parts of the sound greatly improved. If you saw the final version, you know its quality.

This letter is to inform you (or remind you) that the second version may now be purchased at cost--the price is $123.75 per print, including reel, can and case--direct from the film laboratory:

Motion Picture Laboratories, Inc.
1672 Union Avenue
Memphis 4, Tennessee

I should appreciate it if, when you place any order with Motion Picture Laboratories, you would send a carbon to this office so that we may have some idea of the film's distribution.

Cordially,

H. B. Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

AIR MAIL

December 3, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

My reservations are set for the trip to Philadelphia week after next. I'm planning to take advantage of the opportunity to spend a day or so in New York beforehand, so I will be arriving in Philadelphia by train on the evening of Wednesday, the 18th.

I'll appreciate it if you will make a hotel reservation for me -- marked, to be safe, for "late arrival."

I'm looking forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File - Presby USA

Rec'd 2/11/58

WORK NOTES ON CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

AND PROPOSAL FOR SPECIAL WORK IN THE SOUTH

December 19, 20, 1957

Present:

Rev. Beverly Asbury, Fulton, Mo.
Mr. Benjamin B. Booker, Durham, N.C.
Rev. Will Campbell, Nashville, Tenn.
Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville, Tenn.
Rev. Herman L. Counts, Charlotte, N.C.
Dr. Clifford Earle, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Harold Fleming, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. John R. Fry, Swarthmore, Pa.
Rev. Frank Gordon, Knoxville, Tenn.
Rev. John R. Gosney, Danville, Ky.
Rev. Frederick William Ingle, Dixson, Tenn.
Dr. John Paul Jones, New York, N.Y.
Miss Margaret Kuhn, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Dean Lewis, Springdale, Ark.
Dr. John H. Marion, Jr., Richmond, Va.
Mr. Howard Maxwell, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rev. J. Herbert Nelson, Sumter, S.C.
Rev. Grover D. Nelson, Laurinburg, N.C.
Dr. R. H. Perry, Charlotte, N.C.
Mrs. Jean Russell, Greeneville, Tenn.
Rev. Ben Sissel, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Gayraud Wilmore, Philadelphia, Pa.

The 169th General Assembly, meeting at Omaha in May, 1957, directed the Department of Social Education and Action "to undertake suitable studies and surveys to discover the extent to which racial integration has been achieved in the church and in its agencies and institutions, to develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society, and to report to the next General Assembly."

This consultative conference is one of the many steps by means of which the underlined portion of the General Assembly's directive is to be implemented.

Administrative arrangements have already been made and funds secured for the placing of a special field staff in the South for counselling and program work in the area of race relations. The task of spelling out the job and qualifications is one of the major ones for which this conference was called.

Discussion of the Proposed Job Description

In looking at the job to be done, Will Campbell of the NCC and Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council were extremely helpful. The SRC has worked with both regional staff and consultants. Each group of workers is important and the effective work of the consultants largely depends on the administrative job that is done by the staff. It is extremely difficult to co-ordinate the work of volunteers to serve on a per diem basis without very careful administrative procedures and close consultation between staff and consultants.

The job description for staff ought to be considered in terms of the blocks of time that will be available in particular community situations. We should also look at the relationships with the local churches. How much time ought to be spent in local churches, and how much time should be given to area, or regional planning and counseling? It is important to weigh the requests of local churches and to give time when local people are ready for assistance. The consensus was that a third of the time of staff ought to be spent in working with local churches.

Gay Wilmore's experiment with the four pilot projects in Catawba Synod points to the importance of working with people who are anxious to move ahead, and the readiness on the part of many Negro congregations for social action.

Mr. Booker asked if we are not trying to reach white churches too, to help them to move toward accepting integration as fact and reality. It was agreed that the contacts would not be limited to local Negro churches but would certainly include consultation and guidance with the white churches.

Will Campbell cautioned against the use of Negro staff members only in Negro churches. In the integrated team we are establishing there should be interracial leadership to all on the basis of need. Fleming pointed out the particular resources which competent staff bring to a tension situation. Staff members are most valuable for the resources they bring to a situation--the materials, people and agencies whom they know. The staff should be chosen with this in mind. Asbury felt that the staff must have firm grounding in the Reformed theology. The Bible should be much in evidence--but preferably a well-worn one.

It was also indicated that the liaison relationship between northern and southern churches is very important for all. The plans for having twenty young people from Atlantic Synod go to the Synod of Kansas this summer should be encouraged in many other sections of the country.

Herbert Nelson, Dr. Perry, Margaret Kuhn, and others spoke of the co-operative relationship that should be established with university and seminary education. The project should use the resources of universities and seminaries for research and social analysis. Field work could be planned co-operatively for ministerial students as well as students in economics, sociology and political science. National Student Council contacts could be utilized and liaison established with university faculty fellowship groups.

The job description should suggest that staff has the opportunity and the duty to investigate local employment policies and practices. The first broad objective of the program gives the basis for moving into the larger areas of race relations, but we need to define more carefully how the staff should work on such matters as fair employment and desegregation in places of public accommodation. It was suggested that the staff members can be more useful by working through local leaders; first, by helping them to identify their own particular problems, and second, by helping them to work out the strategy that they will use, and involve other local leaders who will carry it out. This is quite different from one of the national staff going in and handling a local problem directly, without involving the local leadership. The staff should discover strong influential "key" persons who are ready to "move," and encourage them to initiate whatever action is relevant to their situation.

Several suggested that the pressure of the gospel in the life of the congregation creates a social force which moves the people to change, also that it is urgent for ministers to be willing to take the personal risk of making their stand known. It was agreed that all evidence indicates that the people who threaten to leave the church because of the views of the minister and make trouble for the congregation do not act as they say they will if the minister acts wisely according to his convictions. It was strongly urged that the presbytery has the duty to support and uphold ministers. It was also suggested that the Negro churches are more apt to respond and go along with the actions of presbytery. A presbytery has the power and authority to act if it will take the power.

In the afternoon session the group discussed "part-time" consultants and how they can be most effectively used with the full-time staff:

1. Consultants may set up and guide pilot projects like the ones in Laurinburg, Roanoke, and Charlotte.

2. Consultants represent the department in the meetings of the Consultative Conference for Desegregation in key cities where school desegregation is projected. A consultant in such communities could keep in continuing contact with the developments.

3. Consultants can collect data about local situations. Persons who are prospective consultants should be sent a questionnaire which would give data about experience, education, time available, special interests, etc.

4. Consultants may interpret and make available existing resources to aid in desegregation. The SRC has a list of human relations resources and organizations. We should see that all consultants have copies of this.

5. Consultants may help with the integration of synods and presbyteries. Atlantic Synod, for example, recently voted to release the southern churches within the geographical bounds of Florida to the Synod of Florida. Herbert Nelson is now worried about how the actual integration of these churches will take place and how alert Florida white leadership is to some of the practical realities. At presbytery meetings housing, transportation, hospitality, must be planned carefully. Deliberate efforts must be made to establish and maintain communication between Negro and white ministers. Our staff should be southern consultants and the principal worriers about these matters.

6. Consultants may suggest names of other consultants. A place on the questionnaire to be sent to the consultants should have a space for the kinds of services that might be needed in the area, and the names of consultants who would be competent to deal with a particular situation.

The group then turned to item 7 on the agenda. "How do agencies and Board practices help or hinder the achievement of the General Assembly goal?" It was agreed that the SEA pilot projects in Catawba synod have been helpful. The Christian's Guide to Desegregation is being used by a group of people who haven't been thinking in terms of the church's corporate witness and movement in the direction of integration. Herbert Nelson spoke of the pilot project which has been working for economic opportunity. In nine weeks there have been these accomplishments gained quietly through the personal contacts of committee members with employers in the community:

a. All but one filling station have removed "colored" signs in the rest rooms.

b. Chain stores that discriminated against Negro boys are now hiring them to pack and carry groceries.

c. Two ministerial groups have formed social action committees. Dwight Nelson chairs one of these.

Questions were raised about church related colleges and the admission practices of Westminster Foundations and colleges, but it was quickly realized that university and college personnel practices are more important. There has been no real move to hire Negro faculty except in Universities like Lincoln and Johnson C. Smith. How do faculty and administrators on college campuses deal with race relations on campuses when integration has occurred? What preparation are we giving to deans and faculty members in handling the problems which will arise? What philosophy do they personally hold about the social involvement of the students and faculty? Is there any witholding of scholarship assistance on the part of administrators who do not want Negroes to have social involvement with white students?

Suggestions to be followed up:

1. Ask Dr. Blake about including a list of the Counseling Committee members in the General Assembly minutes. These are not listed anywhere except in SOCIAL PROGRESS, and it is extremely important that they be included in the next Minutes. Also, we should list the names of the new Committee on Desegregation when these persons are appointed.

2. Send questionnaires to all participants, asking them for information about their own training, experience, interests, skills, what time they could give to the project, etc.

Clifford Earle reviewed the status of a plan to develop an institute of race relations at Johnson C. Smith which would use the sociology and economic faculties. Dr. Perry sees many challenging opportunities for Johnson C. Smith in the present period of tension. Dr. Colston of Knox College will be ready to suggest United Presbyterian leaders who will be qualified consultants. Most of our Presbyterian colleges could have a decisive leadership role in preparing young people for inter-group relations. Many of our Presbyterian colleges are training the teachers of the future. How they deal with integration issues in their class rooms and campuses will largely influence our future citizens.

In drawing the consultation to a close, Clifford Earle summarized the discussion and reiterated the urgency of the task before us, affirming that the churches were being tested as never before on their professions and practices in race relations. Unless the churches can achieve an inclusive fellowship they may cease to be instruments through which God speaks and moves, though they may continue to flourish as social institutions. He spoke also of the firm desire of the staff to forge ahead, even though they may make mistakes, and of the unfailing support given to the efforts of staff and consultants in advancing General Assembly's goal by the Boards and the Stated Clerk. Ben Sissel and Gay Wilmore expressed appreciation for the SEA staff of the wise leadership which Mr. Earle has given the church.

CONSULTATION ON DESEGREGATION

December 19-21, 1957

Philadelphia, Pa.

Agenda

1. Purpose of the Consultation.

> "The 169th GENERAL ASSEMBLY directs the Department of Social Education and Action to undertake suitable studies and surveys to discover the extent to which racial integration has been achieved in the church and in its agencies and institutions, to develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society..."
>
> (General Assembly Pronouncements, 1957)

This consultation is one of many steps in the effort to carry out the implications of the General Assembly's directive. (Earlier this week representatives from northern and border presbyteries met to evaluate questionnaire responses from their presbyteries and to discuss ways of "moving the church" in the direction of the goal of non-segregation.) Participants in this December 19 to 21 consultation are from the southern and border areas of our church's constituency, in recognition of the fact that the problems of these areas are (at least in their external manifestations) not the same as those of the North and West. The consultation will discuss the following questions, which are the major points in our Agenda.

2. What are the general situations in the South and border areas to which the church must respond with effectiveness within the framework of obedience to God?

3. Looking toward the near future when our denomination expects to have field staff workers in the South and border areas, what kinds of activity should we expect of them? For example, how much of their work should be "open and above board" and how much of it should be "under-cover"--the kind that makes them vulnerable and expendable?

4. What developing situations (e.g. Knoxville and its pending desegregation court ruling) will require priority attention chronologically? What should we now be working on in these areas?

5. What are some of the forms of program and action that such a response might realistically require from a particular local church?

6. To what extent should "pressure" be exerted upon local white churches to "move" them toward creative and obedient response? WHO should exert the pressure and HOW? (e.g. can national church, synod, presbytery, etc. be most effective?)

7. To what extent should "pressure" be exerted upon local Negro churches to "move" them toward creative and obedient response? WHO should exert the pressure and HOW? (e.g. can national church, synod, presbytery, etc. be most effective?)

8. What general denominational, board and agency policies and practices need to be changed, inaugurated, stopped? i.e. what general strategy is needed?

Department of Social Education and Action
Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Members of Consultative Conferences

December 18-21, 1957

Rev. George A. Allen, Jr.
319 Overhill Road
Wayne, Pa.

Rev. Robert W. Andrews
20 Orchard Road
Newark, Delaware

✓ Rev. Beverly Asbury
Westminster College
Fulton, Mo.

Rev. Jack Boelens
Garden Memorial Church
Washington, D.C.

✓ Mr. Benjamin B. Booker
1927 Cecil Street
Durham, N.C.

Dr. C. Elwood Boulware
405 Lawson Street
Durham, N.C.

Rev. Brewer Burnett
1601 Wyoming Avenue
Scranton, Pa.

✓ Rev. Will Campbell
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tenn

Rev. Melvin Campbell
Observatory & Michigan Roads
Cincinnati, Ohio

✓ Dr. James A. Colston
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dr. Joseph Copeland
Walnut Street & W. Church Avenue
Knoxville, Tenn.

✓ Rev. Herman L. Counts
Theological Seminary
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, N.C.

Rev. Robert Davidson
1826 Lacombe Avenue
Bronx, New York

Dr. Dan Dodson
17 Odell Avenue
Yonkers, N.Y.

Rev. Walter Feely
4222 E. Lansing
Philadelphia 36, Pa.

✓ Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Rev. Frank Gordon
1101 E. Main Street
Knoxville, Tenn.

✓ Rev. John R. Gosney
Centre College
Danville, Kentucky

Dr. Edler G. Hawkins
838 E. 165th Street
New York 59, N.Y.

Rev. Eugene Huff
8945 McVicker Avenue
Morton Grove, Ill.

✓ Rev. Frederick William Ingle
Hamill Road Presbyterian Church
Hixson, Tenn.

✓ Dr. John Paul Jones
National Urban League
14 E. 48th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Alfred Kramer
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

✓ Rev. Dean Lewis
First Presbyterian Church
Springdale, Ark.

Rev. Herbert M. Lohr
3435 Winnebago Street
St. Louis 18, Miss.

Dr. John H. Marion, Jr.
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond, Va.

Mr. Howard Maxwell
209 Ninth Street
Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

Rev. David McAlpin, Jr.
199 Laurel Circle
Princeton, N J.

Rev. Burnett E. McBee
32 Franklin Street
Annapolis, Maryland

Rev. J. Herbert Nelson
P. O. Box 264
Sumter, S. C.

Rev. Grover D. Nelson
Silver Hill Presbyterian Church
Laurinburg, N.C.

Dr. R. H. Perry, President
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, N. C.

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tenn.

Mr. William H. See
100-07 67 Drive
Forest Hills 75, N. Y.

Dr. Carol Shuster
1501 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Rev. John H. Strome
203 North Main Street
Berlin, Maryland

Rev. Malcolm Sylvester
16555 LaSalle Boulevard
Detroit 21, Mich.

Rev. John R. Fry
333 Vassar Avenue
Swarthmore, Pa.

Cecil Wilmore

File

~~Suspend to Dec. 11~~

November 20, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your machine-made letter (it sounded quite human to me), concerning the consultation on December 19 and 20. I am glad to be included and will let you know well ahead when I expect to arrive.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

November 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Felming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will confirm the date and consultation we talked about in our telephone conversation last Friday.

The particular consultation that we are looking for your help on will take place on Thursday and Friday, Dec. 19 and 20, probably in our office. It will be the middle one of a series of three overlapping two-day conferences. The first one will be on December 17 and 18 which will include several of our synod and presbytery leaders seeking to evaluate together the results of an extended survey on the racial practices of the Presbyterian churches. The second conference (yours) will include several church leaders from the South, both Negro and white, and will be oriented toward the devising of a "Presbyterian strategy" in the South, to meet the crisis in race relations in our churches and in the communities where they are located. The hidden agenda of this second consultation assumes that out of the carefully selected group of people whom we have called from the South will emerge one or two who may indicate themselves to be uniquely qualified for full-time staff position in the South--if this happens you may find yourself looking to them as extensions of your own operation.

The third phase of the consultation will begin probably at noon on the 20th and continue through noon of the 21st, and will deal with a nation-wide strategy for our church as it faces the many differing aspects of the crisis in human relations in North, South, East and West that confronts our church with both danger and opportunity for meeting this crisis. You would certainly be welcome on an optional basis to stay over for this third phase or to come early for the first phase of this series of three consultations.

We will reserve rooms for you at the Sylvania Hotel if you will notify us as to the date and time of your arrival in Philadelphia. The Sylvania is only a couple of minutes walk from the Witherspoon Building where most of our meetings will be held.

We are certainly delighted that you were free to join us and lend us your experience in what we regard as a most strategic and important consultation. And if this letter sounds more official than cordial you will have to bear with me because I am dictating it into a machine, and I still, after four years, haven't quite gotten used to this mechanical operation. Even so,

Cordially,

Ben S

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING

A PROPOSAL FOR SPECIAL WORK

IN THE SOUTH

PROPOSAL

To place in the South for a period of not less than three years, a team of two special representatives responsible for administration to the reconstituted Interboard Commission; responsible for program and deployment to the Department of Social Education and Action.

RELATIONSHIPS

It is desirable that the team report regularly the details of its activities to the Interboard Commission and the Department of Social Education and Action. It might also report twice a year to a special Advisory Committee in the South made up of selected persons representing local churches, judicatories, and the Boards of Christian Education and National Missions.

OBJECTIVES OF PROGRAM

To help Presbyterian churches and ministers to:

(1) deal with problems related to the improvement of race relations and the movement toward desegregation of churches, schools, industry, and places of public accommodation;

(2) represent the Boards of Christian Education and National Missions in appropriate interagency human relations programs and projects now existing or to be initiated in the South;

(3) carry on, using the resources of the Department of Social Education and Action and the appropriate units of the Board of National Missions, an educational program in churches, presbyteries, and synods with the purpose of helping Presbyterians to play a more creative role in areas of tension and opportunity in the South; and,

(4) discover at what points the influence of corporate action on the part of the Presbyterian Church can accelerate desegregation and encourage reconciliation in church and society in the area assigned to the project.

PERSONNEL

It is important that the two persons to be employed in this project should be from the South. They should be leaders of superior competence and standing, who are especially skilled in human relations, and who will be able to command the respect and co-operation of our ministers and churches.

SUGGESTIONS FOR JOB DESCRIPTION

I. Assistance to Local Churches in the Development of a "Church Relations Program" for the Local Community

a. The secretaries would be expected to develop and interpret a basic approach to the problem of the breakdown of communication between

Negro and white church people in certain areas where new rapport is desirable. This would mean going into these communities by invitation of a local church and developing appropriate suggestions and plans in consultation with interested groups and agencies in the community. If the pastor and the church is disposed to adopt these proposals the secretaries would help get the project off the ground and provide continuing advice and counsel for the effective implementation of the program.

b. In some cases the program in the local church would be mainly educational using the Department's "Study Guide for Churches in Tension Areas" which we should have fully developed and printed in quantity by the time the team goes to work.

c. The team would be on call to assist local churches already engaged in a program of interracial fellowship or social action in race relations. These churches would be notified that the services of the team, for purposes of enlarging and improving their present witness, are available.

II. On-the-Spot Counseling of Ministers and Churches in Areas of Racial Tension or Acute Estrangement

a. The team would be alert to all crucial situations and know in advance where opportunity or crisis may develop. The team would correspond with ministers and churches in these areas offering their services. If such services are requested the team would go into the area, carefully survey the situation by observation and personal interview and counsel with the ministers and churches involved. If feasible, the team would be certified in certain situations to represent the Presbyterian Church in consultation with ministers of other churches, public officials, and the representatives of intergroup relations and social service agencies in the community. In this way the influence of the total church can be used to augment the efforts of the local people in preparing to deal with a difficult situation or in meeting a crisis that is already present.

b. In such instances the team should keep in close contact with the Department of Social Education and Action in order to convey to the national church information regarding the developments and the possibilities for effective supporting action from Philadelphia and New York.

c. In cases where the services of the team is refused by the local churches, the team might stay in the situation long enough to survey it carefully and to make recommendations to the Department of Social Education and Action for intervention in the effort to get the co-operation of local churches.

a. Resource knowledge

III. Helping Communities in the South. Where Interagency Efforts are Already Under Way, to Develop an Intelligent Strategy for the Desegregation of Schools, Industry, and Places of Public Accommodation.

a. One of the first things that the team should do after the field office has been opened is make contact with several intergroup organizations now active in the South, especially the Consultative Conference on Desegregation which is already using the co-operative community consultation plan where court order for school desegregation is anticipated. The team would represent the Presbyterian Church in all interagency conferences and projects in the South, promoting these projects among our constituency and enlisting the co-operation of our churches when possible.

b. The team should attempt to establish close liaison and working relationship with several trustworthy institutions of higher education in the areas assigned to it. This would (1) provide expert advice and counsel from social scientists and other faculty persons, (2) provide locations for interracial meetings, (3) make available competent persons for speaking assignments and consultations with community and church leaders.

IV. Providing Opportunities. Through Conferences and Consultations, for Interracial Confrontation and Fellowship Between Negro and White Churches, Segregated Presbyteries and Synods, and Presbyterian Youth Groups, Which Could Lead to Improved Race Relations, Special Interracial Projects and Programs in Christian Education and National Missions, and Joint Strategies for Desegregation.

a. One of the first assignments of the team might be to discover which communities in the South, where there is overlapping of segregated judicatories, have Negro and white Presbyterian churches. A special effort should be made in these communities to hold such interchurch conferences and consultations for the purpose of developing a closer working relationship between congregations for the implementation of the General Assembly pronouncements on desegregation. Much good work could be done between Negro and white Presbyterian young people through this kind of unified approach in certain communities.

b. The precedent of The Fund for the Republic conferences which we held in Charleston, S.C., Norman, Okla., and Gatlinburg, Tenn., should be a good basis for planning and executing similar conferences for smaller geographical areas or local communities. There should be enough money in the budget of this project to enable a limited number of these area conferences of ministers and laymen, partially subsidized, to be held each year. The findings of such conferences might now be made available to the judicatories in whose bounds the meeting was held in order that specific recommendations for study and action might be adopted on the floor of the Presbytery and sent down to the local churches for their consideration and approval. The Contact Persons and members of the Advisory Committee in the South would be especially useful in helping to set up these conferences and administer them, thus relieving the staff persons of some of the details of conference administration.

c. Particularly in this area it is important that the team work in closest co-operation with the National Council of Churches' staff person in the South (Nashville) in all interdenominational efforts to bring Negro and white Christians together for consultation and strategy planning.

V. Establishing Closer Relationships with Isolated, Neglected Ministers and Churches that are most Vulnerable to Anti-Integration Pressures in their Communities and Who Need Some Symbol of the Influence and Prestige of the National Church in their Area.

a. Without indicating in the final Job Description that Negro churches need some "special" attention not required by isolated and scattered white churches in the South, some provision needs to be made which will enable the team to pay informal visits to Negro churches--especially those in crucial areas where these churches need their morale strengthened by closer contact with an official of the national church who can work with them on this problem which underlies their total witness to the Negro community.

b. The team should also be alert to ministers and lay persons of the Presbyterian Church who because of their participation in the de-segregation movement are being persecuted by segregationist forces in their community. In a sense the team would be the field arm of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, advising him as to the need for financial aid to persons who have been brought to his attention by the team or by other persons.

c. The team should be able to co-operate fully with the General Assembly Committee on Desegregated Synods making necessary investigations and studies looking forward to the merger of certain judicatories.

d. In areas where it is feasible to make direct contact with Negro churches of other denominations, the team should seek to open such communications with area and regional officials of those churches to secure their support in united desegregation efforts. This would mean close contact with Martin Luther King, in Montgomery, Shuttlesworth, in Birmingham, and Borders in Atlanta, etc. It is possible that the Negro member of the team could become a member of the newly organized Negro leaders Conference for Desegregation which is chaired by Dr. King.

VI. Flexible Involvement in Situations and Relationships that Cannot Be Accurately Anticipated in Advance.

a. The situations in many states and communities, the legislative developments, the possibilities of conflict or reconciliation are so dynamic that the team should be given the implicit freedom to work into situations and relationships in accordance with their own good sense, experience, and faith, even though the specific "authorization" for such involvement has not and cannot be spelled out ahead of time.

b. In all cases where such "playing-by-ear" and unanticipated involvements seem to the team members wise, they shall make every effort to keep in close touch with the Social Education and Action Department on a day-to-day basis (and if possible, before the actual involvement takes place).

Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
May, 1957

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

RECEIVED JAN 31 1958

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

January 29, 1958

To: Participants in Consultative Conferences held in Philadelphia, December 18-20, 1957

Dear Friends:

I just want to say thank you for coming to Philadelphia during the busy week before Christmas in order to join in our consultations on the work of the church in the field of race relations.

The reports of the conversations have been compiled and are now being prepared for distribution. They will be in your hands very shortly.

May I say that the consultations were of great value, more than you can ever know, to us and to the church. Our evaluation of what happened in those three good days has led to several important considerations that are resulting in significant changes in our strategies in this important area of work. Our whole program in race relations will be stronger and more realistic.

We will have more to report later.

Cordially yours,

Clifford Earle

Clifford Earle
Secretary

CE:et

March 10, 1958

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your note of March 6th suggesting the name of the Rev. James P. Higginbotham of Dallas as a person who might cooperate with our effort there.

I will pass his name along to our Director, Ed Kloppe.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

# THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

*Department of Social Education and Action*

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
*"On Capitol Hill"*

March 6, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

With reference to the local group in Dallas, you may recall that I mentioned the possibility of giving to them through you the name of a local pastor who might be a potential co-operator in their efforts.

I suggest you pass on to them the name of the following man: Rev. James P. Higginbotham, Memorial Presbyterian Church, 2405 South Buckner Boulevard, Dallas Texas.

Tell them to feel free to use my name if they decide to approach Jim Higginbotham.

Cordially yours,

Ben

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:hw

JCT
PRV We have the
L.R. tape, unedited.
HCF

BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of* THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
*in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
PEnnypacker 5-6722

September 23, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 28 1959

To: Christian Education Field Directors and Synod SEA Chairmen in the Synods of Atlantic, Baltimore, Catawba, Florida, Kentucky, Mid-South, Oklahoma, and Texas; Presbytery SEA Chairmen in the Presbyteries of Birmingham "A", Holston, Nashville, Union, West Tennessee, North Florida, Southeast Florida, Southwest Florida, Dallas, Houston, and Washington City; Harman L. Turner, Harold C. Fleming, and Harry Fleischman.

From: Ben Sissel--Department of Social Education and Action

Subject: Little Rock Tape--Ed Randall

I don't know how much you were able to do to promote the use of the Little Rock taped interviews to which I alerted you a few weeks ago, but you will be interested to know that your good efforts have borne fruit. The following is a partial list of southern and border radio stations that have requested the tape:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WSFM | Birmingham, Ala. | WTIF | Tifton, Ga. | WFBR | Baltimore, Md. |
| WELR | Roanoke, Ala. | WMJM | Cordele, Ga. | WJDY | Salisbury, Md. |
| WFRD | Tuscaloosa, Ala. | WDOL | Athens, Ga. | WAMD | Aberdeen, Md. |
| KDON | DeQueen, Ark. | WCOS | Alma, Ga. | WRJW | Picayune, Miss. |
| KLYR | Clarksville, Ark. | WNLF | Pinesville, Ky. | WPTF | Raleigh, N. C. |
| KBLO | Hot Springs, Ark. | WCAP | Lexington, Ky. | WABZ | Albemarle, N. C. |
| WLCY | St. Petersburg, Fla. | WRVK | Renfro Valley, Ky. | WAYN | Rockingham, N. C. |
| WOIK | Jacksonville, Fla. | WHAS | Louisville, Ky. | WSTP | Salisbury, N. C. |
| WZRO | Jacksonville Beach, Fla. | WDOC | Prestonburg, Ky. | WBUY | Lexington, N. C. |
| WSB | Atlanta, Ga. | WWKY | Winchester, Ky. | WBT | Charlotte, N. C. |
| WYZE | Atlanta, Ga. | KRUS | Ruston, La. | WADZ | Wadesboro, N. C. |
| WGSR | Millen, Ga. | KJOB | Shreveport, La. | KALV | Alva, Oklahoma |
| WSAV | Savannah, Ga. | KFNY | Ferriday, La. | KSIW | Woodward, Okla. |
| WJEM | Valdosta, Ga. | KSLO | Opelousas, La. | KOSU | Stillwater, Okla. |

(more)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W N A D | Norman, Okla. | K W F R | San Angelo, Texas | K C A R | Clarksville, Texas |
| K V L H | Pauls Valley, Okla. | K B B B | Berger, Texas | K P D N | Pampa, Texas |
| K T A T | Frederick, Okla. | K I O X | Bay City, Texas | K R G V | Weslaco, Texas |
| W S N W | Seneca, S. C. | K E C K | Odessa, Texas | K T S N | El Paso, Texas |
| W E D K | Newberry, S. C. | K C M R | McCamey, Texas | K V O Z | Laredo, Texas |
| W J A Y | Mullins, S. C. | K V O U | Uvalde, Texas | K T R B | Lufkin, Texas |
| W L C M | Lancaster, S. C. | K D D D | Dumas, Texas | W R V A | Richmond, Va. |
| W B M C | McMinnville, Tenn. | K E Y Z | Perryton, Texas | W R A D | Radford, Va. |
| W K S R | Pulaski, Tenn. | K C L W | Hamilton, Texas | W F T R | Front Royal, Va. |
| W D X K | Jackson, Tenn. | K V K M | Monahans, Texas | W T A R | Norfolk, Va. |
| W U O T | Knoxville, Tenn. | K R I C | Beaumont, Texas | W J M A | Orange, Va. |
| W G N S | Murfreesboro, Tenn. | | | | |

You may also wish to be reminded that Ed Randall will mail you, free of charge for use in churches, presbyteries, or anywhere, one of the Little Rock tapes. His address is 122 N. Providence Road, Wallingford, Pa. Only one field director has requested a copy of the tape so far, and it is excellent.

Thanks for your co-operation on this important effort to influence the climate of opinion in behalf of the public schools.

HBS:hw

Rev. Prentice H. Barnett
Rev. John R. Gosney
Rev. Elo L. Henderson
Rev. Robert M. Hunt
Rev. Kenneth G. McCollough
Rev. Robert L. McKibben
Rev. Hughston R. Peyton
Rev. Charles W. Talley
Rev. James Herbert Nelson
Rev. Maurice D. Robertson
Rev. Grover D. Nelson
Rev. Samuel G. Orlandi
Mr. Farlan Robbins
Rev. George T. Hubbard
Mr. William Enfield
Rev. Harry Wilbanks
Mr. John Y. Robinson
Rev. Daniel C. Odil
Mr. Richard Mead
Rev. Aubrey Galyon, Jr.
Dr. John Appling
Rev. Robert P. Helm
Rev. Richard Gray
Rev. Raymond T. Allston
Rev. James Robert Thomson
Rev. F. K. Mullendore
Rev. Lloyd G. Brown
Dr. Herman L. Turner
Mr. Harry Fleischman
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

via air mail

December 12, 1960

Mr. H. B. Sissell
Associate Secretary
Office of Church and Society
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Sorry to be so long replying to your recent letter, but I have been out of the office more in than in recently.

We have given some hard thought to your query about original material on the sit-in movement, preferably of publishable quality. Everything of that quality we can think of has been distributed in one form or another. So the best I can do is send you the enclosed copy of Marion Wright's speech before the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; he has dealt with the sit-ins in other speeches, but I believe this is the fullest treatment. Sorry for the low-grade thermofax copy, but it's all we have.

I'm looking forward to seeing you again at the 66rth-coming SIC meeting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

MAW + LWD Speeches

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
*Telephone:* PENNYPACKER 5-6722

November 29, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Our February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS will deal with the student sit-ins. We hope to publish information, evaluations, and anecdotal material that our readership would not have already been exposed to in the mass media.

I am writing you for two favors: (a) Jean Russell tells me that the best speech that is being made on the subject these days is the one that Marion Wright is making. Can you send me a copy of his speech? (b) Do you have copies of material that is publishable and that we would not be likely to have seen? I refer not to the stuff published by CORE, or the N.S.N.C.C., or the Southern Patriot, etc., but to really "off-the-beaten track" material. If you want to trust me with any file copies, I can assure you they will be returned safely.

If you do not have any material referred to in (b) above, by all means, let me have a copy of Marion Wright's speech.

I hope to be at the next S.I.C. meeting.

Cordially yours,

Ben S.

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
Office of Church and Society

HBS:ms

file Rel. Orgs

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
*Telephone:* PENNYPACKER 5-6722

Rec'd 7/23/65

PA

July 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On Wednesday, June 9, Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Executive Director of the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, Mr. Olin W. Davis, Executive Director of The Clergy Economic Education Foundation, and I met in Philadelphia for the purpose of giving whatever help we could to Dr. Davis by way of extending his program into some of the Southern states. The enclosed brochure will tell you something of the nature and program of the Foundation.

It was the judgment of Dr. Wilmore and myself that Dr. Davis would be well advised to contact your office and hopefully arrange for an opportunity to speak with you personally concerning his work, some of the opportunities and obstacles involved, and the kind of preliminary work that would be necessary for the extension of his program in the South.

It was agreed that Dr. Wilmore would write a letter of introduction prior to Dr. Davis coming to Atlanta. I understand this has not been done. Thus my reason for writing you. My responsibility in the Office of Church and Society is in the area of economic life. It was in this connection that I first heard of CEEF, and subsequently met Dr. Davis when I attended the Indiana workshop. I personally found the program to be well balanced and well-informed on the workings of the free enterprise system in America. Since that time I have commended the program to others and count it a privilege to introduce Dr. Davis to you. I do hope that you can hear his story and make available to him the help and encouragement of your good office.

Please accept my thanks for your consideration of this important concern.

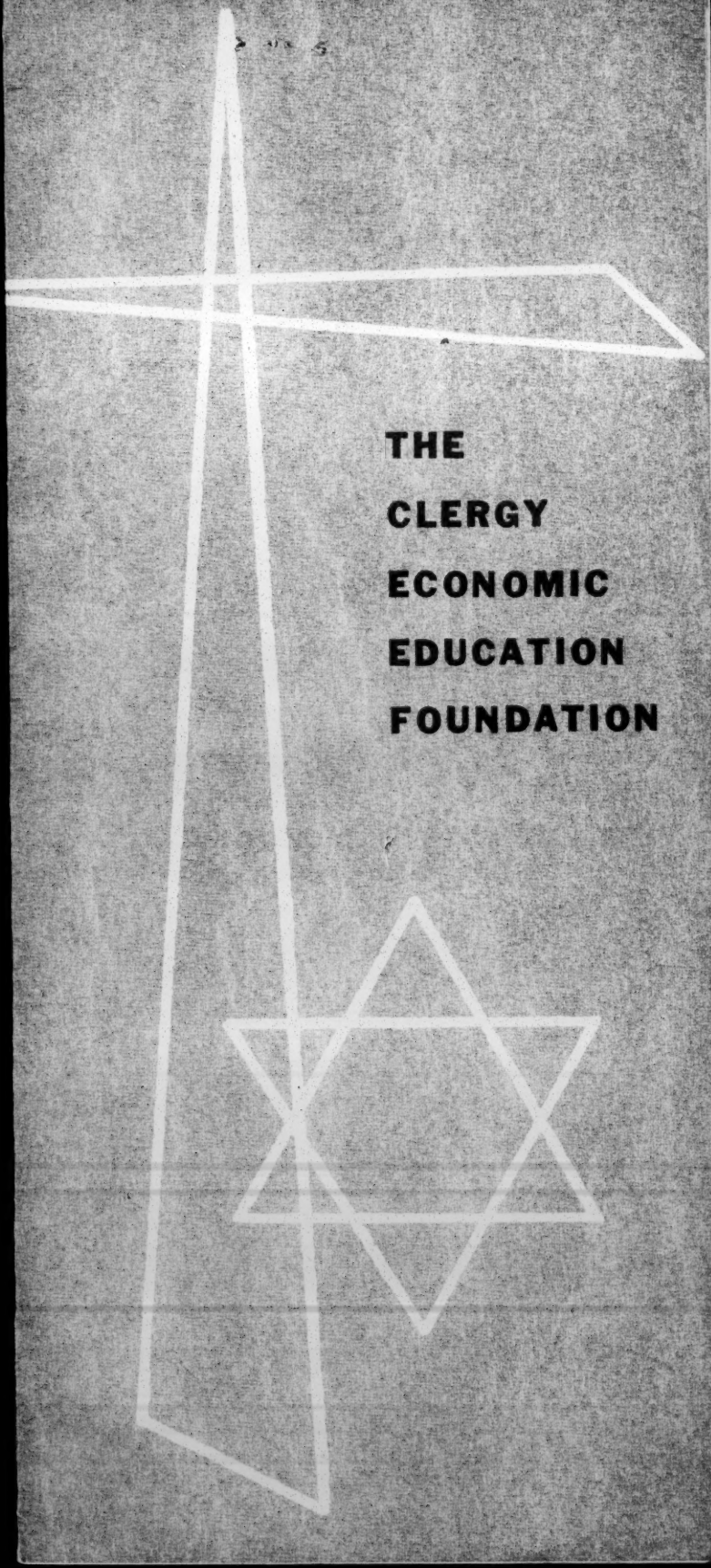
Sincerely,

Clarence L. Cave

Clarence L. Cave
Office of Church and Society

CLC/et
cc: Dr. Davis
Dr. Wilmore
Encl.

# THE CLERGY ECONOMIC EDUCATION FOUNDATION



# The Clergy Economic

## THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION FOR CLERGY

Critical periods of great change inevitably raise many problems which press for solution. Unless the citizens of a democracy have an understanding of the society in which we live, they cannot act rationally in solving these problems.

Most of the critical problems in the world today, upon which the issues of war and peace and democratic survival seem to hinge, are economic in nature.

Members of the clergy are often called on to interpret economic issues. Clergymen, through sermons and counseling, are responsible for helping citizens to develop understandings of our economic order -- its nature, problems, and potentialities. To do this satisfactorily, clergymen need to understand current economic issues. They must be prepared to deal with economic problems, to interpret economic data, and to use these skills in their duties as clergymen.

## THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROGRAM

In 1957, Purdue University initiated a one-week program in economic education for the clergy of all faiths. This was made possible by contributions from Indiana organizations representing agriculture, business, and labor.

The results of the first and subsequent conferences far exceeded expectations. Here clergymen of all faiths for the first time were able to hear not only academic presentations of various economic topics, but also the viewpoints of agriculture, business, and labor on these subjects. Further, ample time was provided for clergy participation in discussion.

The response of clergymen to this type of program has been gratifying and they have participated with great zeal and enthusiasm. They have indicated their approval of the fact that during these conferences no one group or interest has been given "favored" treatment, that all groups have been heard and that all sides of key economic issues have been discussed. By their own statements, many have felt that participation in the conference has better equipped them to carry on their clerical duties.

Visitors to the conferences also indicate a keen interest in the program. One out-of-state visitor at the 1958 conference at Camp Limberlost, writing for his organization's national publication, had this to say in part:

*Limberlost Legend.* . . . . . "If it is possible to start a new legend in this year of our Lord, 1958, then I think I may have witnessed the birth of one in the Limberlost country of Indiana. To be more accurate, I suppose I'd have to say that the legend started in 1957 with the first economic workshop for clergy sponsored by Purdue University. But I wasn't present to see that one, and anyway, what's a year or two among legends.

"I had heard great things about a workshop for clergymen out at Camp Limberlost on Lake Oliver in Indiana and it seemed that no one workshop could accomplish all the things that participants felt that this one had accomplished. If enthusiastic reports were true, then here was certainly the dog-gondest implement of public relations, community relations, economic relations, human relations, and, I suppose, ecclesiastical relations that man had ever seen.

"I attended the August workshop because I wanted to see for myself, and I saw. After two days, I was echoing. . . [the] declaration that we ought to have at least one such workshop for clergy in every state in the Union."

Many other visitors asked why such a program could not be made possible in their respective areas. As a result, the Clergy Economic Education Foundation came into being.

## THE CLERGY ECONOMIC EDUCATION FOUNDATION

The Foundation is an educational and charitable, nonpolitical and nonprofit organization incorporated in the State of Indiana under the Acts of 1921. Although currently housed at Purdue, it has no legal connection with the University.

▸ *Objectives:* The Clergy Economic Education Foundation was organized for the sole purpose of bringing a factual and comprehensive analysis of the American economic system to members of

# Education Foundation

the clergy in all states.

▸ *Support:* The Foundation "is to actively encourage sponsoring membership by responsible national elements in agriculture, labor, and management, as well as philanthropic and/or nonpolitical endowments and foundations" (Articles of Incorporation, Article III).

▸ *Direction:* The Foundation operates under the guidance of a board of directors. The board shall at all times include representatives of agriculture, business, and labor, as required by the Foundation's bylaws.

▸ *Program:* The primary activity of the Foundation is to "promote, organize, and conduct gatherings, meetings, conferences, conventions, workshops, and institutes for the economic education of clergy of all faiths." However, the Foundation is also empowered to conduct investigations and research in economics and to publish and distribute materials and information for the economic education of the clergy (Article II).

▸ *Clergy Economic Education Conferences:*

NUMBER: The Foundation endeavors to establish a minimum of three new conferences per year.

SPONSORSHIP: New conferences are conducted with the co-sponsorship of an interested organization of the state or area, e.g., a college or university, economic committee, council, or advisory board. Since the Foundation is pledged to include all religious faiths in its program, it follows that the co-sponsorship of a state or area program with a single denominational college or university is not feasible. However, this does not preclude the possibility of working out a jointly sponsored program with more than one denominational college or university.

FINANCING: The Foundation is prepared to staff, program, and finance the initial year's program in new states or areas. Participating clergymen are selected by church leaders and receive scholarships covering all costs but transportation.

NATURE: The Foundation is pledged to incorporate all areas of the American economic structure in its programs, including agriculture, business, and labor.

## ▶ TYPICAL STATEMENTS FROM THE HUNDREDS OF LETTERS RECEIVED FROM PARTICIPATING CLERGYMEN ON THE MERITS OF THIS PROGRAM:

▸ *Educational*

"This workshop excellently gave me a knowledge of economics, a concern for the problems, and an optimism for the American and world picture that I did not have before. It is encouraging to realize how much of labor, management and farm leadership is concerned about the common good of our nation and world, and how successful they are becoming in finding ways of easing tensions and living together in a growing and prospering national and world economy."

* * *

"For one such as myself who never had a course in economics, it was of immeasurable value. The organization of the Conference, the excellence of the speakers and the depth of content that they were able to present in a simple way made it one of the finest conferences of any type that I've ever attended."

* * *

"One of the truly great educational experiences of my life."

* * *

▸ *Objective*

"The most appreciated aspect of the whole workshop for me was the objectivity of the program. You have had few, if any, men come with more skepticism and apprehension than did this fellow. To discover that the purpose was not to 'brainwash' but to present as unbiasedly as possible certain economic facts was tremendously welcome. I also appreciated the careful manner in which the speakers would differentiate between economic facts (as they saw them) and private opinions."

* * *

▸ *Inter-Faith Understanding*

"Not least among the conference's benefits was the splendid opportunity to meet and talk with our brothers 'of the cloth.' This was a most remarkable ecumenical gathering."

## CLERGY PROGRAMS AND CO-SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS – 1957-1963

INDIANA 1957
*Purdue Economic Education Advisory Board*
University Extension Administration
Purdue University, Lafayette
Dr. Olin W. Davis, Director

KENTUCKY 1959
*Kentucky Clergy Economic Education Foundation*
University of Kentucky, Lexington
Dr. C. R. Hager, Director

PENNSYLVANIA 1960
*Pittsburgh Conference Clergy Economic Education*
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Co-Chairmen:
James L. Marks, Jr., United States Steel Corporation
J. Edward White, Committee on Civil Rights,
United Steel Workers of America

WASHINGTON 1960
*Northwest Council on Economic Education*
Seattle, Washington
Dr. Lyle Stewart, Director, Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools

KANSAS 1961
*Kansas Clergy Economic Education Foundation*
University of Kansas Extension Division, Lawrence
Prof. J. U. Adams, Director

MICHIGAN 1961
*The Clergy Economic Education Committee*
Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant
Prof. Howard R. Sommer, Executive Secretary

OHIO 1962
*Ohio Clergy Economic Education Foundation Committee*
Kent University, Kent
Dr. Ralph Kaczor, Executive Director

OKLAHOMA 1962
*Oklahoma Council on Economic Education*
Oklahoma State University, Stillwater
Dr. Clayton Millington, Executive Director

OREGON 1962
*Oregon General Extension Division of Oregon State System of Higher Education*
Eugene Center, Eugene
Dr. Thomas L. Dahle, Director

FLORIDA 1962
*The Clergy Economic Education Committee*
University of South Florida, Tampa
Dean Charles N. Millican, Director

MINNESOTA 1963
*Minnesota Council on Economic Education*
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
Dr. Roman Warmke, Director

ILLINOIS 1963
*Illinois Council on Economic Education*
Northwestern University, Evanston
Dean William Bradford, Director

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Economic Education Projects, University Extension, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

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Frank Fernbach, Assistant Director
Department of Research, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Rev. William Hogan, S.J., Director of Research
Fordham University, New York, New York

Charles H. Lawshe, Dean
University Extension Administration, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

Dallas Sells, President
Indiana American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Indianapolis, Indiana

F. Roe Weise, Director
Employee Relations, American Oil Company, Chicago, Illinois

J. H. Weisgerber, Manager
Advertising and Public Relations, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Bancroft Yarrington, Assistant District Director
Public Relations, United States Steel Corporation, Gary, Indiana

## REGIONAL COORDINATORS

**Eastern:**

DR. RALPH S. KACZOR, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.

**Mid-Western:**

DR. EDWARD P. WELLS, Executive Secretary, Washburn Fund for Economic Education, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas

**Western:**

DON LOW, Consultant, General Extension Division, Oregon State System of Higher Education, 124 Education Hall, University Campus, Eugene, Oregon

**Southern:**

DEAN CHARLES N. MILLICAN, School of Business, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida

## SPONSORING CONTRIBUTORS

- AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
- AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE
- AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE
- FORD FOUNDATION
- LILLY ENDOWMENT, INCORPORATED
- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
- NATIONAL CONSUMER FINANCE ASSOCIATION

* * *

Additional information about THE CLERGY ECONOMIC EDUCATION FOUNDATION may be secured by writing:

Olin W. Davis, Executive Director, or
John C. Reinbold, Assistant to the Director
*The Clergy Economic Education Foundation*
605 Evergreen Street
West Lafayette, Indiana

PHONE:
92–2443 or
RI–32778

Please address all mail to:

Post Office Box 618
West Lafayette, Indiana

August 12, 1953

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
712 Henry Grady Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

I'm sending you separately 25 copies of the pamphlet Race: What Does the Bible Say?, which we just received from the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The price, including postage, was $4.25.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Aug. 12 I did deliver 25 cc. RACE: WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY? to Mr. Arnold's office. Told Mrs. Monroe they owe us $4.25.

EC

When the 75 cc. come, send 25 to Malcolm Calhoun and 25 to Ernest Arnold.

180 SH.2
m 11

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE, Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.
U. S. A.
June 30, 1953

South African Institute of Race Relations
P. O. Box 97
Johannesburg
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Sirs:

If you will be good enough to send me a copy of your pamphlet PROPOSED FEDERATION IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN TERRITORIES, by K. Kirkwood, that would nearly cancel out the credit of two and eight pence which you have kindly opened for me. I donate the remaining six pense to the Institute!

The pamphlet RACE: WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY? is of great interest. It is surprising how often needefor just such a statement appears hereabouts.

I am ordering herewith 75 copies. Twenty-five of these my own Council will distribute, and the others will be sent out by the Southeastern Office of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America and by the Division of Christian Relations of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

Here is our check for $12,75 to cover the cost of the pamphlets, at a shilling each, with an extra ten shillings or so for postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

No: BB 35

19. 5. 1953.

Mr. G.S Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Bought of

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2x | Race | What does the bible say | 2 | - |
| | | Postage | | 2 |
| | | | 2 | 2 |

Would any other publications interest you as there is an amount of 2/8 still outstanding to you?

MEMO TO GSM Sept. 15, 1953

Malcolm Calhoun called. Said he had talked to some of the other Presby people about the pamphlet. They decided the best place to use it was with the young adults. They were going to have a meeting tomorrow and discuss how to use it. Among other things, they would list it in their publications.

EC

Mrs Havens
Tell Mrs H what
Sid has been
Young & interested
to do.

February 9, 1954

Mr. Malcolm C. Calhoun
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the USA
Henry Grady Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

Lately some minister I met in my travels - and for the life of me I cannot remember who - opened my eyes to a whole new aspect of the schools problem.

Those of us who have tried to think ahead on these matters have mostly been going blandly on the assumption that with the children themselves it didn't matter and that they could be trusted to find workable adjustments ready. Whoever was my advisor said: "Now it is going to be different in the South. Many children are going to reflect their parents' prejudices. In most communities where unsegregated schools appear, there comes the huge problem of getting parents to urge their children to be nice to the new little pupils." Of course that goes for both white and Negro parents.

I do not know but one body in the South which can accomplish this change. Clearly it is the Churches. It seems to me it is going to be necessary to try to interweave with religious conscience the positive teaching of non-prejudiced attitudes to children - as a part of parental and religious duty.

I do think that if the Churches took on that task they could perform with it. It would take years - maybe many, many years - but certainly it would be well if the major religious denominations were conscientiously taking up their part of the task.

I know, of course, that nearly all Christian bodies include teaching of this kind in the annual rotation of Sunday School subjects. But what may in this or that local church be routine, ought now to take on earnestness.

If on consideration and consultation, this idea seems to you and your associates to have merit, it is greatly to be hoped that this broad new positive action can be entered upon in a careful and programmatic way.

I have a notion that if J. M. Dabbs were approached, he and Mrs. Dabbs could do a thoughtful article in the Presbyterian Outlook which might start the ball rolling.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

# BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN,
*Secretary*

341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA


HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

May 11, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

In planning for a meeting of church groups and others at an early date, you will be interested to know that I have had conversations with Dr. Dudley Ward, of The Methodist Church, about such a meeting being confined to church groups. A tentative date for this meeting was Friday, July 16. This may be later than would be best but it seemed to be the earliest date that his group would be available.

Perhaps it would be well for you to contact Dr. Ward about your plans and possibly the conference which we had discussed could be made a joint affair or possibly the two meetings might proceed separately as planned.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC/ept

Cc: Dr. A. Dudley Ward
740 Rush St.
Chicago 11, Ill.


RECEIVED
MAY 12 1954
Southern Regional Council


CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

July 12, 1954

Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

All straight for Montreat, and the time is reserved on my calendar! I note that is is on the calendar, however, as August 6-11. Do you want us to be up at Montreat and in harness by 10:00 August 5, or merely for an evening meeting August 5?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab

# BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN,
*Secretary*

341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA


HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

July 9, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

This is to remind you of your engagement to be at our conference in Montreat, August 5-11. Your discussion group will come at 11 o'clock each morning, and I should like also for you to help in another group meeting at 10 o'clock on two or three days while you are there.

Looking forward to being with you and with all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC/ept


RECEIVED
JUL 12 195
Southern Regional Council



CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

# BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

VERNON S. BROYLES, JR., *Executive Secretary*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN,
*Secretary*

341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA


HOME MISSIONS
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
NEGRO WORK
EVANGELISM
RADIO

March 2, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAR 3 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have your letter referring to the possibility of additional support from our Board of Church Extension. The Budget Committee for 1956 will be meeting soon. I am afraid it is too late to get it in the 1955 budget, but we shall see what can be done.

With kindest regards and all good wishes,

I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

February 28, 1955

Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

I telephoned you today but found you in Richmond, expected back on Wednesday. So I lay my matter before you and ask your advice.

For years and years the old Board of Women's Work made an annual contribution of $25.00 to the Southern Regional Council. Last year Miss Quidor wrote us that with the administrative changes they no longer had a budget from which we could be helped in that way.

It has been the case now for four or five years that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., through its Board of National Missions, makes an annual contribution of $250 to SRC.

I wondered whether the $200 which the Board of Church Extension in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. so kindly makes available to SRC each year might be upped to $250. This would confer the triple boon of replacing and overtopping what the Board of Women's Work used to give us; equalling the grant from the Northern Church; and still more substantially helping us.

If we are too late with this proposal to make any headway in the 1955 budgets (and I would hope that we are not), do ticket the matter to come up before the right groups for next year.

Or if I should write differently and to others in order to have the matter officially considered, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS

June 13, 1955

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

I thought you should have a current list of the state organizations we have got going already, and of our executive directors and their addresses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. List of Affiliated state Organizations

July 11, 1955

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the United States
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

This confirms my telephone conversation this morning that because of the excessive distance of my engagement for the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of August (I had thought it would be New York, but they made it Kansas City), I just don't see how I can physically get to Montreat in time to be of any service to you on the 5th. I am distressed not to have this opportunity to be with your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

# BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS
EVANGELISM
NEGRO WORK
RADIO AND TELEVISION
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

July 6, 1955

JUL 7 1955

gave placed for aug 5

To Speakers, Leaders, and Staff Members
Church Extension Conference, Montreat, August 4-10:

We are delighted that you are to be a part of the leadership personnel of our Church Extension Conference, and we are sending you the final instructions thereabout. Unfortunately, our daily schedule folder will not be ready for about two weeks, but a copy will be sent you then. The general daily schedule you will find on the attached sheet.

A complimentary gate ticket is enclosed, which will entitle you to free entrance to the grounds when tendered at the gate upon arrival.

A card is being sent you which we will appreciate your filling out and returning at your earliest convenience. This will give us the information we will need to complete your room reservation.

You have been assigned a room in Howerton Hall. You will go there upon arrival and check in before coming to the Auditorium to register during the course of the afternoon of August 4.

All speakers, leaders, and staff members are asked to sit on the platform on the opening evening, Thursday, August 4. You are requested to assemble at Anderson Auditorium by 7:15 P. M. so that the seating arrangement can be worked out.

A brief meeting of all speakers, leaders, and staff members is being called for Thursday evening as soon as is possible following the evening program. Classroom arrangements will be discussed at that time.

If there are any further details about which you have some question, please do not hesitate to write.

Looking forward to seeing you at Montreat and enjoying the fellowship together, I remain

Cordially yours,

Charles H. Gibboney

Charles H. Gibboney

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

DAILY SCHEDULE

CHURCH EXTENSION CONFERENCE
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA
AUGUST 4-10, 1955

MORNING

9:00 - 9:45 A. M. BIBLE STUDY - Dr. Bernard Boyd
Each morning Friday through Wednesday except Sunday

10:00 - 10:50 A. M. FIRST CLASS PERIOD
Each morning Friday through Wednesday except Sunday
Seminar for Urban Pastors and Lay Leaders
Class for Town and Country Pastors and Lay Leaders
Women's Study Class in Church Extension
General Program of Evangelism
Workshop in Christian Relations
Discussion of Negro Work and the Church's Program
Demonstration Workshop in Radio and Television
Youth Section

11:00 - 11:50 A. M. SECOND CLASS PERIOD
Each morning Friday through Wednesday except Sunday
Home Mission Association
Specific Electives in Evangelism
Class for Sunday School Teachers and Superintendents of Town and Country Churches
Interest Group in Negro Work
Demonstration Workshop in Radio and Television
Discussion of the Social Responsibility of the Church from the Biblical Point of View
Youth Section

12:00 - 12:45 P. M. CONFERENCE HOUR
Presentations of Phases of Church Extension
Friday - Evangelism
Saturday - Home Missions
Monday - Radio and Television
Tuesday - Negro Work
Wednesday - Christian Relations

EVENING

7:00 - 7:30 P. M. - VESPER SERVICE - Messages on Home Mission Work
Each evening Friday through Wednesday except Saturday

7:45 - 8:30 P. M. - EVENING PROGRAM
Thursday (7:30 P. M.) - Message by Dr. P. D. Miller
Friday - Message by Moderator, Dr. J. McDowell Richards
Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday - Dr. Charles B. Templeton

8:45 - 9:30 P. M. - RECREATION AND AUDIO-VISUALS
Each evening Thursday through Wednesday except Saturday and Sunday

SUNDAY PREACHERS:
Morning Worship - Rev. Walter B. Passiglia
Evening Worship - Dr. Charles B. Templeton

CONFERENCE OPENS THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 4

CONFERENCE CLOSES WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 10

October 31, 1955

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

We put together the truth about SRC, and have sent it around to influential people in Georgia.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Rev. Malcolm P. Calhoun,
Board of Church Extension,
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.,
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 5.

December 12th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Calhoun,

This confirms my telephone call about the possibility of getting hold of consultants in social science, for work with local groups on matters of school desegregation.

We have engaged John Hope, who works mainly for the AMA in the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, to serve SRC part-time as a Chief Consultant. He will manage a program that will make available to local groups (for our own purposes mainly SRC-called groups of citizens or of interested school officials or of SRC staff and State Board people), social science people from various Colleges and Universities, on a one or two day basis. If your group, working with some local unit, should wish to make a direct arrangement with John Hope I am sure he would welcome it. I think the arrangement would be that suitable social science people could be used at a cost of thirty-five dollars per working day, plus the travel expenses involved. He will have both white and Negro persons available; our recommendation would be favorable to the use of Negro persons in many instances.

If we can be helpful on it we would want to, but what Mr. Hope is setting up is available to you without our intermediacy.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
c.cs.
C.H.Parrish.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
*Secretary*

*Division of Christian Relations*
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA


RECEIVED DEC 15 1955

December 14, 1955

Staff
Hope

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell :

This is to acknowledge your letter with reference to the availability of Mr. John Hope as a Consultant for conferences on Race Relations. It may be that we will be able to use him in some of our meetings.

Thanking you for the fine job you are doing and with all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

July 16, 1956

Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

Here is the summary of Catholic churches that I promised you. The typewritten sheets summarize, state by state, developments since May 1954. The long mimeographed news release gives the background of earlier steps toward integration.

Best wishes for the success of your manuscript.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

November 8, 1956

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

The Southern Regional Council greatly values the annual contribution of $250.00 which has come to us for years back from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

We had our last such grant in May, 1955.

Will you be good enough to look up where matters stand for 1956? If we are properly budgeted, this is a request for the boon of appropriate help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 27, 1956

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

I esteem good eggs above all other persons. The Council most warmly thanks the Board of Church Extension.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC Official Receipt $250.00

# BOARD of CHURCH EXTENSION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

DIVISION of CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

HOME MISSIONS
EVANGELISM
NEGRO WORK
RADIO AND TELEVISION
CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN,
Secretary

341-B PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

November 13, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 14 1956

Dr.George S.Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

rha 11/19/56

Inclosed is a check for $250.00, a donation from our Board of Church Extension. We are pleased to have a small part in the support of the Southern Regional Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P.Calhoun.

CHRIST the ONLY ANSWER!

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
*Secretary*

*Division of Christian Relations*
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA


December 17, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for the material on the "Fellowship of the Concerned." It will be a big help to us here.

With deep appreciation for the work you are doing and with all good wishes during the Christmas season, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:js

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

December 20, 1956

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

When and as budgeting proceeds for 1957, do be mindful that we shall again in that year be hopeful that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., through the Board of Church Extension, will be helpfully inclined again.

I don't know what we would do if we did not have that steady warmth at our backs.

I am not asking now for funds. The Church was generous to us and so recently! But I do by way of report send an audit; and I daresay that well into 1957 we will be writing to hope that an item for SRC survived.

Sincerely and appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

June 10, 1957

Dr. Malcolm Calhoun,
Board of Church Extension,
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.,
Division of Christian Relations
341 B. Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Malcolm:

I was more than delighted with what the Presbyterians did in giving their good statement not only to the Presbyterians but to all of us. I would appreciate it so much if you would send me a full copy. Through the years, I have gathered these together and would appreciate getting this one.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:cj

June 14, 1957

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

Last December, before George Mitchell left, he wrote you to express the hope that the Board of Church Extension might again include a contribution to SRC in its 1957 budget. This is by way of follow-up to inquire whether this item survived in the budget.

As you know, we receive an annual contribution from most of the larger denominations active in the South. Of these, none is more warmly valued than that from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Funds are always needed and welcome in this work, but more important is what this contribution signifies in terms of continuing friendship and common purpose.

With warm regards and best wishes for the success of your fine efforts,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

-1-

Blake cc

June 26, 1957

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

Many thanks for your letter of June 17th. We are pleased and grateful to learn that the Board of Church Extension has placed the Southern Regional Council in its 1957 budget.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 18 1957

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

June 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are pleased to inform you that the Board of Church Extension has placed in its 1957 budget an item of $250.00 for the Southern Regional Council. A check will be sent in the near future.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

August 12, 1957

Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce De Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

It was certainly good to participate in the Presbyterian Conference at Montreat. I only hope you think my participation was worth the cost involved. I particularly enjoyed the discussions with you and Colonel Miller.

I am enclosing an account of expenses incurred by me on this trip.

Thank you for asking me to participate. I personally got a great deal out of the conference.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1.

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
*Secretary*

*Division of Christian Relations*
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA


August 28, 1957

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

This is just a note to thank you again for being with us in Montreat. You did a fine job and many people have spoken of their appreciation of your contribution in giving an overall picture of what has taken place in the South and of your intimate knowledge of prevailing conditions.

With best wishes for you in your work and assuring you of our interest, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

FORWARD WITH CHRIST

December 26, 1957

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Secretary
The Board of Church Extension of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Inc.
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

We are everlastingly grateful for the steady, continuing support which has come to the Council through the Board of Church Extension.

No contribution that we receive gives us more strength and encouragement to continue the uphill work for a better South.

With appreciation and all good wishes for the new year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA


December 16, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

12/18/57
OK
Rha

Dear Harold:

Inclosed is check for $250.00 to the Southern Regional Council, which is a donation from the Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church, U.S.

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept
INCL.

FBR ✓
PA ✓
EV-out
JC
DT ✓
MF

# Board of Church Extension

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

HOME MISSIONS · EVANGELISM · NEGRO WORK · RADIO AND TELEVISION · CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PATRICK D. MILLER, Executive Secretary

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
*Secretary*

*Division of Christian Relations*
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

May 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good of you to send us a note. I felt that we had an encouraging meeting of our General Assembly and in view of what took place in the Baptist Convention, I believe that it indicates a trend.

Our Division is being transferred to the Board of Christian Education at Richmond. I believe that the change will offer some new channels of work and that we shall receive more encouragement in that Board. I have not decided definitely whether I shall continue or not; in any case, I hope to be in touch with you in the program which you are carrying on. It is likely that I shall continue with the work of Christian Relations.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN

MPC/ept

May 23, 1958

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

This is belated but heartfelt congratulations to you on the fine and courageous stand taken by the General Assembly. This is a magnificent and much deserved tribute to you and all you have done to awaken the conscience of the Church.

I know you are pleased, as we are, to read the news from the Southern Baptist Convention this morning. Maybe this might be called a beneficent chain reaction.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIA AIR MAIL

December 9, 1958

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

This is to give you in writing the substance of our telephone conversation this morning.

I have lately been in discussion with Adam Yarmolinsky, an old friend of mine, now with Doubleday & Company, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. Adam is serving as adviser to a private donor whose identity for the present is not being publicized. This individual is in the process of making personal gifts to tax-exempt causes, including churches and other religious groups. He is very much interested in the race relations work being carried on in the South by the various denominational social action groups. I can assure you that a request from you -- or your agency -- for this purpose would have sympathetic consideration. You may say, of course, that you are writing at my suggestion.

You would know far better than I what the substance of such a request should be; but I would suggest a straightforward presentation of the role you are playing in race relations and the financial needs of your program. My guess would be that any such contribution would be in the neighborhood of $10,000 to $15,000.

One thing I should emphasize: Time is of the essence. The individual in question must dispense a substantial amount by December 31. If you are interested, your request should be sent to Adam Yarmolinsky at the Doubleday address by the end of this week. Incidentally, the donor is a perfectly reputable individual, and a gift from this source would not have any embarrassing or controversial after-effects. Of course, if you asked for and received a contribution, the mystery of his identity would end. I take it he is acting anonymously in this exploratory period as a matter of protection from unwelcome solicitations.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you and your valuable program.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Ed Driscoll tells me the ministers' statement should be mailed to you today. He had written you an acknowledgment, which evidently hadn't reached you.

HCF

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*


December 12, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks a lot for your letter concerning the possibility of financial assistance from the anonymous donor.

We are formulating a request today for such consideration.

With all good wishes for you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:kn

December 29, 1958

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

We share your concern about the need for studies of the consequences of closed schools.

I have had an opportunity to advise on one such proposed study of Norfolk, to be done by personnel of the University of North Carolina.

You can be sure that SRC will also be doing all it can to point up the disastrous effects of this state of affairs.

All best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*


December 4, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been asked by 2 or 3 people lately whether or not studies are being made on closed school areas like Little Rock, Charlottesville etc. These people feel that if the facts as to number of students actually in the class room and the character of work actually accomplished by students were known, it may be a potent factor in keeping the public schools open. I pass this on to you for what it's worth. I would suppose that such studies are in process of being made or soon will be made by you or some other organization.

I have discovered a number of people here in Virginia who are saying after all private schools are not so bad and anyway public schools are not what they should be. In other words they seem not to realize the tragedy that is being enacted wherever public schools are being closed. Therefore, studies as mentioned above might prove to be very helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:kn

February 24, 1959

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed copy of our annual report of program activities. This gives me a chance to say again how much your friendship and cooperation have meant to us, and how valuable the support of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. has been to the Council.

I hope I will see you again soon. Meanwhile, warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

June 13, 1960

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Secretary
Division of Christian Action
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

Mr. Dabbs has written me concerning the date of the Southern Regional Council annual meeting with the thought that this date might conflict with your proposed meeting of the Advisory Council on Christian Action on November 7 - 8.

The SRC meeting will be held on November 9. Therefore, there will be no conflict and Mr. Dabbs can be in Richmond on the 7 and 8.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mf
cc: Mr. J. M. Dabbs

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 11, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Do you know yet the probable date of the annual meeting of SRC? I don't want to accept an engagement in Richmond that would keep me away from that meeting. See the enclosed letter. The Richmond meeting was to have convened at 10 A. M., Nov. 14, and adjourned at noon, Nov. 15. Now Mr. Calhoun is considering setting it up for 10 A. M. Nov. 7, to adjourn at noon, Nov. 8. It is probable that I could get by air from Richmond to Atlanta between noon and night, on either of those days. Could you write immediately to Dr. Calhoun, telling him what you know about the SRC meeting, and advising him as to whether I can meet his wishes in regard to the Richmond meeting? Send me a copy of the letter. I have no other engagements for the first part of November, though I'm to be in Arkansas on Oct. 27,28,29, and 30.

Thanks, and best wishes .

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President.

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, Executive Secretary

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

Telephone: Milton 3-6691

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, Secretary


Please return

June 10, 1960

Dr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Dabbs,

As you may recall at the last meeting of the Advisory Council on Christian Action, the fall meeting of the Council was planned for November 14-15, 1960.

It now appears that two, and possibly three, members of the Council cannot make the meeting on these dates. I am considering moving the meeting forward a week if this proves satisfactory. Could you meet with us on November 7-8? I would appreciate your letting me know if the earlier date in November is alright for you.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:mk

P.S. Orrick Metcalfe who is mentioned in the minutes on page 2 of the May Advisory Council meeting is from Mississippi--not Tennessee.

December 27, 1960

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Secretary
Division of Christian Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

We are pleased and grateful to have the generous contribution from the Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education. This brings an added note of warmth and longstanding friendship to the Christmas season.

My special thanks and personal regards to you. I hope our paths will cross more often in the New Year, and that it will be a richly rewarding year for you, your work, and your family.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*


December 22, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

RHA 12/27/60

I am pleased to enclose a check for $250.00 as a contribution from the Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education, to the support of the Southern Regional Council.

We continue to be grateful for the fine leadership being given by the Council and by you in particular.

With all good wishes for you and your family during the Christmas season, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:mk

enclosure

via air mail

February 8, 1961

Rev. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

Although I don't them, I am told that the officers of the state AFL-CIO are good men in every respect. If my report is correct, you should have no trouble in getting them or someone designated by them to handle the assignment you have in mind. Their names are: Hall Boyd, President; Julian Carper, Vice President; State AFL-CIO, 102 N. Belvedere Street, Richmond, Va.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold. C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
P. S. -- Thanks for the kind words about our report to the President.

HCF

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

**MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary***


February 2, 1961

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am working with a group of Seminary students in the area of social action. At the present time they are especially interested in having a good hard look at the Right to Work Laws. They are trying to approach the matter without any bias and at least for a while will do some "original study." Later on they will wish to call in a representative from management and also one from labor.

I am writing to you to ask whom you would recommend in the Richmond area or near vicinity of Richmond who would adequately represent the point of view of labor in this matter. The students would welcome such a person, perhaps especially if he were somewhat antagonistic toward the Church, although this is not, of course, a prerequisite.

At your convenience I shall appreciate hearing from you concerning suggested speakers.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:mk

P.S.
I thought your request addressed to President Kennedy was excellent.

Hal Boyd, pres
Julian Carper v p.
State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere St.
Richmond

File Religious Foundations church U.S.

August 16, 1961

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Presbyterian Building
Eight North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

I have your letter of August 11. It is always hard to advise someone regarding possible sources of financial assistance, and especially hard for one who, like myself, is very much a neophyte at this fund-raising business. For that latter reason, I yield to temptation and suggest that you would undoubtedly get better advice from my predecessor and your friend, Harold Fleming, (Executive Vice President, the Potomac Institute, 353 Shoreham Building, 15th and H Streets, Washington, D. C.).

As you undoubtedly know, the number of foundations which are interested to the point of committing any funds in race relations is scant. Those which do usually have some particular interest and therefore a proposal has to be conceived in ways that reach their interest. This doesn't mean that a program has to be designed in such a way as to attract money, but it does mean that the proposed program has first got to be designed and put before a likely foundation before the money can be attracted.

We have been successful in getting support from several foundations, but I do not know which, if any, of them might have uncommitted resources which would make possible an interest in your plans. There is nothing to do, however, but to try. More as a hunch than as anything else, I think you might begin with the Field Foundation (250 Park Avenue, New York 17). The person to write there is Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice President.

Let me know what next steps you will want to take, and if I can be of any further help, either in the development of your ideas

or through putting in a good word.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

bc & returns of original
to HEF

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*


August 11, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am writing to ask if you can give me some information about possible foundations which could make grants to church organizations such as mine, namely, the Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education, for the purpose of initiating or strengthening its program of Christian Action or of initiating a specific program in race relations. In other words, I am asking for information about foundations which could help an arm of the Church in its overall program of Christian social action or in a specific program such as race relations. I know my Division some years ago received help from the Fund for the Republic.

Any information you can give me would be greatly appreciated.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:mk

file

Religious

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET
RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION
MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*

August 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of August 16th. We will be getting in touch with Harold Fleming as you suggested for information on possible foundation help.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:mk

December 28, 1961

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary
Division of Christian Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the
United States
Eight North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

Please accept our warm thanks for the contribution of $250.00 from the Board of Christian Education.

This expression of your support and interest means a great deal to the Council, and is greatly valued by me.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb
Enc. Receipt

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

**MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary***


December 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RHA 12/21/61

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a check for $250.00, which is a contribution from the Board of Christian Education to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

mpc/rb

Relig

December 26, 1962

Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Secretary
Division of Christian Action
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

Again we have the warm pleasure of sending our thanks to you and the Board of Christian Education for its contribution of $250 to the Council. Our official receipt is enclosed.

It means a great deal to us to continue to have the support of your church and to have opportunities throughout the year of working together with you.

With sincerest good wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

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PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Secretary*


December 21, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a check in amount of $250.00. CR, 2/26/62 RHA
We are pleased to send this to you to help carry out the program of the Southern Regional Council.

With all good wishes to you for the Christmas Season, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC/jf
enc:

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Speeches

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

Rec'd 10/23/64

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

October 21, 1964

Dr. Leslie W Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This is the final communication you will receive from us before the Consultation on Christian Action. We are looking forward with keen anticipation to your coming and believe that it will be a useful experience for all of us.

Let me remind you again that you will be staying at the Executive Motor Hotel, 5215 W. Broad St., Richmond. The motel is some distance from the meeting place, but you may use a downtown bus or a cab for transportation. All sessions of the Consultation will be held at Second Presbyterian Church, 13 N. Fifth St. Registration will begin at 8:30 A. M. with the Consultation officially beginning at 9:00 A. M. Reverend George A. Chauncey, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Danville, Kentucky, will be presiding.

Let me urge you to plan to remain through the Consultation which closes on Thursday evening. If for any reason you should find it impossible at the last minute to attend the Consultation, I am sure you will let us know immediately.

Until next Wednesday, then, with all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:pc

File
Sub - Speeches
correspondence related to

September 23, 1964

The Reverend Malcolm Calhoun
Secretary
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond, Virginia

bc: Heslie Bee - Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

Thank you for the reminder of your consultation in Richmond on October 28 - 29. I have it on my calendar, and look forward to being with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

September 18, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street.,N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This is to remind you of the approaching Consultation on Christian Action to be held in Richmond on October 28-29. As indicated earlier in the year, the purpose of the Consultation is to explore the role of the Church in Christian Action during this time of rapid social change, with special reference to racial and cultural relations. Carefully selected participants will have a rather intensive two-day consultation. We have secured the following persons to make presentations: Dr. Donald W. Shriver, Jr., Raleigh, N. C., will present the theological basis for Christian Action; Dr. Will D. Campbell, Nashville, Tenn., will identify basic problems in the removal of racial discrimination; Dr. John H. Marion, Nashville, Tenn., will ascertain what the Church is doing to resolve basic problems of racial discrimination; and finally, Dr. Daisuke Kitagawa, New York City, will discuss how the Church can move more effectively toward the removal of racial and cultural discrimination.

You will note on the Schedule enclosed that there will be ample time for participation on the part of all consultants. I hope you will plan to be with the Consultation throughout its two-day session. We feel that the Consultation offers us a real opportunity for discovering what may be the role of the Church during these days of social revolution.

Visiting Consultants will be housed in the Executive Motor Hotel, 5215 W. Broad St., Richmond, Va., 23230, telephone no. AT 8-4011. All sessions of the Consultation will be held in Second Presbyterian Church, 13 N. Fifth St. Lunch and dinner on both days of the Consultation will be served at the Church. Consultants should notify us concerning the time of their arrival.

If there is any information you need, please write to us.

Looking forward to being with you, and with all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

pc

MPC:pc
Enclosure

# SCHEDULE

CHRISTIAN ACTION CONSULTATION
OCTOBER 28-29, 1964
SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
13 North Fifth St.
Richmond, Virginia

Wednesday, October 28

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:30 A.M. | Registration - Second Presbyterian Church 13 North Fifth St. |
| 9:00 A.M. | Brief Devotional and Orientation |
| 9:15 - 10:45 A.M. | Donald W. Shriver, Jr., presentation of Theological Basis for Christian Action and reaction from group. |
| Break | |
| 11:00 - 12:30 P.M. | Will D. Campbell, presentation of Basic Problems in Removal of Racial and Cultural Discrimination and reaction from group. |
| Lunch | |
| 1:30 - 3:00 P.M. | Two discussion groups on presentations by Shriver and Campbell |
| Break | |
| 3:30 - 4:00 P.M. | Two discussion groups report |
| 4:00 - 5:30 P.M. | John H. Marion, presentation of What Churches are doing to Remove Racial Discrimination and reaction from group. |
| Supper - 6:00 P.M. | |
| After Dinner | Daisuke Kitagawa, presentation of How the Church can Move More Effectively in Removing Racial Barriers, and reaction from group. |
| Coffee and Doughnuts | |

Thursday, October 29

Following the schedule of Wednesday culminating in the Kitagawa confrontation, the Consultation should be ready to go into intensive small work groups on what can and might be done in the following categories:

1. The Scattered Church - Role of Laity
2. The Gathered Church - The Congregation
3. The Church as denomination
4. The Role of the Minister

Morning and afternoon hours would be given to these work groups. The after-supper session would be given to reports from the work groups and a wrap-up of the Consultation. The schedule is planned as follows:

9:00 - 10:30 A.M.

10:30 - 10:45 A.M. Break

10:45 - 11:45 A.M.

12:00 P.M. Lunch

1:30 - 3:30 P.M.

3:30 - 3:45 P.M. Break

3:45 - 5:45 P.M.

6:00 P.M. Dinner

After Dinner - Reports from Work Groups
Wrap-up of Consultation

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Ck #6332
12-21-64

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

Rec'd 12/21/64

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

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MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

December 18, 1964

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $63.32 to cover your expenses to the Consultation.

I especially appreciate your giving the time to us. I am aware of your heavy responsibility as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

I feel that the Consultation was most helpful. Under separate cover I am sending you copies of the reports of the work groups, for your information. We do not have other materials ready at the moment.

With all good wishes for you during the approaching Christmas Season and during the New Year, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

pc

MPC:pc

Enclosure

December 31, 1964

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Eight North Sixth Street
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia 23209

Dear Malcolm:

On behalf of the Council I acknowledge your letter of December 17, 1964 and the enclosed check for $250 from the Board of Christian Education in support of our work; our receipt is enclosed.

I think I need not tell you how much we value the friendship of the Board and the support we have had from it for so many years. I hope that you will call on us frequently and that we may be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:p

Enclosure - 1 receipt

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

Ck $250 12-21-64

Recd 12/21/64

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

December 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a check for $250.00 which is a donation from the Board of Christian Education to the Southern Regional Council. Let me again express appreciation for the work you are doing.

With kindest regards and all good wishes to you during the Christmas Season and the New Year, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun
Malcolm P. Calhoun
pc

MPC:pc

Enclosure

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

Rec'd 3/1/65

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, Executive Secretary

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

Religious Orgs - Presby Church

file

February 23, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you have accepted the Covenant Life Conference invitation to participation at Montreat, July 7-13.

You will be informed of developments of the Conference and we shall make every effort to answer questions or accept suggestions from you. By all means, do bring you wife with you.

This promises to be an exciting and fruitful venture in faith.

Sincerely,

Irvin Elligan

Irvin Elligan
pc

IE:pc

February 22, 1965

Mr. Irvin Elligan
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Eight North 6th Street
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Elligan:

Thank you for your call and your letter of February 17. I believe I can be with you July 10-12, possibly also for July 13. I doubt that I can leave Atlanta until July 10, though I would start driving early enough to get there by 10:00 a.m. or so.

I assume I could bring my wife?

All best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

February 17, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Covenant Life Conference of the Presbyterian, U.S., Board of Christian Education will be held July 7-13, 1965, at Montreat, N. C. You are invited to serve in this Conference as a team leader of one of four major discussion groups under the general theme, "The Witness of the Church Today."

With particular and deliberate emphasis upon Christian (Social) Action, this Conference plans for intensive study and discussion groups as follows:

a. Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility
b. Christians in Political Responsibility
c. Christians in Economic Responsibility
d. Interpreting the Christian faith in a scientific age

As I indicated to you on the telephone, we would like for you to be a team leader in group (a.), "Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility." You would be paired with the Reverend Jefferson P. Rogers, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Washington, D. C., to explore the question, "What is the Christian's social responsibility in light of the ramifications of the current racial crisis?" There will be two days of theological probing with the group prior to the small group assignments. The first day of work for the small group would be July 10. It is our hope that each leader can be present the full time. As I indicated to you, the problems of people as busy as your office can be separately considered. Perhaps you can begin with us on Friday or Saturday, July 9 or 10 and stay through at least July 12.

Your travel expenses, hospitality at Montreat and a honorarium of $150.00 will be provided. The latter will be if you can stay the full time with some adjustment for less time spent.

As we talked on Tuesday, I hope that your calendar can be cleared and that you can let us know shortly.

Very sincerely,

Irvin Elligan

Irvin Elligan

IE:pc

Enclosure

# GENERAL OUTLINE

Covenant Life Conference
Board of Christian Education
Montreat, North Carolina
July 7-13, 1965

Theme: The Witness of the Church Today

Major thrust: Christian (Social) Action

Emphasis Resources:

Church-wide themes -

1965 - "The Living Word"
1965-66 - "God's People - the Church in the World"
1964-65 - Bible Study, "The Mighty Acts of God" - Rhodes

Discussion Groups

1. Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility
2. Christians in Political ~~Crisis~~ Responsibility
3. Christians in Economic ~~Crisis~~ Responsibility
4. Interpreting the Christian faith in a scientific age

Discussion groups shall have two-deep leadership utilizing experienced lay and clergy teams as they can be secured.

Study Program:

Phase I.

A. Major opening address on biblical and theological understanding of the people of God -- who they are and what they are meant to be in the world.

B. Group Bible study (one or more sessions allowing for depth explorations of the text.)

Phase II.

Plenary Session - Major address on topic "The Church (People of God) Through the Ages," supported by E. T. Thompson's 1965-66 study book by same title.

Followed by whole group discussion.

Phase III.

Plenary Session - Major address, "God's Faithful Servant People," the call to involvement in our present world.

Assignments to discussion groups of not more than 35 persons; to be led by carefully selected specialists in each topic area. (see above)

Three conference days will be devoted to the work groups, interspersed with worship, recreation, and Montreat special features.

Work group leader teams will make use of their own vocational specialties and the resource books they recommend or which the Conference provides. An interest feature could be the efforts of leaders to correlate their philosophies in dialogue with the group.

While discussion group leaders' major responsibility begins after the principal addresses, they should be present full time to assure a complete grasp of what conferees will face.

The conferees are expected to be drawn from selected lay and clergy leaders who will do depth study, but the invitation is open to all in the Church who wish to attend.

This conference is not to be confused with the Covenant Life Curriculum methods workshops. "Covenant Life" is used because of its strong relevance to the theme, "The Witness of the Church Today."

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING
HARMON B. RAMSEY, *Secretary*
ROY HOGREFE, *Associate Secretary*

*Telephone: Milton 3-6691*

HAROLD E. FULLER, JR., *Director of Educational Administration*


4/22/65

April 20, 1965

Faculty
Covenant Life Conference
July 7-13, 1965
Montreat, North Carolina

Dear Friends:

As administrator for the Covenant Life Conference I would like to offer you my services should you need them to help you in planning for your stay in Montreat. It is our desire that your time in Montreat be as comfortable as possible for you.

All of you will be staying in the Assembly Inn unless you indicate otherwise later when we offer you the opportunity to register with us your plans. For those of you who indicate then that you wish to stay in the Inn we shall make the reservations from this office. This procedure allows us to partake of the special conference rate. We shall also be happy at that time to make reservations for any of your family members who will be accompanying you. Of course, you will settle with Montreat for their expenses.

Our Board has adopted a travel expense policy for leaders at conferences. We are to reimburse you for the actual cost of travel to and from Montreat if you take commercial transportation. Such reimbursement includes all meals, tips, and such expenses as well as the cost of plane, train or bus tickets, etc. Should you take your automobile we reimburse you at 5¢ per mile in addition to the reimbursement for tolls and other expenses such as meals, tips, lodging expense enroute, etc.

Montreat offers other accommodations in the various privately-operated lodges, etc. There are also a number of private cottages which are rented by their owners. A list of all cottages with asterisks beside those which are normally available for rental is available from Montreat (Mr. Harry MacDonald's office). For your immedidate convenience I am herein providing a short list of some of them whose owners personally indicated to me last season that they would rent their cottages:

Dr. Aubrey Brown, Presbyterian Outlook, 512 E. Main St., Richmond, Va. 23209
Rev. Fitzhugh McM. Legerton, Oglethorpe Presbyterian Church, 3016 Lanier Drive, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30319
Rev. Alfred G. Taylor, First Presbyterian Church, 500 Park St., Charlottesville, Virginia
Rev. James B. Tubbs, 103 Stradleigh Road, Wilmington, North Carolina
Rev. John M. Walker, Jr., First Presbyterian Church, Roanoke Rapids, N. C.

There are also a number of guest homes at Montreat, and they are (together with the person to whom you should write) as follows:

* Florida Lodge - Mrs. C. T. Welch, Bishopville, South Carolina
Gammon Home - Mrs. W. J. Gammon, Montreat, North Carolina
Georgia Home - Mrs. A. L. Lee, 418 Herbert Street, Cedartown, Georgia
* Glen Rock Inn - Mrs. C. T. Welch, Bishopville, South Carolina
Naigt Cottage - Mrs. N. T. Clark, 1604 East Main Street, Spartanburg, S. C.
South Carolina Home - Miss Frances Gregg, 1135 Myrtle Street, Rock Hill, S. C.
* William Black Home - Mrs. R. H. Waltman, Route 3, Matthews, North Carolina
(* indicated homes where meals are served)

(Should you stay somewhere other than the Inn we shall reimburse you in the amount of $8.00 per day which is what the Inn charges conferences for their leaders' room and board.)

Please let me know if there is anything whatsoever I can do to be of service as you prepare to serve in the Conference. We are very happy you have agreed to serve and want to make your stay as comfortable as possible.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

Harold

Harold E. Fuller, Jr.

HEFJr/b

cc: The Reverend Irvin Elligan

File
Relig. Orgs.

April 30, 1965

Mr. Harold E. Fuller, Jr.
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Fuller:

Would you please make reservations at the Assembly Inn at Montreat for Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Dunbar for the nights of July 10, 11, and 12.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

**Presbyterian Book Store**
118 WEST FIFTH STREET • CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 5/13/65

File

May 12, 1965

Dear Conference Leader:

At this time we are making plans to supply our annual conferences and training schools with the books which they will need for their programs.

You will find enclosed a form on which to list the books which you as a leader will wish us to have in the conference book store. Will you please fill this form out as completely as possible and mail it to us. This will enable us to order these titles for you.

If you will get in touch with us before your conference begins, we will be glad to make arrangements with you for any special display or promotion of these books.

If there is anything else which we can do for you, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Hubbard

Jean Hubbard
Assistant Manager

School or Conference _____ Covenant Life Conference _ July 7-13 _____

Teacher or Leader _____ Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar _____

Please list below the name of the textbook you expect to require of credit pupils:

Title _____

Author _____ Publisher _____

If you plan to refer to other books, it helps the pupils in your class to find these books on the tables in the book store. Will you list below such titles, starring any you know you will emphasize to any extent?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Have you written any books? If so, please list titles and publishers below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please use the enclosed envelope to return one copy of this check list to us by _____ as soon as possible _____. Thank you.

_____ Jean Hubbard

(Date) (In charge of your conference book store)

This Expires
1 Week From

1 WEEK

№ 0216

**MONTREAT CONFERENCES**

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME Leslie W. Dunbar

$2.50

1965

Do not forget to register at the Information Bureau in the Auditorium. There is no charge for this service, and it will enable anyone to locate you for a long distance telephone call, telegram or any emergency.

The contributions received at the gate are used to pay the expenses of the Conference Program and the Programs for Children and Youth.

THE MANAGEMENT

MONTREAT INFORMATION SHEET
1965

File

## HOW TO GET TO MONTREAT

Montreat is two miles off highway 70 from Black Mountain and sixteen miles from Asheville, North Carolina. If you come by plane and stay in Montreat facilities, someone from Montreat will meet you at Asheville Airport. Charge is $3.00 per person. Notify the business office at Montreat about date, hour, and flight number.

## THE CONFERENCE FEE

The fee which you pay as you enter the Montreat gate is your share in the Montreat Conference Program. The funds received at the gate and the offerings received at the auditorium constitute the Montreat Conference Fund.

The fund is used to pay honoraria and travel for Sunday preachers and Bible teachers and to supplement costs above fees charged for music, Christian education, clinic, information office, and the club program.

In 1964 the Montreat conference expenses were $51,269.14, and receipts were $37,032.46. The deficit of $14,236.68 was paid by the Mountain Retreat Association

## INDIVIDUAL TICKET

| | |
|---|---|
| One day (24 hours) | $ .50 |
| One week | 2.50 |
| Two weeks | 4.50 |
| Four weeks | 8.00 |
| Season | 10.00 |

## FAMILY

| | |
|---|---|
| One week | 7.50 |

## MONTREAT HOTELS

Assembly Inn (room and meals), $7.50 to $13.50. Howerton Cafeteria, operated by Morrison Cafeterias, Inc., provides meals for guests housed in the following: College Hall (room only), $3.50 to $4.50 per person, per day; Fellowship Hall (room only), $2.00 to $3.50 per person, per day; Howerton Hall (room only), $2.50 to $5.00 per person, per day; New Hall (room only), $3.00 to $4.00 per person, per day.

## FAMILY CAMPING AREA

The family camping area off Graybeard Trail is a newly developed facility. Built by volunteer Senior High work campers, it now contains nine campsites--complete with running water, fireplaces, tent areas, tables, and benches. Use of the area for families attending a conference or vacation is by reservation only through the office of the vice-president in charge of conferences. Explanatory materials will be mailed upon request.

## CAMP MONTREAT FOR GIRLS

Mrs. Fred P. Turner, wife of the pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Ocala, Florida, is director of the camp for girls, ages 7 to 17.

1965 SEASON

Full eight weeks (June 18 - August 13), $400.00. Four weeks (June 18 - July 16 or July 16 - August 13), $250.00. Horseback riding and instruction--$50.00 for eight weeks, $30.00 for four weeks.

Write Mrs. Fred P. Turner, 919 Camp Drive, Ocala, Florida.

==========

1965 MONTREAT CONFERENCE SCHEDULE*

| | |
|---|---|
| Men of the Synod of South Carolina | May 15-16 |
| Church Business Administrators | May 18-20 |
| Asheville Presbytery - Youth | June 7-12 |
| Institute for Outgoing Missionaries | June 12-July 28 |
| Appalachia Youth | June 14-19 |
| N. C. Synodical Training School | June 14-18 |
| Men of the Synod of North Carolina | June 25-27 |
| Christian Education Workshop | June 25-30 |
| Association of Christian Educators Conference | June 25-30 |
| Men of the Synod of Appalachia | June 26-27 |
| North Carolina Covenant Life Workshop | July 1-8 |
| Christian Education Covenant Life Conference | July 7-13 |
| Study Conference (formerly Women's Workshop) | July 9-11 |
| Women's Advisory Council | July 12-14 |
| Presbyterial Presidents | July 15-22 |
| Women's Conference | July 15-22 |
| Church Music Conference | July 22-29 |
| Furloughed Missionaries Workshop | July 24-28 |
| World Missions Conference | July 29 - August 5 |
| Church Extension Conference | August 5-11 |
| Bible Conference | August 12-22 |
| Directors of Mountain Retreat Association | August 13 |
| Convocation - Patrons of Montreat | August 14 |
| Montreat Day | August 15 |
| Campus Christian Life Conference | August 13-20 |
| Ministers' Wives Forum | August 17-19 |
| Christian Action Conference | August 20-22 |
| Directors of Montreat Conferences | August 26 |
| Assembly Men's Council | August 27-29 |

* As of November 1, 1964

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*


MJ

Reservation Card + Copy of my ltr of Apr. 30 requesting Res. for Mrs Mus returned 5/28/65

May 26, 1965

To All Leaders
Covenant Life Conference

Dear Friends:

When I last wrote you concerning hospitality at Montreat I indicated I would be contacting you again offering you the opportunity to express your hospitality desires at Assembly's Inn during the Conference. Attached to this letter is a postal card addressed to this office on which you should indicate your plans.

I have also just learned that at its February meeting the Montreat Board of Directors raised the Inn Conference Rate from $8.00 per day to $8.50 (including meals). I had previously told you that we would allow you the equivalent amount per day should you stay elsewhere. Therefore, we shall allow you $8.50 per day should you not stay with other faculty at the Inn.

Let me encourage you to arrive at Montreat a day early (July 6th) should you wish at our expense. If there is any way whatsoever in which you feel we might help you as you anticipate serving in the Covenant Life Conference, just let me know. We can surely try.

Enclosed in this envelope please find a mimeographed letter, map, and schedule we are sending to all registrants.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

Harold

Harold E. Fuller, Jr.

HEF:rep

enclosures

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*


Dear Covenant Life Conference Registrant:

We are happy to inform you that your registration form is being processed and that you are being placed in Study Group # entitled:

Enclosed please find some helpful information about Montreat and about the Conference as well as a schedule for the Conference. Let me encourage you to write to me if you feel there is any way in which I can be of further service.

Please be sure and come to the Conference Office located in the basement of the old bookstore building. The office there will be open for several hours before the first plenary session, and you can receive a name tag, have your arrival confirmed, fill out some very important forms for Montreat location purposes, and receive additional helpful materials that you will need.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Fuller, Jr
Registrar

HEF:rep

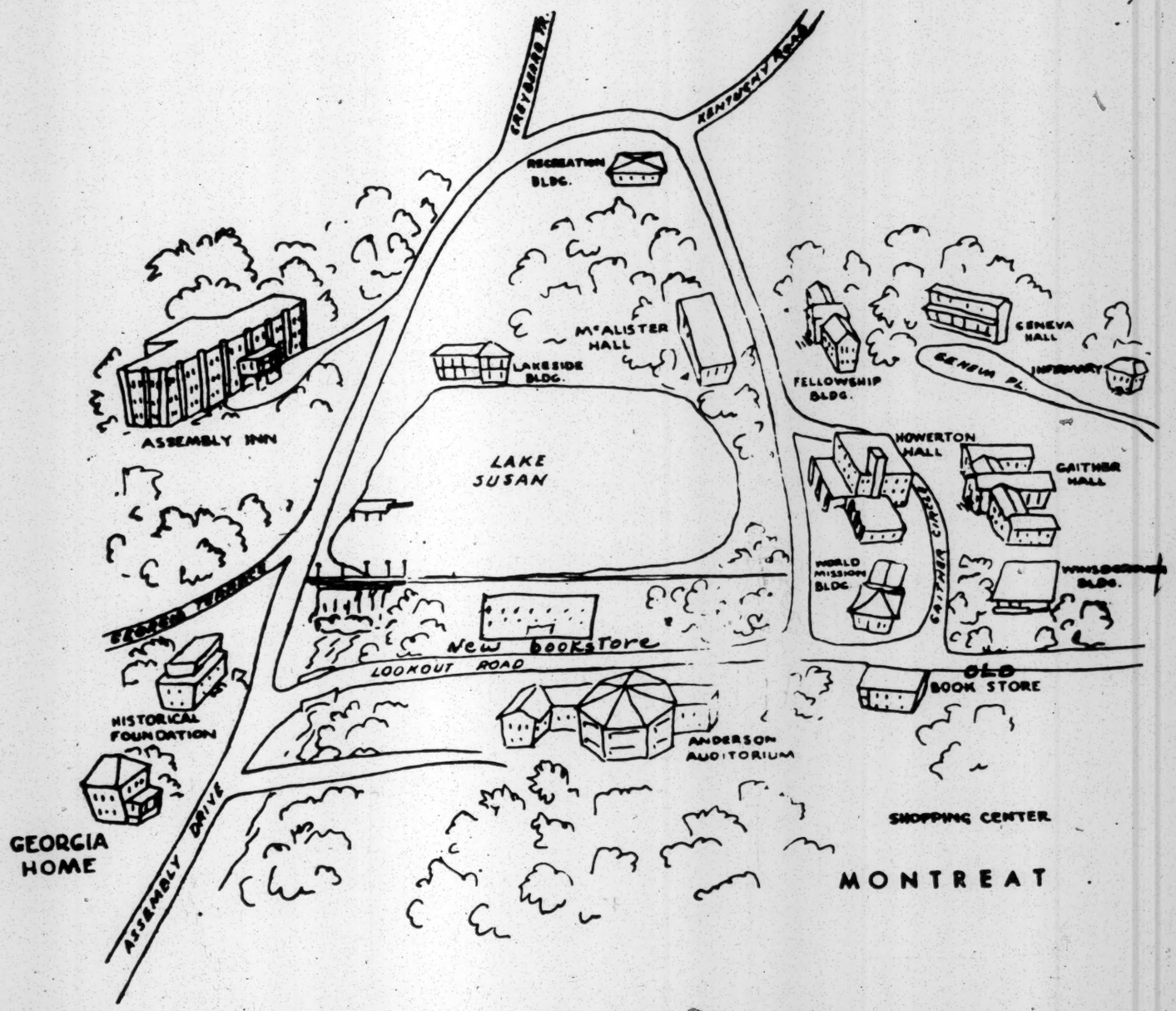
enclosures

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
COVENANT LIFE CONFERENCE
July 7 - 13, 1965

| | |
|---|---|
| **July 7 - Wednesday** | |
| 2 - 5:30 p.m. | Registration - Conference office in old bookstore building |
| 6:00 p.m. | Dinner |
| 7:30 p.m. | Introductory Remarks (in Anderson Chapel) |
| 7:45 p.m. | First Address - Dr. Currie |
| 9:00 p.m. | Coffee Hour - Howerton Cafeteria |
| **July 8 - Thursday** | |
| 9:00 a.m. | Worship - Reverend George Chauncey |
| 9:30 a.m. | Second Address - Dr. Currie |
| 10:30 - 10:45 a.m. | Break |
| 10:45 - 12 Noon | Plenary discussion with Panel |
| 12:30p.m. | Lunch |
| 2:00 - 3:30 p.m. | First Meeting of Working Groups<br>Introduction, Strategies, Assignments |
| 7:30 p.m. | Third Address - Dr. Currie |
| 8:30 - 9:15 p.m. | Plenary Discussion |
| **July 9 - Friday** | |
| 9:00 a.m. | Worship |
| 9:30 a.m. | Fourth Address - Dr. Currie |
| 10:45 - 12:15 | Working Groups |

Working Groups will set their own schedules as to study, breaks, and plenaries for remaining time on Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, with exception of morning worship on Saturday and Monday at 9:00 a.m. and scheduled worship service on Sunday in a.m. and p.m.

Tuesday morning will be given over to plenary sessions for reports of Working Groups.


CARYVILLE TR.
KENTUCKY ROAD
RECREATION BLDG.
McALISTER HALL
LAKESIDE BLDG.
LAKE SUSAN
ASSEMBLY INN
FELLOWSHIP BLDG.
GENEVA HALL
GENEVA PL.
INFIRMARY
HOWERTON HALL
GAITHER HALL
WORLD MISSION BLDG.
WINSLOW HALL BLDG.
New bookstore
LOOKOUT ROAD
OLD BOOK STORE
HISTORICAL FOUNDATION
ANDERSON AUDITORIUM
GEORGIA HOME
ASSEMBLY DRIVE
SHOPPING CENTER
MONTREAT

Religs Orgs

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

Rec'd 6/1/65

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
MARSHALL C. DENDY, Executive Secretary

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

May 28, 1965

File

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

This note is to assure you of our understanding that you will not be able to stay full time at the Covenant Life Conference. As I stated to you on the telephone, we are glad that you can come on the dates of July 10 - 12, and possibly the 13th.

One of our reasons for putting the small group teams in touch with each other is that you may clear responsibilities and group study approaches. I am certain that Jeff Rogers will understand your inability to be present full time.

Don't hesitate to write or call for further information as needed.

Sincerely,

Irvin Elligan

Irvin Elligan

IE/ktg

May 25, 1965

Mr. Irving Elligan, Jr.
Division of Christian Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Elligan:

Thank you for your letter of May 24. I am glad to know that Jefferson Rogers will be our coordinator and leader. Thomas Murphy and I had already planned to get together this Friday for discussion.

I am disturbed, however, by one thing in your letter, and that is the apparent assumption that I shall be there for the whole period. If you will refer back to my letter of February 22, I stated that I could be with you July 10 - 12 and possibly also for the 13. I also stated that I probably could not arrive before 10:00 a.m. on July 10. I do hope there has been no misunderstanding.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ramj
cc: Rev. A. Thomas Murphy
Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers

[redacted]LCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION**

May 24, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rev. A. Thomas Murphy
Druid Hills Presbyterian Church
1026 Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers
The Church of the Redeemer
15th and Girard Streets, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Friends:

We are most pleased that the three of you have agreed to serve as the leadership team for the intensive work group on "Christians In Social Crisis Responsibility" at our Board's 1965 Covenant Life Conference in Montreat on July 7-13. We believe that this conference has tremendous possibilities for depth exploration of some areas vital to the church's ministry and service in today's world.

The conference will get under way at the dinner hour on Wednesday, July 7. On Wednesday evening, Thursday morning, Thursday evening, and Friday morning those attending the conference will be meeting in plenary sessions for four addresses by Dr. Stuart Currie of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Dr. Currie will be speaking on the biblical, historical and theological understanding of the people of God as His witnesses in the world. Opportunities will be provided during the first two days for those attending the conference to discuss what Dr. Currie presents and its implications.

On Thursday afternoon an hour and a half is set aside for the leaders of the four work groups to meet with those who have elected to concentrate on their particular area of concern for a get-acquainted session which should perhaps spell out additional reading assignments and map out a strategy for the use of the time which is available.

Following Dr. Currie's final address on Friday morning and continuing through Monday evening all of the work of the conference, with the exception of the periods of common worship, will be centered in the four work groups. Each group will be determining its own working schedule. On Tuesday morning plenary sessions will be held to allow each group to share the fruit of its work with all conference participants.

At the present time it is difficult to tell how many persons will be in each group. We have put a ceiling of thirty-five on each group but it may be that some groups will be as small as fifteen or twenty.

We are asking that Jefferson P. Rogers serve as the co-ordinator of your group's planning between now and the time the conference gets under way. It would be helpful for you to be in correspondence with each other at least concerning the following matters:

1. What you consider to be the purpose and reasonable hopes for your group.
2. The kinds of formal presentations, if any, which should be made to your group, i.e., lectures, films, etc.
3. Brief bibliography to suggest to those who on registering express a desire to concentrate on your area of concern.
4. Books you desire to have available in the Montreat Book Store.

It may very well be the case that after a preliminary exchange of letters you will wish to have a telephone conference call for your leadership team. Be assured that we stand ready to reimburse you for such a call.

If possible the team leaders might plan to meet in Montreat on Wednesday afternoon, July 7.

Please do not hesitate to let us hear from you if there are other matters which occur to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Irvin Elligan Jr.

Irvin Elligan, Jr.

IE:rep

enclosure

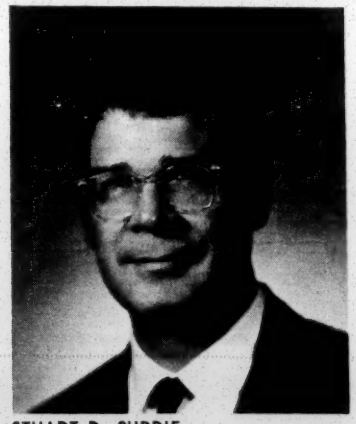
P.S. Conference schedule will be sent to you soon.

# *The Witness of the Church TODAY!*

For those
who are serious about studying
the responsibility that Covenant faith lays upon us
in a culture torn by social, political, economic,
and scientific tensions.

# Covenant Life Conference

JULY 7–13, 1965 / MONTREAT, N. C.



STUART D. CURRIE

**MAJOR ADDRESSES**

BY STUART D. CURRIE
Professor of New Testament Language and Exegesis
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary

**4 STUDY GROUPS**
**staffed by competent authorities in**
**the areas of concern.**

1. **Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility**
   with Leslie W. Dunbar
   Southern Regional Council
   Atlanta, Georgia

   A. Thomas Murphy
   Druid Hills Presbyterian Church
   Atlanta, Georgia

   Jefferson P. Rogers
   The Church of the Redeemer
   Washington, D.C.

2. **Christians in Political Responsibility**
with Alfred O. Canon
professor, political science
Southwestern at Memphis

Hugh Cannon
attorney
Raleigh, North Carolina

Philip Bruce Secor
professor, political science
Davidson College

3. **Christians in Economic Responsibility**
with Boyd Payton
labor leader
Charlotte, North Carolina

Richard E. Gift
professor of economics
Davidson College

Frank M. Hubbard
Pres., Hubbard Construction Co.
Orlando, Fla.

4. **Interpreting the Christian Faith in a Scientific Age**
with Sam Keen
professor of philosophy and Christian faith
Louisville Theological Seminary

Albert N. Wells
Laurinburg Presbyterian Church
Laurinburg, North Carolina

Pelham Wilder, Jr.
professor of chemistry
Duke University

**Worship conducted by:**
George A. Chauncey
First Presbyterian Church
Danville, Kentucky

---

**FOR YOUR OWN FILE**
Christian Education Covenant Life Conference
Montreat, N. C., July 7–13, 1965

Study group preferences:
1. _____
2. _____

Date submitted _____

# CONFERENCE REGISTRATION BLANK

Name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____

Mailing Address _____

_____

Church _____

Study Group preference: (List first and second choices.)

1. Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility ☐
2. Christians in Political Responsibility ☐
3. Christians in Economic Responsibility ☐
4. Interpreting the Christian Faith in a Scientific Age ☐

Early registration is very important. **Study groups each limited to 35 persons.**

Send this registration form and fee of $5.00* to Rev. Harold E. Fuller, Jr., Registrar, Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209.

*Returnable if we receive notice of cancellation two weeks before date of conference.

---

# HOTEL ROOM RESERVATION BLANK

Christian Education Covenant Life Conference
Montreat, N. C., July 7–13, 1965

Please reserve accommodations for me in the Assembly Inn Conference Headquarters as follows: (including meals) _____ $8.00 per day _____ $9.00 per day _____ $10.00 per day. There will be _____ persons in my group and we will need _____ rooms. We expect to arrive (date) _____, and depart (date) _____. Attached is my check for $_____ to cover the required deposit of $5.00 per person, returnable if you receive notice of cancellations 30 days before the date of reservation.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Send this hotel reservation form and deposit of $5.00 per person to: Mr. C. A. Stubbs, *Manager, Montreat Hotels, Montreat, North Carolina. (Make check payable to Montreat Hotels.)

*Limited accommodations in Howerton and Fellowship Halls are also available through the Montreat Hotel Manager, and meals may be taken either at the Howerton Cafeteria or at certain guest homes.

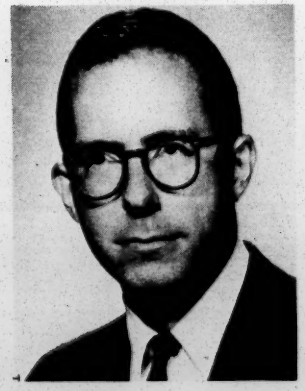
# Covenant Life Conference

JULY 7–13, 1965
MONTREAT, N. C.

# Leaders

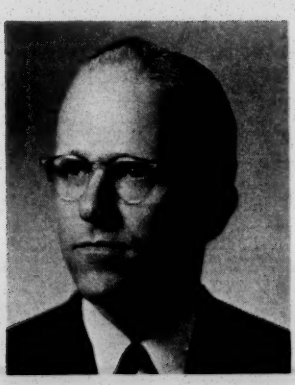
Boyd Payton

Jefferson P. Rogers



Hugh Cannon

Sam Keen



Albert N. Wells

For additional information write to:
**Rev. Irvin Elligan,** Director
Presbyterian Board of Christian Education
Box 1176, Richmond, Virginia 23209

Rec'd 6/14/65
file - Religs Ags


# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET

RICHMOND 9, VIRGINIA

*Telephone:* MIlton 3-6691

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING
HARMON B. RAMSEY, *Secretary*
ROY HOGREFE, *Associate Secretary*

HAROLD E. FULLER, JR., *Director of Educational Administration*


June 9, 1965

Faculty
Covenant Life Conference
Montreat, North Carolina
July 7 - 13, 1965

Dear Friends:

With my letter to you of May 26th, I requested that the postal card then enclosed be returned indicating your plans for hospitality during the Conference.

The cards returned indicate the following plans:

Dr. Philip B. Secor - Arrive on July 7 - Depart on July 13 - Private Room
Mr. Boyd Payton - Arrive on July 7 - Depart on July 13 - Reservations made for Mrs. Payton also.
Dr. Richard E. Gift - Arrive on July 8 - Depart on July 13 - Reservations made for Mrs. Gift and their daughter in a room together.
Dr. Pelham Wilder, Jr. - Arrive on July 7 - Depart on July 13 - Private Room
Dean Alfred O. Canon - Will make own reservations for the Conference.
Dr. Sam Keen - Arrive on July 6 or 7 - Depart on July 13 - Private Room
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar - Arrive on July 10 - Depart on July 13 - Reservations made for both Dr. and Mrs. Dunbar.

We have not heard from the following and will assume private arrangements are being made unless we hear otherwise immediately.

Dr. Stuart D. Currie
Rev. A. Thomas Murphy
Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers
Mr. Hugh Cannon
Mr. Frank M. Hubbard
Rev. Albert N. Wells
Rev. George A. Chauncey

Let me again thank you for being a Conference leader and assure you of my desire to help make your stay at Montreat more enjoyable and comfortable.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

Harold

Harold E. Fuller, Jr.

HEFJr/b
CC: Dr. John Evans
Rev. Irvin Elligan

Rec'd 6/12/65

# COVENANT LIFE CONFERENCE

## Discussion Group Room Assignments

Small Discussion Room (Extra if needed)
Classroom #13

Second Floor

| Room | Seats | Size |
|---|---|---|
| Chapel | 400 | 78'x45' |
| 6 | 15 | 26x18x10 |
| 7 | 15 | 26x18x10 |
| Stage | | 39'x12' |

ANDERSON
AUDITORIUM
CHAPEL
Conference
Plenary
Sessions

STAGE

Classroom #14
Small Discussion Room Group (c)

Second Floor

| Room | Seats | Size |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | 40 | 37 1/2' x 14 |
| 4 | 45 | 29'x28x22 |
| 5 | Press Room - | 37 1/2'x14 1/2x5' |

Main Meeting
Room
Group (d)
Classroom
#19

RR

Classroom
#17
Small
Group
(d)
Discussion
Room

Classroom
#18
Small Discussion Room
(Extra, if needed)

Classroom #16
Main Meeting
Room Group (b)

2

Classroom #15
Main Meeting
Room Group (c)

1

ANDERSON
AUDITORIUM
Seats--3,500
Stage--39'x21'
Lobby:
-Information Desk
-Registration Area
-Hallways
-Display Space
Meeting Rooms
Main Floor:
Room 1--21'x29⅓x36'
Room 2--21'x29⅓x36'

STAGE

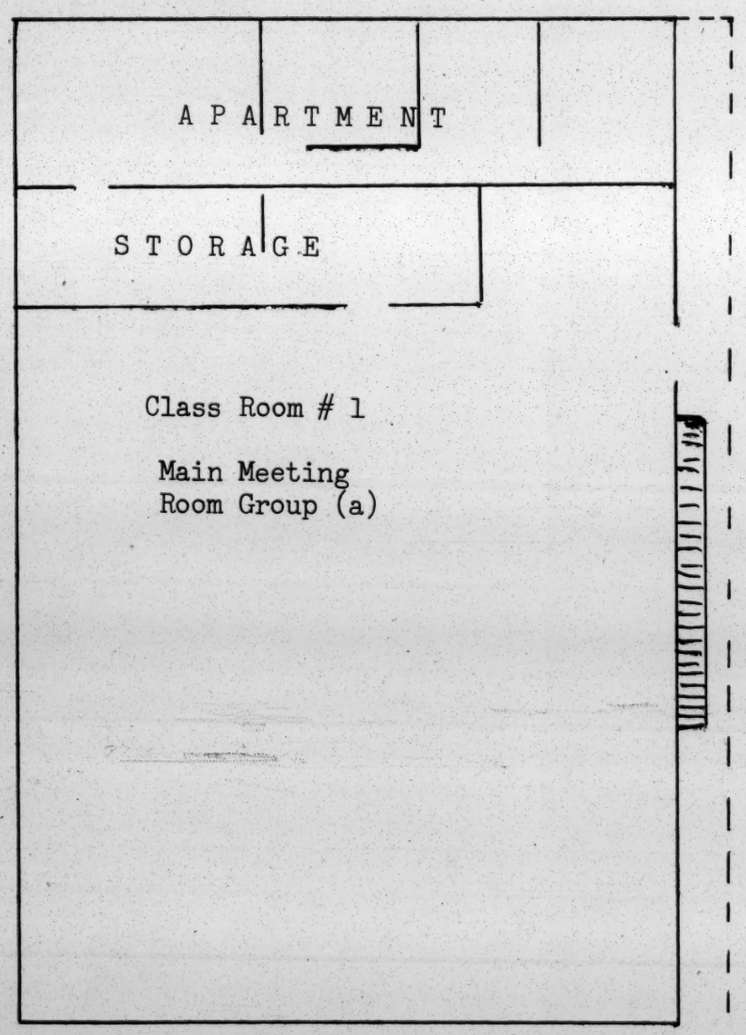
MEN

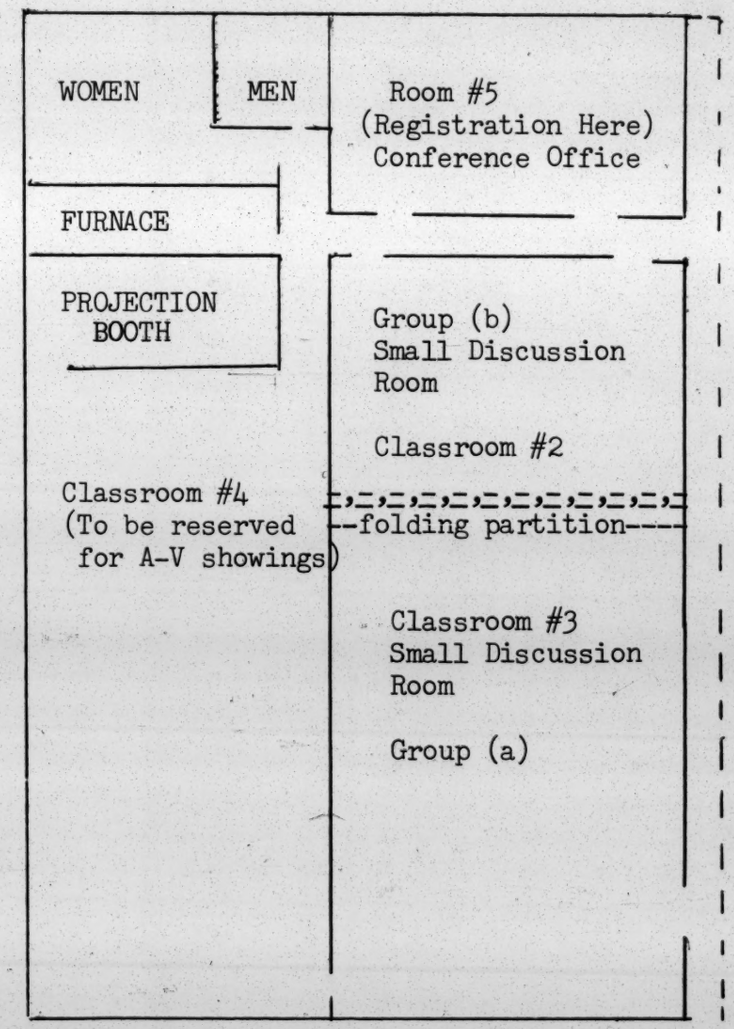
WOMEN

ENTER

KEY:
Group (a) - Christians in Social Crisis Responsibility
Group (b) - Christians in Political Responsibility
Group (c) - Christian's in Economic Responsibility
Group (d) - Interpreting the Christian Faith in a Scientific Age

# CHRISTIAN EDUCATION BUILDING (OLD BOOKSTORE)




Street Floor

Room 1--Seats 75 persons, measures 36'x32', with alcove, 13'x9'

Apartment and store rooms at rear

Porch on right side of building

Ground Floor

Rooms 2 and 3 can be divided by a folding partition when desired. Each room would measure 20'x19'. When set-up as one room, it measures 40'x19'.

Room 4 is a VE facility measuring 32'x12' and is equipped with a projector booth.

Room 5 is reserved for office space for various conference leaders.

Porch on right side of building.

Recd 6/22/65


# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

**PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES**

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691*


File

Rel. Orgs

June 18, 1965

TO: All Leaders, Christian Education Covenant Life Conference, July 7-13, 1965

Dear Friends:

Under separate cover you have received a copy of a diagram showing the room assignments for the various discussion groups. Please note that each of the four major discussion groups has, in addition to its main meeting room, another smaller room so that it might have at its disposal two rooms for use when breaking down into smaller groups. In addition, there are two spare rooms at the disposal of all of the groups so that when more than two rooms are needed by any one group additional room might be available upon occasion. The attached diagram also shows the location of our meeting place for plenary sessions (all four groups meeting together). Please note that when we meet in plenary session we will do so in the little chapel in Anderson Auditorium.

I shall be involved all next week in the Christian Education Workshop at Montreat. Should you have any particular needs arise please share them with Irvin Elligan or if you write me I am sure my secretary will discuss the matter with him and strive to meet your needs. I shall return here to handle matters needing me for three or four days before the Covenant Life Conference.

One final word of significant importance to you, I am sure. We wish to take with us to Montreat only a limited amount of money, and therefore, should you wish to receive all or a portion of your travel reimbursement <u>while you are at Montreat</u>, we are asking you please to let us know <u>immediately</u> in order that we might take this into consideration beforehand and be prepared to reimburse you there at Montreat. If we do not hear from you before the Conference in regard to this matter, we shall assume that you will be not inconvenienced by letting us know during the period of the Conference the amount of your travel expense and by receiving reimbursement for this amount by mail after we have returned to Richmond. Be sure that we shall be prompt in our reimbursement immediately upon returning to Richmond, however. Let me know if there is any further question you might have or any way in which we can be of further service. We shall also be happy to provide advance travel expense money should any of you need it. Just let us know as soon as possible and we shall send you a check ahead of time.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

Harold

Harold E. Fuller, Jr.

HEFJr/b

cc: Dr. John Evans
Rev. Irvin Elligan
Dr. Harmon Ramsey

P.S. A Reminder: The Board authorizes us to reimburse at the rate of 5¢ per mile plus all other expenses (room, meals, tolls, etc. en route) or the amount of the cost of commercial transportation. If you stay at the Inn, sign your bill and leave it for us to pay. If you stay elsewhere we shall reimburse you at the rate of $8.50 per day.

file
Rel. Orgs.


# BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209

*Telephone: Area Code 703 • 648-6691*


June 23, 1965

Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers
The Church of the Redeemer
15th and Girard Streets, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20017

Dear Jeff:

Enclosed is a sample of our carrying out your wish for a bibliography for the full group in which you shall serve. I am glad that you called for help that you asked. Please don't hesitate to request anything else that you think will make the Conference go well. Time is quite short now, but we will do everything possible to help because we believe that this is one of the most important conferences which the Board of Christian Education has ever sponsored.

Registrations to date are not at a point that I can give you specific information about who will be in your group, but our recruiting process indicates that there will be people who can and will appreciate the dialogic methods proposed for this Conference.

Either Harold Fuller or I may have a final letter to you within the next few days concerning the wrap-up of all particulars.

Sincerely,

Irvin Elligan

IE:cewp

ccs: Rev. A. Thomas Murphy
Auburn, Alabama

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Dunbar

SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
for group on

CHRISTIAN IN SOCIAL CRISIS RESPONSIBILITY


Dark Ghetto by Kenneth Clark

Social Sources of Denominationalsm by Richard Niebuhr

The Kingdom of God in America by Richard Niebuhr

The Responsible Self by Richard Niebuhr

Moral Man and Immoral Society by Rheinhold Niebuhr

The Irony of American History by Rheinhold Niebuhr

Why We Can't Wait by Martin Luther King

Stride Toward Freedom by Martin Luther King

The Negro Revolt by Louis Lomax

The New Equality by Nat Hentoff

The Fire Next Time by James Baldwin

Notes of a Native Son, James Baldwin

Jesus and the Disinherited by Howard Thurman

To Be Equal by Whitney Young

I Always Wanted to Be Somebody by Althea Gibson

Yale - Rel. Orgs
Presby Church, U.S.
Bd. of Christian Ed

June 29, 1965

Mr. Irvin Elligan
Associate Secretary
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Irvin:

Thank you for your understanding response to my regrettable phone call.

I am, after much conern and thought, leaving the Council at the end of the summer in order to accept an invitation to direct the Field Foundation. I have a multitude of things to complete this summer, as well as helping with the problems of my replacement. In addition, I have to write a book between now and the middle of October.

Since the Field thing was decided upon, I am, with everybody's interest at heart, stripping myself of every commitment I possibly can.

I would have greatly enjoyed the exchange of thought that will take place at

Montreat, and I shall miss it. If you would have me down in another year, I give you my assent in advance.

Please give my regards to Malcolm Calhoun.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
COVENANT LIFE CONFERENCE
July 7 - 13, 1965

| | |
|---|---|
| **July 7 - Wednesday** | |
| 2 - 5:30 p.m. | Registration - Conference office in old bookstore building |
| 6:00 p.m. | Dinner |
| 7:30 p.m. | Introductory Remarks (in Anderson Chapel) |
| 7:45 p.m. | First Address - Dr. Currie |
| 9:00 p.m. | Coffee Hour - Howerton Cafeteria |
| **July 8 - Thursday** | |
| 9:00 a.m. | Worship - Reverend George Chauncey |
| 9:30 a.m. | Second Address - Dr. Currie |
| 10:30 - 10:45 a.m. | Break |
| 10:45 - 12 Noon | Plenary discussion with Panel |
| 12:30p.m. | Lunch |
| 2:00 - 3:30 p.m. | First Meeting of Working Groups<br>Introduction, Strategies, Assignments |
| 7:30 p.m. | Third Address - Dr. Currie |
| 8:30 - 9:15 p.m. | Plenary Discussion |
| **July 9 - Friday** | |
| 9:00 a.m. | Worship |
| 9:30 a.m. | Fourth Address - Dr. Currie |
| 10:45 - 12:15 | Working Groups |

Working Groups will set their own schedules as to study, breaks, and plenaries for remaining time on Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, with exception of morning worship on Saturday and Monday at 9:00 a.m. and scheduled worship service on Sunday in a.m. and p.m.

Tuesday morning will be given over to plenary sessions for reports of Working Groups.

February 9, 1954

Mr. Alexander Sharp
National Missions Board
Presbyterian Church in the USA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Here are copies of letters which I have sent out to various Denominational leaders having particular strength in the South. I should not be surprised if the idea came from either Mr. Earle or Mr. Sissel.

In any case, I would like to add it to the repertoire of ideas which you and they are at work upon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosures 3

February 28, 1955

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

We are extremely grateful for the kind contribution of $250 from the Board, received the other day.

It helps us enormously to know that you stand behind us.

Incidentally, I have opened correspondence with the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. to get them to add moderately to their contribution so as to make it even steven each year with yours!

Things are moving hereabouts, and we think the money goes to good effect.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl - official receipt of SRC
cc: KS

October 31, 1955

Mr. Alexander Sharp
National Missions Board
Presbyterian Church in the USA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

The Attorney General of Georgia, on October 19th, made a big speech fussing at the NAACP. And in the course of it took some swipes at SRC. We got him answered in the press, and have circulated to thoughtful people a longer manuscript about SRC.

Perhaps, in a busy life, you can find time to read what we wrote.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

December 16, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED DEC 19 1955

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The appropriation of this Board for our budget year beginning January 1, 1956 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council for 1956 is $250.00.

This amount is payable on receipt of voucher from your office anytime during the calendar year. A supply is enclosed for your convenience.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander E. Sharp

ALEXANDER E. SHARP

AES:mlm
Enc.

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp,
Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian
Church in the U.S.A.,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York 10,
NEW YORK.

December 19th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Sharp,

The Board of National Missions delights the heart and refills the coffers of the Southern Regional Council! Warmest thanks for your letter of December 16th. Early in January we will send in the voucher, and get out New Year's present!

Appreciatively yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

c.c. (blind)
R.A.

Churches - Pres
9c

January 17, 1956

Mr. Alexander Sharp
National Missions Board
Presbyterian Church in the USA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

We are awful grateful.

For a little merci I send you a copy of a recent Quarterly Report to the members of our Board of Directors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

December 20, 1956

Mr. Alexander Sharp
Board of National Missions
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

I lodge annually upon your doorstep, hoping that the Board's kind grant to the Southern Regional Council will find its way into the budget again for 1957.

We have mostly been about the business of getting a dozen copies of ourselves organized in each of twelve Southern states. They are called the Alabama Council on Human Relations and the Tennessee one, etc. And to my knowledge in the Tennessee one and the South Carolina one and the Texas one people in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. have played a leading part.

The office in Atlanta has worked closely during the year with Ben Sissel and Gayraud Wilmore, and we have all taken warmth to our own courage from theirs.

Cheerful small item for your eyes and not for others: we have for many years been after the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. neatly to match the sum that you so kindly give. In 1956 for the first time they came all the way up to it! So that though the sum is divided, it is still a round $500!

Do help us again; we stay grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P. S. Here is an audit for our queer fiscal year ending September 30, 1956.

Presbys U.S.A.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Gatlinburg Conference
January 31 - February 1, 1957

Prejudice

1. How should one proceed toward attitude education of both Negro and White?

2. What is prejudice? Why is it so deep-rooted? How can it be modified? Is it possible to eliminate it? What indirect means can be used in preaching to modify prejudice?

3. Is there an element in the situation of the white Southerner which the Northerner cannot appreciate, or is it merely that prejudice in the South is more deeply imbedded? What does a Southerner mean when he says: But you Northerners just don't understand?

Integration

1. How can much be done on county level until action is accomplished on the state level?

2. How can anything be done on a local level until there is action on the county level?

3. Should integration begin at the graduate level and go down a year at a time or should it begin at the first grade and go up to second grade, etc., a year at a time? Or, should integration be done all at once?

4. In the schools of our area integration has proceeded smoothly. However, in our suburban community there is a group of approximately 25 Negro families that have become engulfed in the outward growth of the city. These Negroes were here before many of us were, yet they had no local church of their own and to the best of my knowledge no other denominational church in our community has invited them to join in worship. How can we best prepare ourselves and how can we best approach them to fellowship with us? It seems to me that we should not lag behind the school system relative to integration wherein such is feasible and desirable.

5. Is resistance to integration due to continuing prejudice or to resentment of so-called pressure?

6. This is a two-way program. Not only should the white people be willing to accept the change, but the Negro should likewise be ready and willing to work on it.

7. What kind of program can we do when 99% of the membership strongly oppose even the mention of integration?

8. In discussing this question of integration with the colored woman who works for me, I find that she is not in agreement with integration at all. She is an average, middle-class Negro and a good Christian. She feels that as long as equal opportunities are offered her race, they desire segregation, and she is, I feel, representative of her race.

No Problem

1. What about the attitude that as long as there is no open, overt conflict, there is no problem? A chief problem is the lack of willingness to admit that there is a problem. When I deal with one who believes that segregation is morally right and should be continued, I can at least reason with him on commonly accepted Christian grounds. However, there are many who believe that there is no real problem; that the Negroes are being stirred up by the NAACP which organization is vaguely to be linked with the Communists.

2. Should a church raise the issue when there is no immediate problem except remarks that reflect deep-seated prejudices?

3. We are not faced with a problem of taking Negro people into our local church. We have three very adequately trained Negro ministers as pastors of our three Negro churches. (These ministers are active in our local Ministerial Association and we feel a very close Christian relationship with them.)

4. In our local school system in the city, we are technically desegregated, although no Negro young people have desired to attend our Mt. Sterling City High School. DuBois High School, our Negro School, is blessed with actually a better faculty so far as degrees and preparation are concerned.

Minister-Church Approach

1. How can we hold people of widely divergent racial views together in common Christian fellowship without compromising the Church's witness to "an unsegregated church in an unsegregated society"?

2. What should be the stand that white ministers take now? Negro ministers? How does one get the congregation to go along?

3. How should integration in the church be approached?

4. Wouldn't people be more apt to accept Negroes if they have the opportunity to welcome a family at a time into their church so that they become not a "color" but people?

5. What is the best way to integrate the churches themselves?

6. How can local ministerial associations contribute to a successful solution of integration problems?

7. How do you get practical integration in your local ministerial association? It took us two years to integrate ours, and now instead of two fairly strong organizations we have one that has next to no support from our colored brethren. And what about integration on a Presbytery and Synod level? I've been asking questions for two years about Florida and Atlantic Synods. I understand that "committees are at work." Could we hear something of the problems and the plans?

8. How can a church face and help the integration problem when no Negroes live near it?

Theology

1. The root of the whole problem is theological. Read The Atlantic Monthly; listen to your White Citizens Councils, or lead a discussion in a local church, and you discover that the proponents of segregation insist that God did not make "all nations of one blood."

2. How do we show a "sense of sympathy" for those who hold these strange convictions, and at the same time hold firmly to the truth?

3. It was never God's Plan for the white and colored races to be brought together. In Numbers 36:3 we read of God's Plan of desegregation in regard to the separation of the tribes. Quite often through God's commends to Israel they were forbidden to intermarry or even enter into social relationships with neighboring communities. In our day, however, quite in keeping with the rest of men's plans, these principles have been abrogated, and we are advised and almost enforced to permit and practice interrelationship between the races.

Community

1. What do you do after you have gone to the School Board, encouraged them to take steps leading to integration, and they refuse to do anything but take a "wait and see" attitude, saying they do not want to be the first community to integrate "voluntarily" in the state?

2. What can be done to prepare the press, radio, and law enforcement officials for the problems of integration?

3. How do you diagnose what the present community feelings are about integration?

4. How can the local community be educated to the point where they will be ready and willing to accept church integration?

5. We have heard expressions from Negro people in our community to the effect that they would feel ill at ease in churches other than their own because of economic, educational and attitudes toward public morals and personal responsibility.

6. What effect will integration have on the social lives of both the white and colored? The thought of my daughters attending school and church and riding on the same buses with colored girls and boys does not present the real issue. Where will the fraternization end? I would not approve of my girls playing opposite a Negro boy in a school play, for example.

7. How does one deal with personal threats, intimidation, and persecution? Should police be notified, etc.?

NAACP

1. Has the work of the NAACP done more harm that good?

2. The city school superintendent thinks that if the state Board of Education ordered integration it would work. Neither he nor the local school board are inclined to take the initiative. He feels that if the NAACP sponsored it, greater resistance would result. All feel that White Citizens Councils would come in and do great harm.

Department of Social Education and Action
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Religious-Presbyterian

March 27, 1957

Mr. Everett L. Perry, Secretary
Office for Field Survey
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Perry:

It was a pleasure to be with that stimulating group in Charleston on Monday afternoon. You can usually judge the capabilities of an audience by the questions they ask and those men asked the right questions.

I hope that you and the participating clergymen thought that our discussions were worth the cost of bringing me down. Enclosed is my expense account totaling $57.66. Please make this check payable to the Southern Regional Council.

Very sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Religious - Presbyterian

April 4, 1957

Mr. Everett L. Perry, Secretary
Office for Field Survey
Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Perry:

Many thanks for your letter of April 2 and the kind words contained therein about my participation in the Charleston meeting of March 25th.

I will be happy to help out at future meetings as you need me and my calendar permits.

Thanks once more for your consideration in taking care of my expenses.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

December 31, 1957

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the USA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Sharp:

Your letter notifying us of the Board of National Missions' 1958 appropriation for the work of the Council was heartwarming news on the eve of Christmas.

We are more grateful than I can say for the steady support of the Presbyterian Church, USA, and for the confidence in our work that it signifies.

It was my pleasure to take part in the recent Consultation of the Department of Social Education and Action, and I was deeply impressed by the commitment and skill of that program planning.

The vouchers you were kind enough to send are enclosed. We shall be glad to have payment at your convenience.

With appreciation and every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 2 Vouchers
N.Y. Times Reprint

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y. ALGONQUIN 5-5000

December 19, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell, successor,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The appropriation of this Board for our budget year beginning January 1, 1958 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council for 1958 is $250.00.

This amount is payable on receipt of vouchers from your office and should be called for before December 15, 1958. A voucher is enclosed for your convenience.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander E. Sharp

ALEXANDER E. SHARP

AES:mlm
Enc.

December 19, 1958

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp
Administrative Secretary
Presbyterian National Missions
Board of National Missions
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Thank you so much for your letter informing us of the 1959 appropriation for the work of the Southern Regional Council. We value this continued support of the United Presbyterian Church most highly, and look forward to future close cooperation in the South during the coming year.

We shall be submitting the voucher which you were kind enough to enclose shortly after the first of the year.

With all good wishes to you and your associates,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
*and*
THE BOARD OF AMERICAN MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
OF NORTH AMERICA

**PRESBYTERIAN NATIONAL MISSIONS**
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. ALGONQUIN 5-5000

December 15, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will inform you that the appropriation of this Board for our budget year beginning January 1, 1959 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council for 1959 is $250.00.

This amout is payable on receipt of vouchers from your office, and should be called for before December 15, 1959. A voucher is enclosed for your convenience.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander E. Sharp

ALEXANDER E. SHARP
Administrative Secretary

AES:mlm
Enc.

Vouchers to RHA - 12/18

February 24, 1959

Mr. Alexander E. Sharp
Administrative Secretary
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Sharp:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed copy of our annual report of program activities.

This gives me an opportunity to reaffirm our deep gratitude for the friendship and support of the Board of National Missions, and our hope that the Council's work will merit your continued confidence and support.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

January 4, 1960

Dr. Alexander E. Sharp
Administrative Secretary
Board of National Missions of the
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Sharp:

We are warmly grateful for your letter informing us of the 1960 allocation of $250 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council.

The voucher you were kind enough to send has been executed by our secretary-treasurer, and is enclosed. We will be happy to have you send the contribution at whatever time is most convenient.

Our ties of friendship and common purpose with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., are greatly valued; accordingly we look upon this steady annual support as a gift of special importance.

With kindest regards and good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Voucher)

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

December 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will inform you that the appropriation of this Board for our budget year beginning January 1, 1959 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council for 1960 is $250.00.

This amount is payable on receipt of vouchers from your office, and should be called for before December 15, 1960. A voucher is enclosed for your convenience.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alexander E. Sharp

ALEXANDER E. SHARP
Administrative Secretary

AES:mm

Enc.

December 27, 1960

Mr. Archibald K. Stewart
Director of the Budget
Board of National Missions
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Stewart:

We greatly appreciate your letter of December 14 advising us of the 1961 appropriation toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council. We shall be happy to accept payment of the appropriation after January 1st on whatever date is most convenient for you. Accordingly, I am enclosing the voucher which you were kind enough to send us.

I need hardly say that our gratitude to the Board of National Missions is deep and abiding. The knowledge that the Council's work has the continuing confidence of the Board gives us real sustenance.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

December 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will inform you that the appropriation of this Board for the budget year 1961 toward the budget of the Southern Regional Council for 1961 is $250.00.

This amount is payable on receipt of the enclosed voucher from your office, and should be called for not later than December 15, 1961.

Sincerely yours,

Archibald K. Stewart

Archibald K. Stewart
Director of the Budget

Enclosure

August 8, 1961

Mr. Bill Jeanes
Office for Field Survey
Room 1133
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Jeanes:

Regrettably, since I wrote you on June 15, we have exhausted our supply of the 1950 population distribution maps. Since the map was to be replaced in about six weeks with our 1960 map, we have been rather free in distributing them, particularly to summer workshop gropps and the like.

When the 1960 map is available, we shall let you know and be happy to forward a number of them if you have need for them then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

August 3, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In regard to your letter of June 15, please send to the above address fifty (50) copies of the 1950 Percentage of Non-white Population in Counties of Southern States Map. A sample is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Bill Jeanes

Bill Jeanes
Office for Field Survey
Room 1133

# PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULATION IN COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN STATES

PREPARED BY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

file

ck $250.00
9-19-62
LK

September 11, 1962

Board of National Missions
United Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is our receipt for the contribution of $250 from the Board of National Missions to the Southern Regional Council. Please know that we are deeply grateful for your continuing interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mg

Enclosure

# BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS

OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200


Rec'd 2/10/64 Rec'd by phone to Leslie

File Religious Orgs. Presby. Church

February 7, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm arrangements made with Rev. David Ramage and yourself concerning the Atlanta Conference on February 27th through the 29th.

On the first day at 3:30 p.m. during the plenary session, we would like for you to speak on "The Southeast - economic, industrial, community development, et cetera." This will be the opening session. It will also be the time when those of us from outside the Southeast can get an orientation.

There will be questions and a great deal of the success or the failure of the conference will be dependent on your presentation.

We will send you a copy of the program as soon as it is available.

Cordially yours,

Bryant George

BG:mlh

Bryant George
Associate Chairman for Administration
Division of Church Strategy and Development

**BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS**
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

DCS&D Room 1151

File: Rel. orgs. Presby. church. U.S.A.

File

April 2, 1964
Dict. March 26

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am writing just this brief note of thanks to you for your participation in the Conference on the Southeast sponsored by the United Presbyterian Church, February 27-29. We deeply appreciated your setting the tone of this meeting for us and look forward to having you with us again.

Yours very truly,

Bryant George

BG:lir

Bryant George
Associate Chairman for
Administration
Division of Church Strategy
and Development

File Religious Orgs - Presbyterian Church U.S.A. - Board of Missions

December 2, 1964

Mr. Robert D. Foothorap
Associate Treasurer
Board of National Missions of
The Presbyterian Church - U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Foothorap:

This will acknowledge, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, receipt of $250.00 from the Board of National Missions, as a contribution to our general operations. Your support is a source of encouragement to us here as we try to implement the program of the Council.

We are especially pleased to know that you have appropriated the same amount for us in your 1965 budget. Your continued expression of confidence in our work is highly appreciated. Our official receipt is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd 11/13/64

# BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS

OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

file reply

November 11th, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The appropriation from the Board of National Missions to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. for the year 1964 was $250.00 and our check is enclosed to cover this amount.

cl
RHA
11/13/64

We are pleased to tell you that the same amount of $250.00 was appropriated by the Board for the year 1965.

Cordially yours,

Robert D. Foothorap

Robert D. Foothorap
Associate Treasurer

RDF/rlc
Encl- Check No. A-14408

Ck. NO. 14408

# Managing Group Tensions

Charles A. Dailey
Address before the Chicago Presbytery
McCormick Seminary, December 13, 1966

It is my earnest belief that every pastor and administrator can learn to draw forth the creative potential in any group, provided he learns to recognize, accept, and build upon the very human and sometimes immature needs in that group.

The essence of the problem of group tensions is the diverse set of goals for the congregation, and the apparent conflicts among these goals. Every group, including congregations and cliques within the congregation, seeks to maintain stability while moving ahead in a practical sense, and wants to do these two things (stay the same and yet achieve) while becoming what it can. The last of these three goals, growth, is so muted and subtle in the case of many groups that we will for the moment ignore it and primarily treat the conflicts arising between Stability and Achievement needs.

The essence of solution of any problem of group tensions is, of course, learning to identify the presence and cause of tensions early enough to resolve them; not merely to resolve tensions, but <u>to turn this unused energy to the purposes of achievement and growth</u>.

I will refer briefly here to the Elmhurst Church split a year or so ago, written up in the Chicago Theological Seminary Register. This split crystallized during the tenure of a minister who lasted about three years after he attempted to change the structure and goals of a suburban church of around 500 adults. He was voted out in spite of the strong support of the most active board members of the church. Why? The opinion was offered by his opposition that his personality was so abrasive that his leaving was inevitable. The supporting faction said his policy was to create a church which stood for something and was not a mere local club.

These disagreements within the church appear at first glance more tragic than the similar difficulties in business and government. Our idealism and high hopes for the church render a church fight more intolerable. It is an element in American piety that there can be no happy warriors in church life. The Hymnbook of the Presbyterian Church is full of songs to work our courage up against the enemy and storms outside, but no songs to praise men within the congregation who are contending honestly and heartily with each other, to force a policy and a program. We sing for unity; we cannot find tongue to celebrate disunity. We do not admire the adversary system of finding truth.

The Elmhurst Chronology

On November 7, 1965, the congregation of this church met to request the resignation of the Pastor and an associate minister. The vote was 245 for the Pastor's resignation and 223 against.

He had come to this church late in 1961 following a major split in which two staff members were dismissed. Prior to this time, the church, now over 75 years old, had served as a sort of social center in the Elmhurst community, and still had a number of groups of an interest type: bowling, ceramics, puppets, bait and fly casting, square dancing, and leather craft.

In 1958, the peak of membership and giving had been obtained. Since that time, membership had decreased, but pledges had increased. Fewer people were giving more. In 1964, the Board of Trustees, part of the "power structure" along with the Women's Fellowship, pointed to the decline of 17% in attendance during a time when the population of Elmhurst had increased 9%. The response of the Pastor to this analysis, which concerned a disinclination by the Trustees to adopt a 50% stewardship budget until attendance trends were reversed, was that it was not healthy to give to others only after paying our bills.

In August, 1964, the Church Council created a committee to consider the difficulties and dissatisfactions which seemed to be developing. During the next several months, various criticisms and defenses were offered. (The minutes seem to reflect the views of the Pastor's defenders almost completely.) The motives of the "power structure" are defined by the defense as an attempt to hold on to a "suburban Sunday morning social club."

At one point, the Pastor reflected, ". . . (we on the staff) see the situation as deteriorating until such time as there is a concerted and determined effort to meet the problem constructively. While we appear to have 'reached' quite a few individuals. . . they do not represent the 'power structure' as it is represented by the Board of Trustees of the Women's Fellowship." The Pastor found it hard to characterize his opposition: they were not organized or articulate. He reaffirmed his unwillingness to be a "caretaker."

The Pastor pointed out that the decline in giving and attendance dated back to 1958, before his arrival, and was part of a complex national trend. In his diagnosis, he also pointed out that the congregation was aging, patterns had become set, and its original Community House function was no longer needed in a suburb which has developed many other social centers. Finally, that the church had been one demanding only institutional caretaking from the Minister.

Around January 1965, the Chairman of the Trustees had announced that the fund drive had not brought in enough money, and a hint was dropped that the people were "voting by pledge." The new deficit would reach nearly $7,800 in a budget of over $90,000.

Ninety-two families increased their giving to make up the deficit. A special committee talked to those withholding pledges for the first time and found eight families saying it was to protest, and twenty-four giving no reason. Another special committee now submitted its report of communication with 199 members and found about 31 different grievances in every area of church life including, among other things:

-- that the social activities were being discouraged
-- the program was being dictated by the national church
-- the sermons were hard to understand, critical and offered little comfort to the congregation

A church meeting in May represented an attempt to review the areas of complaint and respond to them. We have no record of what happened in this meeting, but a few days later a statement was circulated, including remarks by the Moderator, Minister, and Chairman of the Diaconate. The Minister said he was agonized that he had evidently been unsuccessful,

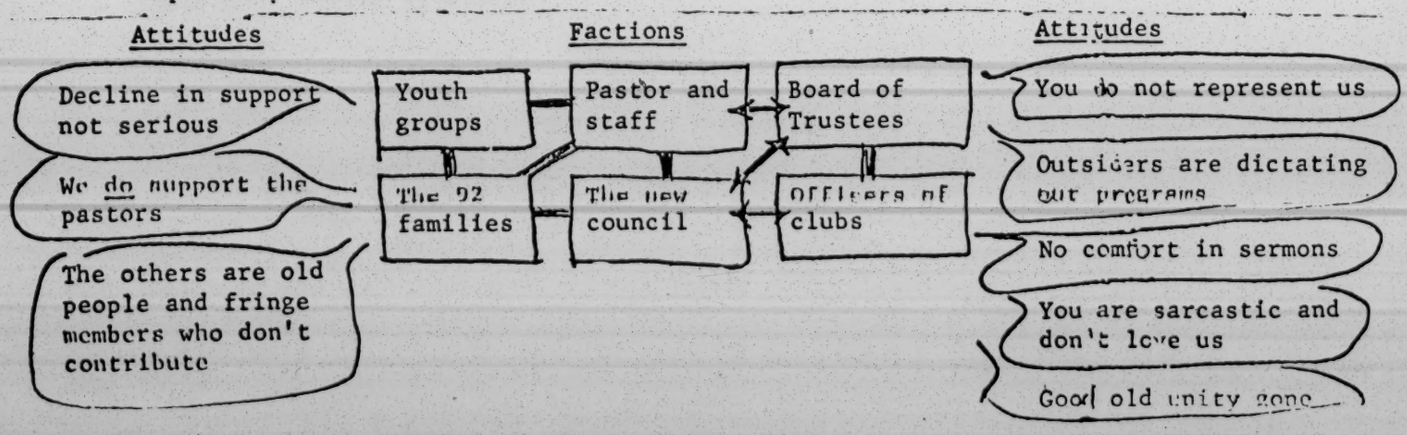
inadequate, and inarticulate. The Moderator said he was supposed to be impartial. The Chairman recognized the crisis, and asked everyone to stay with the church, admit his helplessness without the Holy Spirit, and reaffirm that with God all things are possible.

Other minutes of the official boards make it appear that things were back to normal on the surface after this. But in late summer, a call for a meeting to request the resignation of the two ministers was signed by 74 people. A special meeting was called by the Board Chairman for early November, for a "vote of confidence in the present church program, members of the official boards, and the ministerial staff." He rejected the call for an earlier meeting by the petitioners on the grounds that they had not consulted the Moderator or the Church Council.

At the November meeting, a motion was made to limit debate, defeated, and then a motion to eliminate all debate passed 313 to 124. Immediate balloting then favored resignation of the minister, and opposed resignation of the youth minister (who then announced that he would resign).

One observer of the situation cited the "personalities" involved as being primarily responsible for the crisis. Others noted the church as "part of a joiners milieu, so absorbed in antique, relic programs as to have lost any judgmental function." Dr. Fred Hoskins commented that "the Elmhurst tragedy is not a unique or even uncommon phenomenon. We have here word of a great sickness that is abroad. . . I wonder why we have not learned better how to engage in Christian controversy? Probably controversy under the discipline of Christian servanthood is a very effective way to uncovering further truth."

Based on the foregoing case material, we draw here a diagram of the apparent social structure (as opposed to the formal structure) and attribute to each a position based partly on explicit complaints and partly on implicitly stated attitudes.



About this sad case, we now want to raise a series of questions: in secular terms, what happened? what could have been done about it, at each of several successive points? what preventive policies should be proposed?

The congregation as a miniature culture

Custom and stability: a culture, such as that of a certain Colombian tribe, is obviously different from our own, is separated geographically from the outside world, speaks a different language, and resists change. We can view these cultural characteristics in Colombia as quaint or even attractive. We are offended to learn that our own home town is also a culture.

Any culture, as a system, will, however, defend itself. Outsiders are automatically regarded as alien and a threat to the order, in proportion to the power they wield. A new minister must become acculturated over a period of time.

Structure: every group, according to Eric Berne, has at least two boundaries: an external boundary (the outside world versus the inside world) and the internal boundary. If these are lost, we have only a formless rabble. This is not only empirically true, but may well be emotionally necessary if the members are to see a meaning in membership and an identity in the church.

Normally, in my observation, those at the top of any organization will miscalculate the degree and type of power which they have. The ministry has enormous power of some kinds, and this always implies a threatened loss of property, status, or security to someone.

In the Elmhurst case, the former upper echelon, the Board of Trustees, experienced a loss of status which few elites will normally permit, as perhaps this one did not. The attacks on its "territories" can come from outside the organization or from the inside. If attacks come from without, the normal response is to enhance internal unity, as would be the case for instance if the U.S. attacked mainland China. If the attacks come from within, unity is lost.

An implication of this analysis is that presumably the ministry attacked an entrenched status system during the first two years of its tenure, and was unable to recognize or extricate itself from this kind of family quarrel.

Time: the most effective industrial managers are normally those who make use of time without fighting it. The attempt to revise, within only two or three years, an entrenched social system which had built up precedents over 75 years, strikes one as exceptionally naive. In contrast, even with much greater power, an industrial executive will only very gradually succeed to power in a large corporation.

Time is on the side of administrators with long-range plans. Time normally opposes those who have basic goals framed in very short time spans. This does not mean that there is never an occasion for quick reform in an intolerable situation. Gradualism can sometimes mean paralysis. The administrator with a long-range plan is in a better position to act decisively and quickly than the administrator with a short-range plan. The short-range man only reacts nervously, and in contrast the long-range man can act decisively. I will observe, however, that I have found very few churches with a long-range plan - one outlining specific goals over a period of five to twenty years.

Reward and punishment: all cultures distribute reward to those who conform to the status and value systems, and punish those who do not, or who try to change it too fast. There is constant tension in most organizations over this process. The elite will usually underestimate the amount of tension which normally or routinely exists because it is frightening and because they are hidden away from the frank expressions of the lower echelons.

In general, most reward and punishment seeks to maintain the status quo in any organization. The attempt to change the status quo therefore provokes tension. The art of doing this is more essentially the art of administration than is the bureaucratic art of maintaining the status quo. It is, therefore, well said that the management of change is closer to the definition of management than is the maintenance of routine. Leaders must lead. But they can expect a constant outpouring

of punishment for this kind of leadership. As they receive this outpouring, they guage its quality and amount, as a fundamental guide to knowing whether they are moving too fast or not.

Sense of strain: the individual expects, according to the fundamental theory of Homans, to find a balance between what he receives and what he gives. He receives a high status from the organization and therefore will feel a noblesse oblige. Or vice-versa, when the cost and reward are not balanced, he feels a sense of strain. When this goes on too long, health can be affected, or the person will leave. Anxiety is a cost. This congregation perhaps voted the ministry out to end the period of uncertainty. They were receiving so little gain in comparison to the worrying they were doing, they could not continue to endure the situation. To end the "cost" to themselves, they made the minister a scapegoat.

The above types of strain can be alleviated by patient negotiation and compromise. One type remains that appears to be existential. This is what Bales describes as two sequences of events which start from "opposite poles" in the life of a large scale social system, and which proceed in opposite directions. Adaptation to the outer world versus working for solidarity.

Growth and conflict: there is a third goal of organizational life, a higher order integration of the best values from the yearning for Stability and the drive for Achievement, and that is the aim of growth and self-realization. Growth is generated when the sense of strain (between Stability and Achievement) is expressed in creative directions. That is, when tension erupts not so much in interpersonal conflict and power struggles, but in terms of a new determination to unify the factions while moving ahead.

An organization becomes what it can be - and probably does this only through the constructive mobilization of the very considerable energy generated by the clash among the diverse factions. During wartime, the diverse factions are thought to work together constructively, and immediately with the "outbreak" of peace, they fight again, as happened between U.S. labor and management following World War II.

The worst sense of strain normally issues from the conflicts between brothers or those who are close. A sizeable proportion of murders are of spouses. The most atrocious wars are civil wars. An appreciation

of this fact can arise only if we see that the normal condition is one of temporary peace within the organization.

Emotional bonds: Any culture is held together by emotional bonds among persons in certain roles. In group tensions, these emotions show, but they were there all the time. This is perhaps the hardest lesson for the rational administrator to learn.

One of the things a person feels emotional about is his gains and losses, or his rewards and costs, to use the terminology developed earlier. The emotion felt by a man who is not receiving his proper rewards (as in status coin) is one of resentment, which he will express as a sense of injustice. I believe that in the Elmhurst case, the rewards the membership felt were missing were an affectionate bond with the minister. What frequency of pastoral calls were made? Was the due deference expressed toward the high status membership of the power elite? The closest the membership could get to expressing these deprivations was to say that the sermons made them feel uncomfortable, the minister was sarcastic, and the good old unity and family dinners were gone. In short, "you don't love us."

How can the administrator love the social structure? That is like loving the football stadium or the freeway. But if our earlier premise was correct, that the people by and large can most frequently unite on the defense of the status quo, it is fair to say, "Love me, love my power structure."

And this seems almost a ludicrous request, but we had best understand the significance of such emotional bonds. Fritz Redl describes this in a classic paper on Central Persons in groups. A group requires some form of energy in order to form, and this is provided by group emotions which find it convenient and appropriate to crystallize around the leader. Depending on the kind of group emotion present, different kinds of personalities can provide suitable leadership for a group.

In general, a new minister steps into a complex social system where the needs for leadership will rarely be uniform. If he "promotes" a leadership team which shares the kind of common emotion suited to his personality, he may gain a congenial "Cabinet" at the expense of depriving several factions of "representation." The fringe factions have no one

to "identify with" or otherwise focus their emotions upon. The chances are that they will find or invent competing leaders. At Elmhurst, the inarticulate fringe groups crystallized emotionally upon a Villain, the Minister, and the common emotion was one of mistrust and fear of his intentions.

Rationality: the rational leadership should neither deny its own immature emotions, nor those of its opposition. How can the church, which has always known how sinful, parochial, and self-centered men are, without the Holy Spirit, pretend otherwise? Rational men are not those without emotions, but are men who admit them in self and other, and have learned to live in a constantly troubled world without losing their humanity. To become as little children means to retain our essential humanity.

Summary: in brief, we have discussed the following concepts of organizations and organizational dynamics:

stability: the organization yearns for stability and defends the status quo

structure: one of the main things the organization defends is its structure

time: the sense of time and timing is the main distinction between the able and the inadequate manager of organizations

reward and punishment: the organization keeps its shape and pushes toward goals by administering a complex system of rewards and punishments; one of the principal punishments is the sense of strain, of anxiety, which follows deviations

strain: the organization structure, and the individual within it are subject to constant strain because of the inevitable imbalances between the different goals of the organization and the imbalance between the individuals' costs and rewards

adaptation versus solidarity: every organization strives for goals and also strives to stay the same; these are in tension

growth: the integration of these calls for the use of the tension or energy for becoming, for growing

emotional bonds: the culture or organization is held together by emotional bonds, and it is also formed at the outset by use of certain emotions crystallized around the personality of one or more central persons; the manner in which this is done, and the emotions involved, will determine much of the character and purposes of the group.

immaturity: no one succeeds in growing out of these emotions, or in becoming totally mature

rationality: rational leadership admits both its own emotions and those of its opposition without pretense.

In applying these concepts to the Elmhurst fight, I would say that the people of first church had built a miniature culture, imbedded in precedents built up over a period of 75 years. A new leadership attempted to substitute too quickly a Church Council made up of persons whose goals for the church were more compatible with the goals of the minister. The strain of uncertainty, endured over a period of several years, became too much for the congregation, who sought unity by evicting the dissident leaders. The new leadership, unable to read the signs of discontent early enough, and unable to provide a means of relieving the fears of a minority or restoring communication to a haughty dispossessed elite had proved unable, therefore, to regain effective consensus.

Symptoms and first aid

Certain practical indicators of organizational unrest and symptoms of trouble are habitually watched by experienced administrators. Among them:

1. Attendance or revenue decline.
2. Withdrawal of support by influential "old families" and other "high status" groups.
3. Polarization of opinion and formation of factions who regularly take opposide views on all issues.
4. A persisting issue of abrasive quality.
5. Loss of communication with any faction or influential member.

Remedies - again speaking of the congregation as if it were only a secular organization like any other for the sake of exposition - fall into several broad classes:

-- renewal of contact with the vanishing sheep or the antagonists
-- slowdown of too great a number of simultaneous or frightening innovations
-- institution of joint long-range planning

It has not been suggested that all will be well if the festering issues are brought out into the open, or if the quarrelling factions have a confrontation. A sense of timing is more important than any other aspect in first aid. Open discussions and confrontations can be as ill-timed as any other form of first aid.

Strategies of conflict resolution

For the conflicts which have gone beyond "first aid" more basic therapy is indicated. Among the broad strategies normally used:

1. removal of conflict from the win-lose context.
   If conflicts may only be resolved by someone losing, then the world will always be filled with Vietnams. Note: calling for a vote will often create this very win-lose context.

2. confining the conflict: the natural history of conflicts is an expansion of the issue (little fires become conflagrations) and persons involved. Conflict-confining requires an early-warning system which is in continuous operation, and the settling of such grievances early.

3. G.R.I.T.: Professor Charles Osgood of the University of Illinois advocates a strategy he calls "graduated reciprocal reduction in tension," or GRIT for short. Each side gives. It is horse-trading, not moralizing. Each side recognizes the dangers from conflict are greater than the dangers of being wrong.

4. Bargaining and negotiating: A whole style of administration is implied in this strategy. It is the style of management we find in the U. S. Senate and in Labor-Management relations. It is a difficult style for idealists, and requires very hard work and a strong stomach.

5. Superordinate goals: Some conflicts do not become resolved at all but become peripheral. They do this when two factions are confronted with an external problem they both accept and which they recognize they can only solve together.

6. Mediation: An external person, but without authority, can be called in to help both sides find a way to initiate some of the above strategies.

7. Arbitration: An external person with authority, accepted by both factions, can sometimes resolve a conflict.

Organization building

Clearly the best course of action is to build a strong enough organization to contain and solve conflicts. A strong organization normally has diversity, hence conflict. It normally pushes for goals, hence conflict with those who want to keep things as they are.

When the organization has learned to integrate the forces of stability with the forces toward change, it is strong. This may be done only by Pastors who recognize both human needs as legitimate.

How to build such an organization? Probably it has to teach itself to quarrel creatively. Pious organizations won't do this, and cannot achieve real strength. Pastors would do well to familiarize themselves with the language and tactics used in labor-management bargaining.

Constant sensitivity to grievances, prompt resolution of them, negotiation of every change with the persons who will feel affected by them, and joint planning - these are the normal cornerstones of labor-management relations and of international diplomacy as well.

Inevitability of tension

The conflicts are, however, inevitable in that every organization wants both to progress and to keep things the same. These are the Ying and Yang of organizational life.

Not least in the list of existential courses of conflict is the inevitability of rank. Hierarchies or ranks have been found to be characteristic of every society in the world. The Pastor's acceptance of the necessity of authority precedes his fitness to deal with its consequences. He will have the rank whether he accepts it or not. Protestantism has been a long time in recognizing this fact of life.

In closing, (1) think of the congregational society as emotionally like a big juvenile or an adolescent. If you can like teenagers, you can find it possible to like the outrageous character of the congregation.

(2) True compassion can love even the immature and violent, and the best administrator is himself only a rational child.

(3) Structurally, every society is a network of status systems in constant tension. Peace is an illusion.

(4) Time is nonetheless on the side of the happy warrior, and of the administrator who has a long-range plan.

(5) The life of the large institution is dominated by the wrong persons largely because, as John Dewey says:

"Saints deliberate while burly sinners run the world."

MANAGING GROUP TENSIONS

Suggested readings:

1. Berne, Eric. The Structure and Dynamics of Organizations and Groups. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

   (interesting and basic introduction to group dynamics)

2. Berne, Eric. Games People Play. New York: Grove Press, 1964.

   (best seller, providing a novel perspective upon human relationships)

3. Hall, Edward T. The Silent Language (paperback)

   (an excellent introduction to the structural and dynamic characteristics of societies from an anthropological point of view. Quite readable and interesting)

4. Hare, A. Paul et al. (eds). Small Groups. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965.

   (technical)

5. Lee, Irving J. How to Talk with People. New York: Harper, 1952

   (a simple and lucid account of communication problems and their solutions)

6. Litterer, Joseph. The Analysis of Organizations. John Wiley, 1965.

   (fascinating, gives great insight into the life of a very large corporation)

Recommended sequence and level:

The easiest book on the list is Lee's. Difficulty progresses in roughly this order: Lee, Berne (2), Berne (1), Moore, Hall, Litterer, Hare.

If you are not concerned with reading difficulty, may I suggest that the combination of Lee, Hall, Berne (1), and Moore together touch most of the bases.

Hare et al. is for those who want to go back to some of the very basic source papers in the area of group dynamics.

Charles A. Dailey

Church Strategy and Development

# newsletter

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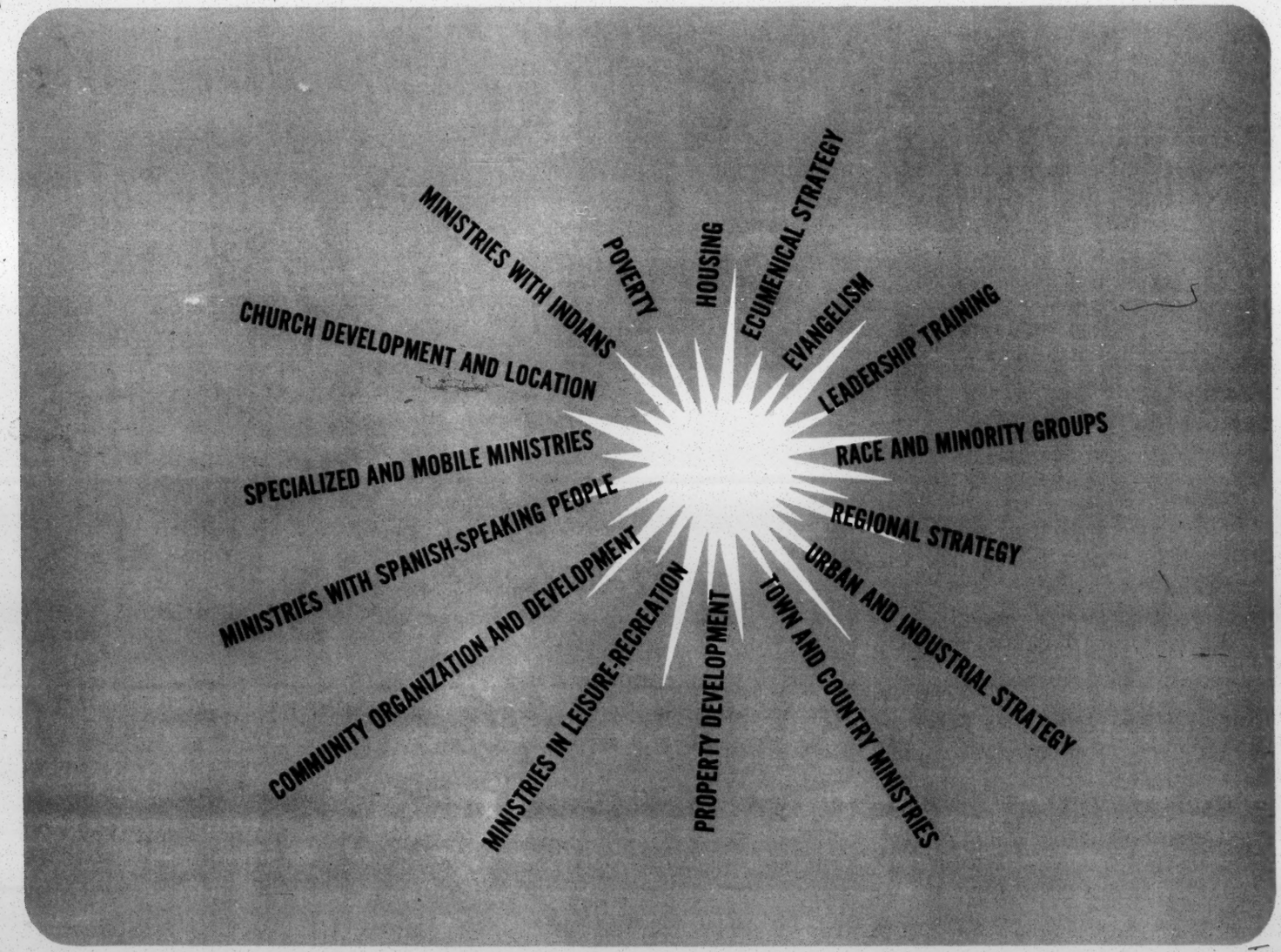


General Department of Mission Strategy and Evangelism
Board of National Missions
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

JUNE 1967

## GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF MISSION STRATEGY AND EVANGELISM

David Ramage, Jr., *Executive Secretary*

Bryant George
*Associate Executive Secretary*

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# A GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY GROUPS EVALUATING PUBLIC SCHOOLS *by Sol Gordon*

*Dr. Gordon is Director of* Project Beacon, *a graduate program of research and training in the area of the disadvantaged child at Yeshiva University in New York City.*

Evidence is mounting that parents and community groups who represent the impoverished and discriminated-against minority groups of our nation cannot rely upon Boards of Education to educate their children. In spite of the fact that the federal government is pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into these educational establishments for the express purpose of aiding children of the poor, progress in educating these children has been so limited that some educators have called for an entirely new approach to the problem, outside of the public educational system.*

It is now clearer than ever that local parent and community groups must be in a position to hold educators accountable for the education of their children. Such a position is most readily achieved when people in the community are involved in educational matters. An important first step might be taken by directing a questionnaire to the principal of a "problem" school. I have outlined such a questionnaire for submission to an elementary school principal; it may also serve as the basis for questions concerning a junior high school or senior high school. This questionnaire may be used with or without revisions and acknowledgements. *(Questionnaire available from Division of Church Strategy, #1151, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, free of charge)*

It is not simple to evaluate a school. Before passing judgment on the response to the questionmaire, parents or community groups must know what constitutes a good elementary school. For this I would refer them to the pamphlet, "*More Effective Schools,*" issued by the American Federation of Teachers, 716 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.** In general, there is a consistently high correlation between low reading scores and poor educational practices, and community groups should not be deceived by educators who would sidestep the issue by stating that reading is not all there is to education. While this may be true, it is not relevant to the problem. There can be no question but that a lack of reading skills does make it impossible for a child to participate fully in the educational process today. It is also axiomatic that good educational practices lead to high reading levels.

If principals and Boards of Education prove to be unresponsive and generally unwilling to cooperate with community groups, drastic measures may be necessary. A school may be considered to be in a state of crisis if the reading level of 65 to 75 percent of its students falls below grade level, and "bankrupt" if 75 percent or more of the children are reading below grade level. (Reading scores are usually available at the Board of Education and can be obtained through legal action if necessary.) A good approach might be a one-day boycott in alliance with the school's teachers. Before embarking on such a course community groups should study carefully the experience of the New York City boycotts, documented by Estelle Fuchs in her excellent book, *Pickets At The Gates* (a Free Press Paperback Original, 1966).

Finally, groups evaluating schools should not neglect asking the children themselves how they feel the school can be improved. Recently in a junior high school white and black students presented to their principal their concern about "the fact that a full history course has not been taught in our school."

A recent survey conducted in another junior high school resulted in the following comments (among 23 points made):

"The lunch hour is too short. We sometimes have to gobble up our food and run to class. Also, we don't get enough to eat."

"Bus passes should be good until after 5 o'clock, because the tutorial students can't use them when they leave school."

"We should have showers in the boys' and girls' gyms, and boys shouldn't have to put on their ties after gym because they are hot and sweating."

"There should be a place where we can wash our hands before lunch. There should be doors in the girls' bathroom."

* *cf. "New Schools for the Poor: Designs for Equality and Excellence."* A working paper prepared for the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty, January 1966, by Dr. Harvey Pressman of Tufts University. This paper should be compulsory reading for any group interested in the education of the poor.

** You may wish to contact the education chairman of a local civil rights group for additional resources. Also, the following may prove helpful:

*"The Urban School Crisis,"* published by the League for Industrial Democracy and the United Federation of Teachers (300 Park Ave. South, New York City)

*"The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks,"* published by the American Federation of Teachers.

*THE AIRTIGHT CAGE*, by Joseph P. Lyford, Published by Harper and Row, 1966.

You may also write to the following organizations for lists of publications:

Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Center for Urban Education
33 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036
(Request *The Urban Review*, beginning with December 1966 issue.)

Council for Basic Education
725 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

The Fund for the Advancement of Education
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged
Yeshiva University
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003
(Request the *IRCD Bulletin.*)

# END OF THE APARTMENT HOUSE MINISTRY

For people of an economic level that allows them to choose where they will live and to move when they like, housing is merely an accessory to their life-style.

*Grace Ann Goodman*
Observer-Reporter
Board of National Missions

Only two years ago the "apartment house ministry" looked like a new frontier. Denominations and congregations, citing statistics of new apartment construction, rushed to employ creative clergymen to carry on "experiments in apartment ministry." The impulse behind the move was a good one. The church, it appeared, was no longer fighting the tide of urbanism but was seeking to understand and adapt to it. But the experiments failed. It proved impossible to discover any new forms of contact or even to make radical innovations in the old forms.

In retrospect we can see that the problem was twofold: false categorization and outdated operating assumptions. The category "apartment ministry" focused on a style of residence, without recognizing that this "style" involved a very diverse population. The operating assumptions, taken over from residential parish patterns, were first, that the residence is an effective place to contact persons in order to involve them in activities; second, that because the type of residence shapes a person's life-style to some degree, new activities appropriate to apartment-living would have to be developed and carried on within the apartment walls; and, third, that everybody ought to be related to neighborhood concerns and institutions such as churches. These assumptions proved unrealistic.

### ATTEMPT TO MAKE CONTACT

Freedom is the keynote of this urban life-style—freedom to move and freedom to choose. The city is a collection of specialties; anything you want can be got there (provided you can afford it). Urbanites learn to be selective consumers of goods and services and selective clients of philosophies of life and behavior.

The attempts at "apartment ministry" not only demonstrated the church's failure to adapt to the new urban styles which increasingly affect all of us; they also focused attention again on groups of people with whom the church has never been very effective—the poor, the single, the young adult, the childless couple. These are the people who first moved into city apartments, and in such large numbers that the corner church could no longer ignore them.

Almost every "apartment minister" began by trying to establish contact with the people in the buildings assigned him. He tried personal door-to-door calling, with or without appointment; phone calls, direct mail, flyers under the door, posters in the laundry rooms; welcoming or religious-preference surveys; "open house" at his own apartment; mass media publicity and advertising; just "hanging around" common rooms like lobbies, garages, local stores; and joining community organizations. Even allowing for local restrictions (no posters in some buildings, no door-to-door calling even by residents in others), the minister found that with enough effort he could contact everybody—once.

But the minister also learned that no single system of contact works unless it is part of a long-term campaign using several of the approaches listed above. The more successful campaigners say it takes from two to five years before new residents feel well enough settled in the community to heed invitations to establish such local ties as church membership. Although a religious-preference survey or a crash-calling campaign always raises the morale of the campaigners, it has never prompted more people to join the church than were ready to do so anyway. In other words, the ministers have found that the "how" of making contact is distinctly secondary to the "why." If the resident is not interested in what is being offered, no technique will bring a response, and persistence only increases his resistance.

Two general program approaches were followed by "apartment ministers." Some, believing that people ought to be related to neighborhood activities, tried to refer people to such activities. Others, thinking that apartment-dwellers might be a special breed in need of special activities inside their buildings, tried to arrange things accordingly.

The ministers of the first group found the going rough because of the attitudes of the apartment residents and the local churches alike. If a resident did finally sample the neighborhood church, he often found that it was not geared to serve his needs, or was not up to his standards, or perhaps even did not welcome him. And one such experience was almost invariably enough to keep him from going again. White congregations do not always welcome Negro newcomers, especially those who are both black and poor. Though single young adults may be welcomed, they often do not find enough other single young adults to satisfy them, and so they turn to a large downtown church that specializes in programs for their age-group. Families upgrading themselves into middle-income apartments located in declining areas refuse to be associated with churches that remind them of their past. If churchmen deplore these reactions, they have seldom tried to change their style to meet the situation.

A further factor is that in a city, where the style is based on interdependent specialties, people are used to being related to friends, organizations, institutions that may be located anywhere in the metropolitan region; these form their "psychological neighborhood," their community. A person's "community church" is not necessarily located near his apartment. Community is a human necessity, but a concept of community that is limited to a few square blocks around a person's bedroom is unrealistic when he spends his waking life in many other rooms perhaps miles away. Community is personal, not geographic. Thus instead of deploring the lack of neighborhood interaction, the church might do well to concentrate on developing a great many specialized congregations to serve different kinds of people, with provision for their interaction on a regional or metropolitan scale.

## APARTMENT HOUSE *(cont.)*

### ATTEMPTS AT IN-APARTMENT ACTIVITIES

The second group of "apartment ministers"--those who thought that in-apartment programs were the answer--discovered that a crucial factor was the degree to which residents of their buildings shared the urban trait of free mobility. People confined to a ghetto by poverty or racial prejudice, young mothers tied down by their children, the infirm elderly--all these lack mobility and were open to activities close to home. On the other hand the very mobile, especially the "empty-nest" middle-aged couples who had moved back to the city, showed real resistance to in-apartment programs because their lives were already filled with activities in all parts of the metropolis. They used their apartments largely as retreats. In middle and upper income apartment buildings, the ministers encountered resistance stemming from the fact that people who can afford costly apartments either don't want to admit they need anything they can't buy, or else are wary of the hidden price tag (money, church-attendance, conversion) that, from past experience, they assume is attached to any church-sponsored activity. Again, the ministers found in such buildings people who took it for granted that a church-related program of counseling or education would be inferior to the same sort of thing available elsewhere in the city under nonreligious auspices. Only if the clergyman could overcome these mind-sets could he get people to consider whether or not they would be interested in what he offered--mostly his services as leader of a discussion group or as counselor.

It soon became clear also that the clergyman's being resident in the apartment building was of little help to him in building up a counseling load, because of the problems of making contact through the building and because a private apartment was seen as an inappropriate place for counseling. Where specialization is a fact of life, apartments are places for sleeping and eating and sometimes for entertaining close friends; the place for business is an office somewhere in the city. The ministers who did counsel in the apartments agreed that both parties to the session felt uncomfortable.

In the long run, the only effective means of recruiting for small groups and developing a counseling case-load proved to be through word-of-mouth referrals among friends, whether or not they lived in the same apartment building. The best way to start a discussion group, the ministers found, was to ask some resident to invite his or her personal friends to such a meeting; by the second meeting the original nucleus had usually grown to the eight or 12 needed for a good group. An alternative was a group made up of people who, though they belonged to different churches, happened to live in the same apartment complex and chose to hold their study sessions in somebody's apartment instead of at church.

Such arrangements were no new discovery on the part of the "apartment ministers." Small-group work has long had its own techniques and, it is generally agreed, its own unique values. Many people find in such groups a depth acceptance they had never before experienced, especially not in a church context. Some "apartment ministers" were content to "be the church to these people where they were" in this limited fashion. However, the groups they set up seldom lasted more than a season and invariably dissolved when the leader dropped out, no matter how nondirective he had tried to be. Other ministers tried to use these groups as a bridge to relate the people to established congregations, but this attempt almost always failed. Selective consumers choose their activities on the basis of their own interest and convenience and the "price" in time, money, energy, and the fact that they have been members of one group does not necessarily mean that they will join another at another time and place, even if the topics and some members are the same. A few "apartment ministers" saw their role as developers of new churches and simply followed the standard pattern of getting together small groups of interested people and consolidating them into a new congregation. This approach worked with apartment residents sharing Protestant backgrounds and middle income, family-centered aspirations, just as with nonapartment residents of this sort.

### THE THREE ASSUMPTIONS AND THEIR RESULTS

From this whole "apartment ministry" experiment several conclusions emerge. It is now obvious that, in the urban setting, the apartment is seldom the most effective point of contact. When people move every time the lease lapses--as a great many do--they never feel settled enough to respond to a contact through their residence. And they tend to consider the uninvited caller a pushy, insensitive nuisance.

As for the notion that apartments shape the life-style of their residents and that therefore people ought to feel a bond with their residential neighbors, the only places in the city where this applies are the economic or racial ghettos. Since ghetto people lack mobility, they cannot escape being shaped by their environment, and they have reason to make common cause with their neighbors. Flourishing ministries have been carried on in these slum areas for two decades. They are properly termed "poverty ministries" (not "apartment ministries"), and their shape is the same, whether the people live in two-story walk-up tenements or 20-story public housing apartments.

For people of an economic level that allows them to choose where they will live and to move when they like, housing is an accessory to, not a framework for, their life-style. If people who live at the same address share a life-style, that is because they chose it. Housing, like clothing, is selected for price and fit and for the impression it is expected to give. No more than wearing Brooks Brothers suits or driving foreign cars is housing the basis for a community. In the "apartment ministry" confusion of what is basic with what is only an expression of the basic has been a major problem. Most often the really determinative factors turn out to be, first, economic level, and second, age and family sta-

## APARTMENT HOUSE *(cont.)*

tus. Consequently, successful "apartment ministries" are really "young adult ministries" or "poverty ministries" or "new church developments" or something else.

A congregation that is concerned about new apartments nearby has several choices, none of which is to establish an "apartment ministry." Its first step should be to find out from the builder what kind of people he expects (price, location and apartment type attract predictable sorts of tenants); then it must honestly consider whether it would appeal to or be able to serve such persons. If its answer is Yes, the church has only to advertise in the media that reach the newcomers and wait for them to turn up. If the answer is No, it must either make some changes or admit that these persons are beyond its capacity. This approach calls for a regional or metropolitan strategy both to ensure places for every kind of person and to prevent the churches from competing for the same small group.

Some city congregations have been serving apartment-dwellers for years without thinking they were doing anything unique; they may have been right. Other churchmen must get over their preoccupation with housing style and get on with helping people deal with the real problems of urban life—the responsible, fulfilling use of their new freedom.

*Reprinted with permission from May 10 issue of* Christian Century.

## Enclosures

Enclosed in this mailing are two reprints:

*MANAGING GROUP TENSIONS*
by Charles Dailey

and

*COLLECTIVE DIMENSIONS IN INTERRACIAL BEHAVIOR*
by Verne H. Fletcher

## POOR PEOPLE'S CORPORATION

*by Vic Jameson*

Mechanization and legislation are making life increasingly difficult for the rural Negroes of Mississippi. Machines can do agricultural work at lower costs. It is estimated that this year alone, 100,000 persons on Mississippi farms will lose their means of livelihood because of this dual trend.

What can be done to help them, and the thousands of others already caught in the change? One attempt is the Poor People's Corporation.

The concept of worker-owner cooperatives, which took shape during and after the 1965 civil rights activities in the state, was developed as fitting both idealistically and realistically into the nature of rural, Negro communities. Practices such as worker election of co-op managers and direct participation in vital decisions such as wage level, plant expansion, product development and marketing were seen as overcoming some of the psychological problems that the segregated system existing there had fostered.

Handicrafts were seen as a good first step. Skills, supplies, and markets--albeit limited in many respects—were available; in addition the creative potential of the people involved could be enhanced. On this basis PPC was formed.

Membership was confined to Mississippi residents. Fees were set at 25 cents a year, corporate rules were drafted and officers were elected. Membership has grown from an initial 400 to more than 1,000.

PPC decides policy matters that affect staff, and considers proposals regarding new cooperatives and expansions of existing ones. Loans are made from a revolving fund, which frankly does more revolving than funding.

At present PPC supports a network of 15 cooperatives with financial, technical and marketing assistance. Working with a small staff willing to work for $10.00 a week or less at such tasks as filling orders, delivering supplies, handling publicity and fund raising, PPC has managed to survive its first year.

Once a week a PPC truck visits a producer co-op. Finished products are picked up and raw materials, equipment, and the PPC newsletter are delivered. Products are taken to a retail-wholesale cooperative in Jackson called "Liberty House," where they are sold to the Jackson community, northern outlets, and individuals ordering from a mail-order catalogue. A New York branch of Liberty House recently opened as a retail outlet and a buyers' display house. Six salesmen service major metropolitan areas, and PPC maintains an office at 343¼ Bleeker Street in New York City, where much of the ordering of raw materials, publicity and fund-raising are handled.

Currently 200 former sharecroppers are working in the co-ops. Most are not earning more than they did before but their economic independence and hope have provided a spirit of cooperation and community awareness never before possible.

The project is plagued by a variety of difficulties which revolve around the lack of financial support. Without major outside support there is little likelihood that PPC will survive. Government aid has not been available from the poverty program, because of political opposition in the state.

If the co-ops can get the assistance vital to hang on until some of the major handicaps can be overcome, the PPC could provide the model for more ambitious programs that would be a major step--perhaps *the* major step--in giving thousands of persons the boost they have not been given by civil rights or voting rights laws.

*You may secure additional information from the*

Poor People's Corporation
P. O. Box 977
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

*NEWSLETTER* - Official publication of the Division of Church Strategy and Development of the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions. Published 3 times a year at 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Bryant George, Editor. June 1967 issue. Unsigned material by the editor.

# UNITY IN MISSION

*Dr. Colin Williams*, Professor, University of Chicago Divinity School

There is widespread theological agreement on the inseparable relation between the unity of the church and the mission of the church. At New Delhi the statement on "The Nature of the Unity We Seek" was filled with the concern for the church's mission. At its heart is an affirmation that the unity of the church is integrally related to the church's mission and that this unity-in-mission serves God's purpose of bringing the world to its true unity. The unity which is God's will and gift to his church, it says, is one in which "all in each place" have "a corporate life reaching out in witness and service to all." The commentary adds:

"In the fulfilment of our missionary obedience the call to unity is seen to be imperative, the vision of one Church proclaiming one Gospel to the whole world becomes more vivid and the experience and expression of our given unity more real. There is an inescapable relation between the fulfilment of the Church's missionary obligation and the recovery of her visible unity."

This theme of the inseparability of unity and mission runs deeply through the ecumenical literature. Unity is Christ's gift offered to his church; and the world is meant to see in that unity the sign and foretaste of God's mission to gather all things in heaven and earth into unity in Christ. *(Ephesians* 1:10.) For that reason there has been a reaching out towards ways by which the search for unity and the search for common mission may be held together. The path to unity is a learning to do God's mission together; it is a movement which requires that the institutional forms of this growing together change with the movement towards unity-in-mission.

The ecumenical movement here in this country has reached the point where this search for unity-in-mission has led us out beyond our institutional categories. A period of ecumenical chaos seems inevitable unless we can rethink our institutional categories so that they are large enough to provide for effective instruments for the present stage of our movements from past disunities to increasing unity.

This paper is an attempt to define those needed institutional categories. But it must be kept clear that the categories are simply servants of the growing possibilities for common mission. By pressing out the limits of present agreement they seek to open the path of faithfulness in the movement towards the unity in Christ which is God's will for his creation.

## MODELS OF ECUMENICAL ACTION

The development of ecumenical action has at its heart this well-known problem: the churches participating in it have different theological approaches to the question of the ecclesiological reality of ecumenical organs.

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches developed an important *negative* principle which acquired a kind of normative significance in the ecumenical movement. No church, in becoming a member of the World Council of Churches (or similar bodies), is forced to give up any of its traditional ecclesiological assumptions. No church is required to say in what way (if at all) other member-churches are true churches; and, by extension, no church is required to say to what extent (if any) ecumenical organs can have ecclesiological status.

At first this negative principle tended to be used negatively. It has assumed that ecumenical organs must not be given ecclesiological status and should not perform the truly ecclesiological functions--such as administration of the sacraments, or active involvement in church union schemes.

There were, however, peculiar situations where the negative criterion did *not* operate--from early on in the ecumenical development--such as chaplaincies of various kinds in areas outside the normal structures of parish life. Gradually such cases have proliferated. Nevertheless the expectation has been that ecumenical agencies should mainly serve the churches by providing locales of mutual consultation, and that they must not themselves become "church."

Has that negative approach now been outlived? Can ecumenical agencies be invested by *some* member churches with positive ecclesiological functions, without destroying their ecumenical function for other churches not prepared to acknowledge that such functions do have genuine churchly character?

The answer suggested here is "yes." Some members will continue to live mainly by the negative criterion in loyalty to their convictions. So, *e.g.*, the Orthodox Churches can engage in the National Council with Quakers without being required to confess that the Friends are truly "church." Others with differing ecclesiologies can engage in the National Council of Churches in the belief that common action is invested with positive ecclesiological significance. What can happen (and is in fact now being pressed by many) is that the National Council of Churches can become an arena where a full encounter can (and should) occur between the different ecclesiologies not only through discussion where the meeting is seen as the path to increasing growth together; but also through widening areas of common action where the disagreements can confront each other in fact as well as in thought.

The alternative is: Keep the National Council of Churches for the agency of mutual consultation, planning, and for common action where there is no major ecclesiological clash. Where groups of participants wish to develop organs of common action, reflecting the growing ecumenical agreements but not yet reaching full consensus, then such common action must develop in agencies outside the general ecumenical area provided by the National Council of Churches.

It is argued here that this alternative is untrue to the nature of the ecumenical movement and destructive of its true potential. If the ecumenical encounter cannot be a total one--in the areas of both thought and action--then the separation of

## UNITY *(cont.)*

the two streams (*c.f.* the original separation between "Faith and Order" and "Life and Work") will destroy the true nature of both. Or, to put it another way: If participants cannot *positively* participate in the movement according to their varying ecclesiologies, so that they can be faithful to their full common convictions, as well as being *negatively* protected so that they do not have to violate their distinctive viewpoints, then the encounter is prevented from leading to real growth.

What is needed now is to see the National Council of Churches as *a movement* which provides for both of these requirements and enables the ecumenical movement to retain its character as *a growth* towards the fullness of our common life in Christ in which each member can witness fully to his faith in word and deed.

But will not such a switch toward common action run the danger of violating the convictions of member churches? For example, if, say, 10 member churches should wish to use the National Council of Churches for experimentation in new forms of witness and service--including the development of common ministries, sacraments and forms of mission—would this not put some other members in the position of violating their conscience by supporting a Council which here would be claiming ecclesiological significance for its activities which those members could not accept? Clearly this is a delicate problem. But, just as those churches now join with other churches in common theological discussion, and are prepared to issue joint theological statements (reserving the right to point out where on major points they dissociate themselves), so there seems no reason why this could not be extended to common action. Such common action could be developed freely through the National Council of Churches, allowing churches wherever they deem necessary to dissociate themselves from particular programs without thereby withdrawing from the Council. In this way, the Council can become the arena of true ecumenical encounter, working at our agreements and differences together, and allowing the agreements to be tested in action.

This will require the development of different *models of mixed action*. This will create some real difficulties; but the difficulties are a true reflection of the present stage of our growth together. And (it can well be argued) unless the churches now find ways of testing out the present levels of ecumenical consensus (and continuing disagreement) *in action*, so that the sophistications of thought (now largely confined to church leadership) are translated into actual structures of common life amongst our members, we can scarcely expect the ecumenical movement to continue to move.

This can be illustrated from the *Consultation on Church Union* (COCU). There eleven member churches of the National Council of Churches have felt impelled to move to the point of negotiating church union. With the old ecumenical model (*i.e.* the old limited picture of a National Council of Churches) these churches set up a separate organization to negotiate union. As they have put on paper their theological agreements, they have had to ask: what is the true path to union? Now they are beginning to see that it is not enough to move through the processes of theological negotiation toward unity. They need also to go through the process of growing together in common worship and mission. For it is only, *e.g.* as, the theological hypothesis about church structure and mission (which also include sociological hypotheses) are tested, that *the forms of union* will emerge. And it is only as the members participate in these ways of action that they will become aware of the true theological decisions they are called upon to make as they move toward a united church. This means that COCU will (in all probability) develop major "ecumenical" programs. The question is: should these all take place outside the National Council of Churches?

The answer suggested here is "no"—although there may well be organizational reasons why some such organs should. First, if these eleven churches are to be true to their wider ecumenical commitment, they need to keep their discussions and experiments in a forum of thought and action where those who do not yet agree are there to witness to their disagreements. Second, they need to be in the wider ecumenical forum where the other churches can freely join with them on the basis of more limited commitments in particular action areas where they are free to do so. Third, they need to confront the other churches with the constant invitation to enter into their widening common life and to struggle with them toward the wider ecumenical life which we all seek.

Here then are models that should be available:

1. *Common action at all levels of church life by those seeking full unity*. Here the National Council of Churches would be the arena of that common search for unity, with those members using its structures to develop their common life. Other members would dissociate themselves from the role of full participants, but would be kept in relationship to those developments by appropriate organs of discussion and (where possible) limited action.

2. A *second model* does not go as far as this, for participation would not imply commitment to the development of forms of full church unity. But it would go so far as to develop common organs of life in which *major church functions* can be *undertaken in common while continuing confessional identity is preserved*. An example here is the *Columbia, Maryland* development. Here churches participate with differing ecclesiological expectations (and some did not feel free to participate). None was asked to make an ultimate commitment to denominational death, but participants did undertake the development of joint planning *and* joint mission in an actual field situation.

3. A *third model* does not go as far as this in traditional ecclesiological terms, although it does proceed from *commitment to common service to human need and to common struggles for justice*. The *Delta Ministry* is an example. But the fact that the area of common action is more "secular" (less directly involved in sacraments, etc.) does not mean that here is an area of full agreement

## Unity *(cont.)*

between members! Here too action requires that members be free to dissociate themselves from such particular ministries *and* that the Council be the arena for the confrontation of the reasons behind the disagreements. In that way the theological issues that underlie our attitudes to such issues may be more effectively revealed than in all our efforts to develop policy statements through common study. Another example of a controversial kind lies in the area of *community organization*. The "secular" issue of identification with the dispossessed and of the means needed to enable them to become full participants in life has within it deep theological issues on which there is considerable division. Here experiments would provide for possibly contradictory forms, each sponsored by members (with others dissociating) as the struggle is undertaken to find the truly ecumenical action (ecumenical meaning here not just common church action but action for all the world).

4. A *fourth model* does not go as far as the third in reaching into controversial *fields of action*, but nevertheless seeks to capitalize the present wide areas of consensus for *common witness and service to the world*. Here is the bulk of the traditional and present range of expected ecumenical life, where churches use the National Council of Churches for *speaking together on major issues* and for acting together in broad areas of present agreement. Here a vast range of present cooperation through the National Council of Churches is included: such as Church World Service, Broadcasting and Film Commission, Division of Christian Education's education materials, etc.

5. The *fifth model* is the basic function that undoubtedly underlies all the others. The National Council of Churches must continue to be *the arena of mutual discussion and planning* in which we explore the faith together and continue to press at the boundaries of our present agreements, seeking the unity of faith and life which is God's will for us.

Two further important points:

(a) It is imperative that we see the churches working together through a variety of combinations within and through these models. So, *e.g.*, the COCU churches should be seen not just under Model 1, but as working in all five of the models.

(b) If these models would all stay neatly in separate categories it would be simple to design the forms of structure in the National Council of Churches to provide for them. But inevitably they will come in mixed forms. The importance of a "typology" such as this is simply that it seeks to provide a conceptual framework in which possible forms of action can be understood and by which member-churches can understand the terms of their particular relationship to such forms of action.

Nevertheless, once there is agreement on this approach the development of the legal and administrative structures present no insuperable difficulties.

The argument here is that the National Council of Churches must provide *both* for this variety of "models" and for the variety of denominational relationships which is implicit within them.

## Grim Irony

We are in receipt of some figures from the Pentagon which show that the life of the average Vietnamese is worth $34. I don't mean the life of General Ky or the Saigon merchants who are sending our money to Swiss banks. I mean the peasant whose heart and mind we are struggling for and upon whose head we sometimes accidentally drop bombs. The $34 is retribution money paid to the nearest relative. Those merely wounded get smaller sums. . . . Rubber trees hit by our soldiers also have a price tag--$87, or about $53 more than a human life. There is an apparently unlimited supply of peasants. But how could the Michelin people put tires on French automobiles if we kept knocking off their rubber trees?

—*Columnist Pete Hamill in "The New York Post"*

Reprinted with permission from *Interchurch News*.

## Federal Grants for Urban Studies

A new program of graduate fellowships in urban studies was announced by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Grants of $3,000, plus $500 for each dependent up to two, and an allowance for tuition will be available for full-time graduate students in accredited university graduate schools. They will be made for the 1967-1968 academic year, beginning with the spring of 1967.

Grants will be made for full-time graduate study primarily in fields involved in the social, economic, and physical development problems of modern cities, with emphasis on the coordination of the physical and social aspects of community development.

## Conference Held

The International Congress on Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts will be held at the New York Hilton Hotel, August 27 to September 2, 1967 with a post-conference study tour at McGill University, September 2nd through 4th. Thirty-five organizations from 19 countries have joined in this effort. Speakers from five continents will lead the discussions, Interfaith, international, intercultural, interdisciplinary, the Congress will be the first of its kind ever held.

Our changing society and the multiphase revolution occurring within our culture will be examined in depth and its effect upon religious institutions of all faiths. The attractive and interesting folder enclosed presents an outline of the program and a registration blank. The Congress should be of great interest to religious leaders, building committees, architects and students of the visual arts.

# BOOK REVIEWS

**BLACK POWER AND URBAN UNREST**, *by Nathan Wright, Jr.*, Hawthorn Books, N.Y. 1967, 185 pp with Appendix and Index. $4.95.

An excellent book. Dr. Wright is one of the most outspoken of the Clergy in the Episcopal Church on the subject of race. He is also one of the most knowledgeable. He speaks of the idled and demoralized poor, of riot potential of the public education battleground, the potential function of black leadership and the means of hope. This is an almost complete picture of the cause of unrest in our urban centers. One wishes that he had spoken about the "do-gooders" like certain ones in East Harlem who for many years have trumpeted in Church press their love and care of East Harlem Negro poor. It is justifiable resentment of these types, who seek to manage the Negroes' life, that causes outbursts of violence against whites in general.

A good book for use in study groups.

**PRESBYTERIAN AND THE NEGRO - A HISTORY**, *Andrew E. Murray*, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1966. 240 pages with Bibliography and Index. $6.00

A scholarly, dry, uninspiring tome that bristles with facts, names, places and things from the past. This book makes no claim to speak about the present but does an excellent job on the past. This book should be required reading for all seminary students and pastors who plan to accept a call in the Presbyterian Church, south or north. The book is too lengthy and its style will not commend it to readers in general. It will be helpful to scholars for many years.

## JOHN MONTEITH AND DETROIT PRESBYTERIANISM

*by Harold F. Fredsell*
The Ann Arbor Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966. $4.00

We think of Roman Catholic-Presbyterian dialogue and civil rights concerns as current subjects but they are not new in church circles. John Monteith participated in both in the nineteenth century. The first Protestant minister to serve in Detroit, Monteith began his work 151 years ago. While his tenure in Detroit lasted only from 1816 to 1821, he is remembered for these major accomplishments:

— Was instrumental in the organization of the first two Presbyterian churches in Michigan: Monroe in 1820 and Pontiac in 1824.

— Organized the First Protestant Society of Detroit, incorporated in 1821, now known as the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit.

— Became the first president of the University of Michigan in 1817.

— Worked with the Roman Catholic priest on common concerns.

Wherever Monteith went, he combined his two major interests of preaching and teaching, strengthening the University of Michigan, Hamilton College in New York and then Western Reserve in Ohio. While in Elyria, Ohio, he was considered the "pioneer in the anti-slavery cause in this part of the nation." He not only spoke against slavery but acted accordingly, participating in the underground railroad.

Dr. Fredsell's book spends most of its time in the presentation of historical sketches of each of the churches now composing Detroit Presbytery. These sketches are interwoven into the fabric of the national Church and the upheavals that occurred in it, for the development of Presbyterianism in this area reflects the whole.

Dr. Fredsell's contribution to an understanding of the current scene in the light of the past could well be emulated by other presbyteries or synods.

—*Betty Jean Patton*

## Open Columns

We invite comments on subjects of interest. Please feel free to react to the enclosed mimeographed material as well as material in the *Newsletter*.

Please write your own response to the editorials and/or any other items of interest. We will publish all that we are able to accommodate.

## The Friends of the Children of Mississippi

The Friends of the Children of Mississippi, a Headstart Program, was created by the poor residents of the six counties (Leflore, Humphreys, Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, Lowndes) in response to action by a Federal Agency excluding them from the Mississippi Headstart Program.

The purpose of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi is to produce a quality Headstart Program which will allow for the maximum development of the child, the parent, and the community. It teaches democratic methods by using them.

The centers have operated on a volunteer basis. In the poorest communities in the country residents have contributed facilities, food, transportation, have made toys and volunteered time to sustain their centers.

In order for FCM to produce a program that will be meaningful the following support is necessary:

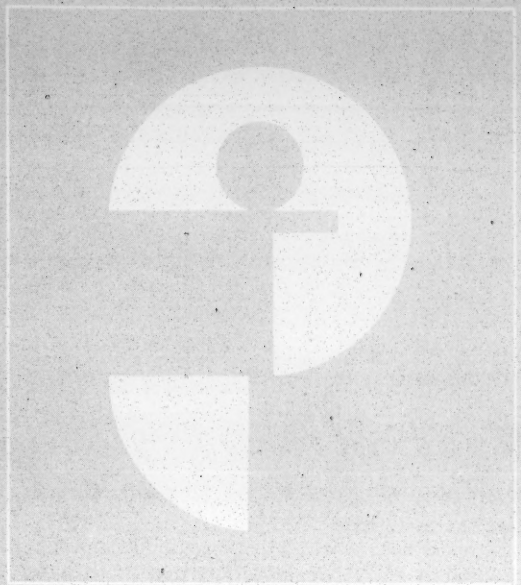
a. FCM will submit an application to OEO for funding. FCM is working to produce a broad base support from individuals and groups outside of Mississippi.
b. Until the above is resolved, FCM will need as much financial support as possible to carry on present operations.
c. Supplies - construction paper, paint, paint brushes, first aid kits, clay, crayons, paste, scissors, toys, children's games, puzzles, swing and gym sets, etc. Also needed are educational materials - children's books, preschool teacher development material and children's records, adult and children's clothes.

Number of Children —1,963

Number of Employees—435 employees working for subsistence of which 422 are on local center staffs; 13 work in the county level; and 7 work in the central office.

All employees except two are indigenous Mississippians.

Friends of Children of Mississippi
507½ North Farish
Jackson, Mississippi



# INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE AND THE VISUAL ARTS

New York Hilton, Aug. 27 to Sept. 2, 1967.

McGill University,
Royal Victoria College, Sept. 2 through 4.

*An invitation to you to participate in an extraordinary, first Congress which will involve the interrelated disciplines of theology, sociology, urban planning and design, architecture and the visual arts in a colloquium to:*

*Examine the forces changing contemporary life and religious institutions;*

*Describe the relationships among religion, architecture and the visual arts;*

*Assess the role of architecture and art in expressing the religious needs of contemporary man;*

*Probe the historical relationship between man and his expression through art and architecture;*

*Study the performance of art and architecture in the service of religious groups;*

*Consider the future needs of the community of believers; and*

*Suggest architectural and artistic responses to those needs.*

*Interfaith, international, intercultural, interdisciplinary, the Congress will focus on the contemporary revolution: political, technical, ethical. Every faith is caught in this vortex of change. As change occurs, art and architecture must also change if the needs and beliefs of contemporary men are to be served adequately and expressed faithfully.*

*These problems must be re-examined by peoples of all faiths, nationalities and callings, in a spirit of creative service and imaginative leadership. The broad interest in the Congress is reflected in the fact that 35 organizations from 19 nations are represented among the sponsors and the program advisory committee.*

*Participants may register for the Plenary Session alone or for both the Plenary and Seminar Session. (As long as space is available, registrants also may participate in the final, Canadian seminar and the visit to Expo '67.)*

*Registration is limited and preferences will be extended to keep a balance among the various disciplines, national origins and religious faiths, particularly in the Seminar Session. However, early applicants whose registrations are accepted will be guaranteed a place in the session, or sessions, they choose.*

# PARTIAL LIST OF PROGRAM SPEAKERS

**Nemesio Antúnez,** cultural attaché to the Embassy of Chile in U. S.; painter; formerly director of The Museum of Contemporary Art, Santiago.

**Dr. Rudolf Arnheim,** author; member of psychology faculty, Sarah Lawrence College and the graduate faculty, New School for Social Research.

**Rabbi Balfour Brickner,** broadcaster; director, Commission on Interfaith Activities for Reform Judaism; member, National Citizens' Committee on Community Relations Service.

**William J Conklin,** AIA, architect and city planner; director-chairman, Commission on Urban Design, N. Y. chapter, AIA; president, Harvard Graduate School of Design Council; planner for the new town of Reston, Va., and the lower Manhattan plan prepared for N. Y. City Planning Commission.

**Dr. Harvey G. Cox,** Associate Professor of Church and Society, The Divinity School of Harvard University; lecturer; author, *The Secular City*.

**Dr. J. Gordon Davies,** director, Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham, England; author; critic.

**Rev. Frédéric Debuyst,** O.S.B., teacher of dogmatic theology and philosophy at St. Andrew's Abbey, Bruges, Belgium; editor, *Art d'Eglise;* advisor to Belgian Government on religious art exhibits.

**Balkrishna V. Doshi,** architect, India; trained in studio of LeCorbusier and helped design several of LeCorbusier's structures in Chandigarh; honorary director, School of Architecture, Ahmedabad.

Printed in U.S.A.

**Prof. R. Buckminster Fuller,** world-renowned author, lecturer, engineer and inventor of new structural forms; designer of dome to house U. S. exhibit at Expo '67.

**Charles F. Gagnon,** artist; president of Charles F. Gagnon, Inc., designer of the Christian Pavilion and Theme Pavilion, Expo '67.

**Percival Goodman,** FAIA, professor, Columbia University, School of Architecture; lecturer at many universities including Cambridge and the New School's Center for New York City Affairs; designer of buildings throughout U. S., including some 50 religious buildings.

**Abbé Francois Houtart,** religious sociologist; general secretary, International Federation of Institutes for Social and Socio-Religious Research, Louvain, Belgium.

**Philip Johnson,** FAIA, architect; work includes: New York University Library, East and Garden wings of Museum of Modern Art, New York State Theatre, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Roofless Church, New Harmony, Ind., and The Glass House, his home at New Canaan, Conn.

**Sumet Jumsai,** of Thailand; recently completed doctorate at Cambridge on various problems of Siamese cities; in Bangkok, has designed some of Thailand's outstanding structures; assembled impressive exhibitions on canalized cities of Thailand, particularly Ayutia; has waged vigorous campaign for laws to preserve architectural monuments of his country.

**Morris Ketchum,** FAIA, immediate past president, American Institute of Architects; lectured at Yale, New York University, Pratt Institute, Cooper Union; designed buildings in 30 states, and in Europe, North Africa and South America.

**Rev. Thomas J. Mathews,** S.J., author; art historian; critic.

**Dr. Marshall McLuhan,** director, Center for Culture and Technology, University of Toronto; author, *Understanding Media;* newly appointed to Albert Schweitzer Chair at Fordham University.

**Barnett Newman,** of the New York school of painters; many national and international exhibits, including 1966 Guggenheim non-objective exhibition, *Fourteen Stations of the Cross.*

**M. O. Onafowokan,** director, Ministry of Works and Transport, Western Nigeria.

**Dr. Roger Ortmayer,** director, Department of Church and Culture, National Council of Churches; art critic; author; formerly editor, *Motive.*

**Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff,** U.S. Senator from State of Connecticut; former Governor, State of Connecticut; former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

**Dr. Richard L. Rubenstein,** author, *After Auschwitz — Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism;* director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, University of Pittsburgh; chaplain to Jewish students, various universities; associate editor, *The Reconstructionist;* lectured extensively in Europe, including Catholic institutions in Warsaw and Krakow; first American Jewish theologian to lecture at institution of higher learning behind Iron Curtain.

**Dr. Ben Shahn,** leading American artist; recipient of many honors and awards; author of *Shape of Content* and *The Alphabet of Creation.*

**John Simonds,** ASLA, one of the leading landscape architects in the United States; former president, American Society of Landscape Architects; lecturer; critic.

**Patwant Singh,** New Delhi, architect; author; journalist; editor and publisher, *Design,* India's major architectural magazine; a Sikh.

**Dr. Joseph Sittler,** professor, systematic theology, University of Chicago Divinity School; author; delegate, World Council of Churches, New Delhi; newly-elected chairman, Department of Church and Culture, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches.

**Edward A. Sövik,** AIA, president, Guild for Religious Architecture; chairman, Committee on Religious Architecture, AIA; in charge of assembling architectural exhibit for the Congress.

**Max Urbahn,** FAIA, president, N. Y. chapter, AIA; architect for the building which houses Apollo moonshot rocket at Cape Kennedy.

**Stanley VanDerBeek,** experimental film producer, New York.

**Prof. Radoslav Zuk,** architect; editor; designer of Children's World, Expo '67; member of faculty, School of Architecture, McGill University; architect for numerous churches and public buildings in North America.

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Guild for Religious Architecture
Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Commission on Synagogue Administration
United Synagogue Commission on Art in Synagogue and Home

**URUGUAY**
Sociedad de Arquitectos del Uruguay

# TENTATIVE PROGRAM

**SUNDAY AUG. 27**

**Reception at the Museum of Modern Art.** Registrants will be guests of architects who are members of the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and others. Officials of the city and state of New York will attend as will a number of those whose talents contribute to making the city a major cultural center.

**MONDAY AUG. 28**

Morning

**Opening of Two-Day Seminar Session Preceding the Plenary Session.**

**"The Multi-Phase Revolution."** The Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff, United States Senator from the State of Connecticut, formerly Governor and member of the President's Cabinet, will open the Congress with an examination of our changing society in the multi-phase revolution occurring within our culture. The implications of urbanization, secularization, cybernation and communication for religion and architecture and other visual arts will be described.

Noon

**Seminar Group Luncheons.** A continuation of the morning's discussions in groups of 20. Each group will have a seminar leader with particular competence in his field. There will be a mixture of disciplines — architects, religious leaders, artists, sociologists, editors, scientists, city planners, educators and critics — of national or international stature. Insights and comments will be recorded and given to program leaders who will summarize.

Afternon

**"Achievement of Values."** An examination of how our understanding of values has changed with the contemporary revolution. Although it is no longer asserted that religious institutions have a monopoly on truth, men of faith are still obliged to develop a rationale for just, sane and moral living. What are the consequences of such rationale for religious institutions? Are religious art and architecture possible in view of changing values, ethics and secularization?

Late Afternoon

**Visiting Exhibits and Museums.** Several of the city's major museums will arrange special exhibits for the Congress. Visitors will tour individually with complimentary admissions.

Evening

**"Emerging New Cities and Their Relationship to Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts."** A dialogue between East and West concerning the planned new cities of the world, both in highly developed and newly developing countries. A fresh discussion of the characteristics of these cities and the role of religion in their planning and development.

**TUESDAY AUG. 29**

Morning

**"Meaning of Place."** Can places set aside for religious purposes have meaning in the mobile society of today? If a religious building has value, what should be the special characteristics by which it should be identified? Clergymen of three faiths will discuss the problem.

Noon

**Seminar Group Luncheons.** The same seminar groups of Monday will continue the discussion of "Meaning of Place" and related themes.

Afternoon

**"Significance of Symbols."** Traditional symbols have lost much of their significance. What role do symbols play in man's religious life and where is he to turn for new symbols?

Late Afternoon

**Visiting Exhibits and Museums.** Significant educational exhibits sponsored by commercial organizations have been arranged for the hotel. The afternoon will be highlighted by a reception at the Museum of Contemporary Crafts. At the museum will be an exhibit of contemporary cultic art objects, an assemblage of art used in the liturgy of religious bodies.

Evening

**A Theatre Happening.** In Judson Memorial Church, a historic church of Greenwich Village which has achieved international recognition for its work in the field of art and with artists.

**WEDNESDAY AUG. 30**

Morning

**Opening of Plenary Session.**

**"Critique of Exhibited Buildings."** Photographs of some 75 buildings on four continents built since World War II will be on exhibit during the Congress. Those erected for secular purposes will be juxtaposed to buildings for religious purposes. The exhibit and the critique will challenge religiously-committed artists and architects to demonstrate their convictions in construction projects of all kinds. A former president of the American Institute of Architects and two outstanding European scholars and critics will lead these discussions.

Noon

**Seminar Group Luncheons.** The last of the series of three.

**Exhibit and Museum Visiting.** On individual basis for registrants of Plenary Session.

Afternoon

**"Spiritual Dimensions of Contemporary Art."** A session to probe the religious significance of the art revolution and determine what recent developments in the visual arts imply for the religious imagination. Emphasis will be placed on the freedom developed by artists over the past 100 years to reach beyond the obvious and examine what lies under the shell. There will be demonstrations and comparisons of a variety of art media, from all continents, with special emphasis on those developed since 1945.

Late Afternoon

**Reception for Registrants.** Sponsored by Exhibitors.

Evening

**"The Proliferating, Unplanned Cities and Their Relationship to Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts."** What guidelines are possible for religious institutions which seek to serve by aiding in one of man's most pressing problems? An Indian architect, an African city planner, a United States architect and a theologian join in leading this discussion.

**THURSDAY AUG. 31**

Morning

**"The Future of the Religious Community in an Age of Revolution and Changing Values."** In view of the fact that we shall be living with revolution for the next few generations, should the religious community make its own revolutionary contributions as a prophetic voice and guide? Can religion — as it has in the past — help re-create the social structure? Can religion continue to serve man's needs amidst the realities of this century? A challenge stated by a Belgian sociologist, a United States theologian, an Asian critic and a United States urban planner.

*The coupon is for those who wish to register immediately or who wish to be kept informed when a final program is arranged.*

*The advantages of early registration are many:*

*A strong effort will be made to keep a balance among registrants to effect the broadest possible exchange of opinion. Those whose early registrations are accepted are guaranteed a place in the Congress.*

*Those registering early for the Seminar Session will be guaranteed a place in the Canadian Seminar and accommodations for Expo '67, if they desire it.*

*Registration fees will be reduced $10 for the Seminar Session and $5 for the Plenary Session if received by June 1. Early registrations may be cancelled without penalty any time up to August 1. (After that time, no refunds will be made.)*

*The number who can be accommodated in the Seminar Session is limited and will be a small part of the Plenary Session registration. For those who wish to register for the Seminar Session, early registration is imperative.*

*Rooms at the New York Hilton were arranged at a low rate several years ago and are no longer in effect except to those who register for the Congress. The number of rooms is limited and will go first to those who register early.*

*Please remember that you may register for the Plenary Session only; for both the Plenary Session and the Seminar Session; or, for the Plenary Session, the Seminar Session and the Canadian Seminar and Expo '67 tour. There is no additional registration fee for the third portion of the Congress.*

TO: 1967 INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE AND THE VISUAL ARTS
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 U.S.A.

☐ I wish to register for the Seminar and Plenary Session. A check for $135 is enclosed. ($125 if received by June 1.) Includes 3 luncheons, banquet, all events.

☐ I wish to register for the Plenary Session only. A check for $45 is enclosed. ($40 if received by June 1.) Includes banquet.

☐ I wish to take advantage of the special accommodations offered for the chartered Air Canada trip to Montreal, accommodations at Royal Victoria College, the Canadian seminar and Expo '67. *(Available only to Congress registrants.)* Please send me details.

☐ I shall need accommodations at the New York Hilton. Please send me the special rates and reservation forms.

☐ I am not ready to register but wish to be kept informed. Please send me the final program when it is ready.

☐ I am from a country outside North America. Please send me details about reduced registration fees.

☐ Please send me details about reduced registration fees for spouses of registrants and students.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

Please append a brief professional description. If you are named in any professional directories, please list.

Noon **Individual Visits to Exhibits and Museums.**

Afternoon **"Arts and Architecture: New Concepts of Place and Symbolism."** A study of the responsibility of persons from diverse disciplines and geographic areas to share in the creation of visual and spatial solutions for contemporary requirements which grow from our new understanding of place and symbolism.

Evening **Banquet.** Professor R. Buckminster Fuller, inventor-discoverer of energetic-synergetic geometry, geodesic structures and tensegrity structures, and designer of the dome which will house the United States exhibit at Expo '67, will speak.

**FRIDAY SEPT. 1** The day will be devoted to meetings of some of the sponsoring organizations, free time for registrants to visit New York, special tours and visits arranged to meet the expressed desires of registrants and museum visits to see the special exhibits arranged for the Congress. For registrants who wish to spend the weekend in New York, assistance will be provided to obtain tickets to current theatricals, ballet, musical and sports events.

In the late afternoon, those registrants who will be visiting Expo '67 will enplane on a chartered flight of Air Canada. Reservations will be made for registrants at the Royal Victoria College of McGill University for Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights, as desired.

**SATURDAY SEPT. 2**

Morning **In Montreal,** at the Royal Victoria College of McGill University.

**"Description and Interpretation of the Christian Pavilion at Expo '67."**

**"Description and Interpretation of the Jewish Exhibit at Expo '67."**

**"Religious Architecture in Canada Today."** An interpretative address, followed by discussion.

**Tour of La Vielle Porte by bus.** This tour will terminate at the gates of Expo '67 where the Congress adjourns. Individual visiting of Expo '67 follows.

**SUNDAY SEPT. 3 AND MONDAY SEPT. 4** Optional to registrants to continue visits at Expo '67.

**PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

Donald Canty, associate editor, *Architectural Forum*
William J Conklin, AIA, architect
Rev. Harvey G. Cox, Associate Professor of Church and Society, The Divinity School of Harvard University
Arthur Drexler, director, Department of Architecture, Museum of Modern Art
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Rev. Marvin P. Halverson, clergyman and critic
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Dr. Marshall McLuhan, critic and director, Center for Culture and Technology, University of Toronto
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Jan Rowan, editor, *Progressive Architecture*
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Miss Mildred Schmertz, associate editor for design, *Architectural Record*
Paul Smith, director, Museum of Contemporary Crafts
Edward Sövik, AIA, architect; chairman, Religious Buildings Committee, American Institute of Architects
Mrs. Otto Spaeth, writer and art consultant
Rev. Howard E. Spragg, clergyman, denominational executive, United Church of Christ
Edgar Tafel, AIA, architect
Rev. Theophilus Taylor, denominational executive, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
Mrs. Vanderbilt Webb, chairman, Board of Directors, American Craftsmen's Council
Rev. Colin Williams, author; associate secretary, Division of Christian Life and Mission, National Council of Churches
Dr. Wolfgang Zucker, professor of philosophy, Upsala College

**Officers of the Congress**

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Program Chairmen: Rabbi Moshe Davidowitz, Mr. Robert E. Rambusch, Rev. Scott T. Ritenour
Secretary: Philip Ives, FAIA
Comptroller and Treasurer: Milton L. Grigg, FAIA, Bernard Benziger

May 7, 1968

Mr. Robert D. Foothorap
Associate Treasurer
Board of National Missions of
the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Foothorap:

This will acknowledge with sincere appreciation the contribution of $250 from the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

We are most grateful for your continued interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Kathy Martin

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OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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# A REDEFINITION: MOBILE MINISTRIES

General Department
Mission Strategy & Evangelism

The United Presbyterian Church has had a long history of providing specialized ministries to areas and persons who have special need because of geographical, social, economic, or spiritual isolation. Workers in these ministries have been designated as Mobile Ministers. The mission strategy effort supporting and interpreting this phase of ministry has been designated as Mobile Ministries.

As the situation for ministry changes and as mission administration shifts, a redefinition and guidelines for judicatory and Board of National Missions relationships and services are now needed, so that Mobile Ministries may continue to be fostered and receive support in the church.

A mobile ministry is in effect where the continuity of ministry depends on the leadership of an individual minister rather than continuing community and group relationships. These ministries, which are characterized by not being linked to an organized structure, have long been recognized as the advance troops of the national mission of the church, exploring new dimensions of effective ministry in the face of changing social conditions. Ministries so characterized may relate to individual ministries, to specialized concerns, to scattered population, or to mobile people. Such a definition may even include industrial chaplains, health and welfare chaplains, workers in leisure and recreation or resort area ministries. In all of these, imagination and innovative leadership are required. Such ministry continues to include teaching, preaching, pastoral care and community ministry and any other service required by the life of the people for whom it is intended. The total aspect of this ministry must be kept experimental, flexible, and creative in order to reach people, whatever the nature of their separation or isolation.

Such ministries as qualify under this definition of mobile ministries may be designated by the field unit. They shall be so designated when they have been accepted by the Division of Church Strategy and Development on the basis of a written description of the program. These designations shall be subject to review and evaluation on an annual basis.

Relationships -- The primary relationship will be between the Mobile Minister and his judicatory through its National Missions committee. An advisory committee may well be appointed to assist and support him. The ministry continues and receives support and evaluation regularly as a part of the National Missions program of the judicatory. The designation of the worker on a national basis offers a tie with similar ministries throughout the life of the church. The overall effectiveness of these ministries can be enhanced by the coordinated interpretive and training efforts made possible at the national level and also by their being eligible for certain program aid made possible through funds available from that source. The Division of Church Strategy and Development will

need to be kept apprised of field developments with these ministries through copies of workers' reports to their National Missions committees and through various field visits by National Missions headquarters and field staff. A coordinated interpretive program can thus be developed raising the visibility of these ministries in the life of the church.

Mobile Ministry personnel will be encouraged to attend various conferences and training events planned by the Board and field units in support of effective ministry. Certain specific program assistance is also available to these workers or projects by application to the Division of Church Strategy and Development when the designation is in effect. These services include:

To Mobile Ministers -- assistance in providing program materials; training such as in the area conferences and other similar programs; field visitation by and with the field unit; communication regularly with the ministers in some organized form.

To the Judicatories -- consultation concerning the establishment and administration of mobile ministries within their bounds; assistance in identifying and defining fields; evaluating existing fields; interpreting programs and discovering personnel.

Relationship to the Division of Church Strategy and Development -- Mobile Ministers and mobile ministry projects may be related to the Division of Church Strategy and Development when the following conditions have been met: (1) when proposed for such relationship by the judicatory National Missions committee; (2) when the field is a valid part of the judicatory mission strategy; (3) when the field is accepted by the Division as in line with these definitions.

Operation and Administration -- Mobile ministries projects shall be included in each unit's request to the budget committee according to its priority listing.

Factors to Be Considered in the Selection of Mobile Ministers -- This is a specialized ministry. Like all ministries, effectiveness is dependent upon a deep commitment to God and to men based on an abiding faith in Christ. Beyond this, the worker must be able to love people, even those who are quite unlovely. He must discover how to lead those who often do not desire to be led; he must be able to accept people as he finds them and be flexible enough to adjust to their needs. He must be able to identify with them and their communities so as to be included as one of them. He must be able to accept and work with simple and unstructured situations and he must have an interest in the unusual and be resourceful enough and creative enough to lead even that into the Kingdom. Frequently, he should be able to live and work in isolation, and with it all he will need a real sense of humor and should never get caught taking himself too seriously.

Approved, May, 1967, by the 179th General
Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church
in the U.S.A.

DCSD/ENM

# Collective Dimensions in Interracial Behavior

## New Findings on the Dynamics of Social Change in the Area of Race Relations

by Verne H. Fletcher

The Commission on Race and Housing, in its widely-acclaimed report "Where Shall We Live?", makes the forecast that racial discrimination "will make its last stand . . . in the neighborhood." This is so because, as the report points out, "to be a neighbor . . . is more symbolic of equal status than to be a co-worker, fellow student, or fellow organization member." Judging from denominational pronouncements of recent years, the churches would concur in this evaluation of the priority which must be given to the achievement of residential desegregation in Northern cities. Churchmen, in both pulpit and pew, have become increasingly sensitive to the implications for the contemporary urban scene of the ancient question "Who Is My Neighbor?". Nevertheless, we must confess that, for the most part, our best efforts to reason clearly and plead persuasively have been relatively fruitless. When caught in the web of urban change the actual behavior of church members, no less than of others, seems to be shaped and manipulated by irrational forces which are only partially identifiable. One key to the understanding of this frustrating pattern is offered by recent social science research on the general question of how people act in groups and, more specifically, in situations of interracial contact. It is our contention that a change in the approach to this complex of problems is beginning to take shape: a shift away from the atomistic conception which ignored the structural and collective dimensions in interracial behavior. This article will not break new ground but will attempt rather to draw together under one roof a diversity of theoretical and empirical material bearing on our problem.

We have alluded to the collective dimensions of inter-group action and suggested that there are areas in which such action is open to manipulation by special interests. Let us briefly sketch, as the background for our subsequent discussion, the concept of the fragmentation of roles in mass society which leaves the general public susceptible to manipulation. The late Louis Wirth, in his 1947 presidential address to the American Sociological Society, discussed the problem of consensus in mass society. "In modern urban industrial society," he said, "our membership in each of the multiple organizations to which we belong represents our interests only in some limited aspect of our total personal life. There is no group which even remotely professes to speak for us in our total capacity as men or in all of the roles that we play." Wirth here followed the analysis previously made by Karl Mannheim who pointed out that the individual in mass society does not participate in society as a total personality but acts rather in segmentalized roles as defined by the particular interests of diverse social groups. Consequently, as Wirth goes on to say, there are large areas of public life in which we are "subject to manipulation from outside" and in which we may be led "toward goals with the formulation of which we have had little or nothing whatever to do." From this viewpoint, the decisions of importance for our society are not the result of a consensus rising from the grassroots, as our popular self-image would have it, for "what counts is the prestige, position, power and resources of the key people . . . who are organized and can exercise their corporate power." The sociologist Herbert Blumer would agree with this when he writes: "Society is not an aggregate of disparate individuals but is made up of special interest groups differing in prestige and power, led by initiators of action who make the crucial decisions."

By the use of the word "manipulation" we do not intend to create a picture of sinister forces pulling strings behind the scenes. It would be closer to the reality to think in terms of "manipulation by consent." In our society today it is by popular default and acquiescence that we are moving from a pluralistic society in the direction of a mass society, a development characterized by the attenuation of politically significant intermediary associations.* Parenthetically, let us point out that by "politics" we refer to that process in a society by which goals are formulated and by which resources are mobilized for the attainment of these goals. Another characteristic of the trend in our society is that, while apathy and blandness overtake our political life, our moral values and religious beliefs, with which public life should be undergirded, are being progressively relegated to a privatized sphere. Professor Gibson Winter speaks of a pervading "dualism" in our society marked by "a massification of public life and a privatization of morality and faith." "We can no longer assume," he has said, "any significant relationship between participation in church life and what happens in the economic (and political) sphere."

From the standpoint of this sort of analysis, it is clear that interracial behavior in our society cannot be understood in terms of the aggregation of individual attitudes and actions. There has been the tendency to regard the amelioration of race relations as a matter of one-by-one improvement of the attitudes of individuals. In church circles especially it was felt that this approach was required by the basic postulate: prejudice is sin. And we do not reject this postulate. If we are speaking in this article of the collective dimensions of prejudice and discrimination we are not thereby denying their roots in perverted human nature, nor suggesting that a radical change is not required. On the contrary, we are urging that this perverted human nature has its collective dimensions and, furthermore, that the needed radical change is in part a change in cultural norms and social structures. Kyle Haselden's study, which is otherwise a highly-competent and soul-searching book, is marred at this one point. He is right of course in questioning the adequacy of those sociological explanations which assume that "prejudice is not inherent in human beings." Moreover, from a Christian point of view, he is right in insisting that race prejudice has "an apt and eager pupil in the inherently prideful and instinctively prejudiced will of man." But he is wrong in treating the social structures as merely the habitat into which individuals enter as discrete self-contained units and he is also mistaken in supposing that only an individualistic psychology has affinity with the Christian view of man.

However, as we have indicated, this non-sociological, "atomistic" conception has generally predominated in research and theory in the field of race relations until very recently. The approach to the problem has been an effort to discover the sources and dynamics of prejudice in the individual personality, and to devise the means of reducing this prejudice. According to Franklin Frazier, the focus has been on the "attempt to probe the behavior and mental processes of sociologically-isolated individuals" and he calls for the "study of race contacts within the context of social structure." From the time Sumner's dictum "stateways cannot change folkways" was first used as a rationalization for a static society, patterns of segregation have been assigned to the murky region of the "mores," about which of course "nothing can be done." Time alone, it is said, can modify the mores and, even at that, only slowly, very slowly. Furthermore, behind the social patterns of segregation are the personality patterns of prejudice and of course "one must change men's hearts before one can change their social behavior." This was all to the good for those who favored the status quo, but, whatever its applicability to static societies, Myrdal has declared the mores theory to be "crude and misleading when applied to a modern Western society in process of rapid industrialization" which is marked by the "universal expectation of change and a firm belief in progress."

Despite the dubious merits of the theory, even those who wanted something to be done about improving race relations accepted for the most part the same basic assumption: if only something could be done to change the attitudes of prejudice, improved behavior would follow. Two surveys of the research work up to 1947 indicated that the main concern was to find the most effective means of reducing prejudice which in turn would reduce intergroup tension and thus lead on toward desired social change in the area of race relations. A great deal of (now practically worthless) research was carried on to test the effectiveness of various kinds of education and propaganda

* It should be noted that this analysis of our society is by no means universally accepted today. The debate in political sociology is marked by antithetical positions: at one extreme, S. M. Lipset, in his *Political Man*, considers that democracy "is the good society itself in operation" and intimates that our political system is currently enjoying rather good health; at the other extreme, C. W. Mills sees a growing vacuum between the power elite and the atomized masses. We would argue that empirically our system at present is somewhere on the continuum between "pluralistic society" and "mass society" but that in no case is there warrant for optimism. This discussion is brought up to date by W. Kornhauser in *The Politics of Mass Society* (Free Press, 1959).

in the reduction of prejudice. One survey found the results "inconclusive," but felt that the "contradictions in the findings" did not mean that "our knowledge about how to reduce prejudice by planned propaganda is nil" but rather that, since race attitudes are so "deep and tenacious," any light thrown on the subject was "a distinct contribution to knowledge." The underlying assumption of the evaluation seems to have been that anti-prejudice propaganda is valuable if we could only discover the right kind, how to apply it in sufficiently large doses, etc. This strategy for effecting social change in the area of interracial behavior H. H. Long characterizes as "the mass therapy of individuals to produce a kind of consensus of 'unprejudicedness.'"

It is now becoming clear that efforts along the line of exhortation and propaganda fail of their intended purpose. Dean and Rosen's "proposition 19" states that "attempts to modify prejudices by media that cannot counter the social pressures that perpetuate prejudice are not likely to be effective." Robert Merton of Columbia carried on studies together with his colleague Lazarsfeld on the effectiveness of propaganda and concludes categorically: "Available evidence suggests rather uniformly that propaganda for ethnic equality disseminated through the channels of mass communication does not appreciably modify prejudice. . . . [It has] a more important effect upon the propagandist who comes to feel that he is 'doing something,' than it does upon the prejudiced people who are the ostensible object of the propaganda." Exhortation for ethnic tolerance Merton sees as "morale building for the propagandist." Although the psychologist Allport tends to be somewhat more sanguine in this regard, he also believes "there are grounds for doubting the effectiveness of mass propaganda . . ." and further indicates that "pro-tolerance propaganda is selectively perceived. Those who do not want to admit it to their systems of belief find no trouble in evading it," (or as Merton put it, they can selectively assimilate it into their prejudice system). Allport further says that exhortation only helps to "strengthen the good intentions of the already-converted."

If an intolerant society cannot be *sold* on the virtues of non-discrimination, can it be reached through reason: the dissemination of correct information, the exposure to a more liberal education? Is not ignorance the main source of prejudicial attitudes and thus of discriminatory actions? Here again the results are not as positive as could be hoped. Both Merton and Allport agree that correct information by itself "does not alter either attitude or action," and that "discrimination is not less common among the educated." This evaluation is corroborated by recent empirical studies. The Griers' study of private interracial housing developments found little correlation between education and interest in interracial living, and found furthermore that members of organizations for racial equality were not particularly good prospects for interracial developments. The Deutsch and Collins study which showed improved interracial attitudes in public housing found that ". . . it makes relatively little difference whether the housewife is educated or not, liberal or conservative. . . . " Churchgoing doesn't seem to make much difference either. The latter study reports no clearcut correlation between "change for the better in racial attitudes" and religion except that "those who indicate regular religious observance are less likely to report change than those who are less regular in observance." Allport sums up the findings of the studies on the correlation of religious observance and prejudice with similar words: " . . . church membership seems, on the whole, more often associated with prejudice than not . . ." but interprets this as pointing to only one of two kinds of "religiosity," namely that of the authoritarian character which associates itself with the power and security of the institutional church, whereas a second type of religiosity draws other kinds of persons to the church because of its "basic creed of brotherhood." Allport's is without doubt an inadequate analysis of institutional religion but we bring it in at this point in answer to those who say quite superficially that the only cure for prejudice is "more religion." In evaluating the research made on "Informational, Educational and Propaganda Effects on Attitude Change," Marcson has written: "The basic fallacy of most of the attitude change studies is the assumption that the restructuring of perception can take place without group situations being created in which ways of perceiving and categorizing can be altered."

The negative results of the research on the foregoing strategies have helped to shift the focus of interest in the study of interracial behavior from the prejudiced individual (and from the aggregate of prejudiced individuals) to the social structure in which discriminatory behavior takes place. We will discuss the material which documents this change of approach in four steps. It should not be supposed of course that we are presenting a chronology of the development of research. What follows represents rather a logical conceptualization and synthesis of the materials.

## (1) *Prejudice and discrimination are not necessarily related as cause to effect.*

One of the empirical observations which has facilitated the shift in approach is that prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior do not necessarily have

a cause-effect correlation: the causal relationship may be reversed; more frequently there is a circular relationship and very often the two factors exist as independent variables. In a study of the progress of desegregation published in 1953 as part of the research which went into the briefs presented to the Supreme Court prior to the ruling for school desegregation in 1954, K. B. Clark argues as follows: "The hypothesis that attitudinal and other subjective changes are necessary antecedents to behavioral change is not supported by the empirical data . . . ; [rather] situationally determined behavioral changes generally precede any observable attitudinal changes." And Bradbury in his study of desegregation in Washington, D. C., notes that "attitudes commonly change *after* behavior has changed." Furthermore, in a seminal research work, to which we shall have occasion to return in more detail, D. C. Reitzes shows that what people say about their feelings toward Negroes is not necessarily related to their actions in a face-to-face situation. Neither the relative strength nor the relative weakness of their expressed prejudicial feelings toward Negroes could be correlated with their rejecting behavior in some situations and their accepting behavior in other situations. As Dean and Rosen phrase it in their "proposition 7": "Conformity with the practices of segregation and discrimination is often quite unrelated to the intensity of prejudice in the individuals who conform." A. M. Rose goes so far as to claim that "prejudice on the one hand and discrimination on the other have separate and distinct histories, causes and processes of change."

Based on this assumption that "attitudes and overt behavior may vary independently," Merton develops his famous "Typology of Ethnic Prejudice and Discrimination." Type I is the Unprejudiced non-Discriminator ("the all-weather liberal"); Type II is the Unprejudiced Discriminator ("the fair-weather liberal"), who discriminates when he finds it expedient to do so; Type III is the Prejudiced non-Discriminator ("the fair-weather illiberal"), who finds it expedient not to translate his prejudice into discriminatory behavior; and Type IV is the Prejudiced Discriminator (or "the all-weather illiberal"), who conforms to his creed at all times. This is a suggestive typology and most fascinating to play around with but perhaps not as useful as it may at first seem. The two middle types are logically distinguishable, but the real question is the degree to which prejudice is necessary in the economy of a particular personality. Thus a more useful typology would be based on the distinction between a hostile attitude and/or behavior which is *primarily* a matter of conformity to the society, on the one hand, or an outlet for frustration on the other hand.

## (2) *It is necessary to distinguish between ego-involved prejudice and socially-defined prejudice.*

Ackermann and Jahoda, in their study of anti-semitic patients undergoing psychoanalysis, distinguish between hostility as an expression of basic personality distortion and hostility as an expression of social conformity to the attitudes of the dominant group. Black and Atkins in discussing the hypothesis which makes personality factors the primary cause of discrimination, have suggested that such a view would mean that most Southerners "have pathological personalities," an evaluation which they are unwilling to accept. The best discussion of the "two-type theory" is to be found in R. M. MacIver's *The More Perfect Union*. The first type is that deriving from the personality problems of the individual:—"ego-involved prejudice." But the most inclusive type of prejudice is that "taken on through the regular processes of social responsiveness":—that which we are referring to as "socially-defined prejudice." The latter is seen as an expression of social conformity while the former stems from "failure to achieve a satisfactory conformism." Ego-involved prejudice is the mark of the racist (Merton's Type IV), who often becomes the violent agitator, generally "socially frustrated and psychologically insecure." MacIver warns against the expectation of finding these two types in "pure form": it is the difference in the dynamics which makes it important that the two types be distinguished. Of course, the personality-rooted prejudice also receives its sanction from a socially-approved definition of the situation but there is in this case a very small area of choice since hostility is a "necessary part of the personal economy of the possessor." Thus a whole direction of research, which has been based on the presumption that the degree of an individual's hostile action toward minority groups can be measured by the intensity of personality problems, has overlooked the fact that most discriminatory action is not related at all to individual personality problems but rather to "institutionalized and culturally accepted social patterns."

The distinction thus made has opened up the possibilities of a new approach to the whole question of interracial behavior. The distance between the two approaches may be illustrated by two statements separated by a decade of research. Allport and Kramer in their famous article, "Some Roots of Prejudice," (1946) state that "a person's prejudice is deeply-rooted in his life philosophy" and related to "an authoritarian outlook." Dean and Rosen, in their excellent handbook *A Manual of Intergroup Relations* (1955), state that *most* prejudices "are superficial attitudes based on contacts with other prejudiced peo-

ple." The latter writers would agree of course that many cases of prejudice point to serious personality problems but insist that the majority of prejudicial attitudes are of the second type, *i.e.* socially-defined prejudice. To say that these attitudes are superficial certainly does not mean that the holder of such socially-defined prejudices can be cajoled out of them. But it does mean that instead of applying to them a sort of therapy-for-pathological-personalities, our emphasis should be turned toward group and institutional determinants of behavior, toward change in interpersonal environment and change in institutional and legal environment.

Some social psychologists are joining the sociologists who posit the priority of the social group for the understanding of interracial behavior (*e.g.* Sherif and Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvement*). In contrast to the view which took collective behavior to be a matter of interaction between more-or-less self-contained units, Sherif and Cantril maintain that "the social psychologist . . . should start *first* by relating the individual to his reference and membership groups. . . . For an individual's identifications and ego-involvements, his more or less lasting loyalties, and the values he does so much to uphold as his own, have no meaning apart from his reference and membership groups." The socially-defined values are actually experienced as one's own by the process of the "internalization of group standards," but the priority of the reference group argues against the effort to explain collective behavior on the basis of the interaction of independent units.

## (3) *Intergroup behavior frequently varies with the particular situation.*

Empirical research is providing interesting confirmation of the situational variability of intergroup behavior. The famous experiment of LaPierre was made almost thirty years ago: Travelling about the country with a Chinese couple, he encountered almost no refusal in hotels, restaurants, etc. Some months later a mailed inquiry concerning the policy toward Chinese clients received almost complete refusal both by the establishments formerly visited and by a control group of establishments which had not been visited. This type of investigation had little, if any, offspring until the present decade. In 1952, Brookover and Holland, studying prejudice and discrimination in a small town, found sharp inconsistency as between verbalized attitudes toward Negroes and behavior in particular situations. For example, an interview with the school superintendent indicated him to be an "extremely tolerant person," whereas in another situation, as a leader in a luncheon club, he expressed hostility toward minorities. "Behavior," concluded the investigators, "is a function of the particular situation." In another experiment, (1) two whites and one Negro entered ten restaurants and received the response of "acceptance"; (2) the same restaurants were then asked by letter for reservations for an interracial group and the response was "avoidance," *i.e.* there were no replies; (3) the same request was then made by phone and the response was "improvisation," hesitation, denial, some qualified acceptance.

A more elaborate study of the "unpatterned situation," to use Mannheim's term, is reported in the Kohn and Williams article "Situational Patterning in Intergroup Relations." Negro members of the investigation team entered a tavern in a white neighborhood, remaining unserved at a table for quite a period of time, and nevertheless continuing to wait to the consternation of the tavern personnel. A white member of the investigation team, who has previously become an "habitué" over a period of some months, observes the employees' reactions to the Negro couple and enters some of the conversation taking place at the bar. The findings of this experiment were that when participants (in this case, tavern personnel) are compelled to act in an unpatterned situation, they seek cues from the behavior of other participants (in this case, customers) in an effort to establish for themselves the appropriate reaction. In this particular situation, the definition of appropriate behavior was unclear because of the attitude of the investigator—"habitué" who implied, in contrast to the other customers at the bar, that he was favorable to equal treatment for the Negro customers. When two or more alternative definitions of the situation are available, conclude the investigators, the responsible participators (1) try to give one definition priority or (2) attempt a compromise whereby partial conformity to both definitions is achieved or (3) attempt to avoid decision or (4) if forced to act will act inconsistently.

The discrepancies underlined by such research have given rise to the question as to whether opinion or action is a "better index of 'true attitude.'" Recent investigators perceive that instead of asking for the "real attitude" which would harmonize the discrepant findings, it would be more pertinent to ask "In what situation is the participant manifesting his attitudes?" and in what role is he functioning? "Behavior is a function of the particular situation."

## (4) *In structured situations routine behavior tends to conform to the definitions provided by organized interest groups.*

In turning to more "patterned situations" in the following paragraphs, we will be working with what we may term the Lohman-Reitzes hypothesis: "In modern mass society the basis for individual behavior

in situations of racial contacts becomes increasingly the definition of the situation provided to the individual by deliberately organized collectivities." Abundant research evidence has shown that "allegedly prejudiced persons act in thoroughly egalitarian manner in situations where that is the socially-prescribed mode of behavior"; the opposite is equally true. We have, for example, Perlin's study of the shifting racial attitudes of college students subsequent to their identification with new group attachments. We have Killian's study of southern whites working in northern factories in which he notes that in plants where management had announced a firm non-discriminatory policy there was no evidence of increased discrimination because of the presence of newly-migrated southern whites. The same was true of the racially-mixed area in which they lived which Killian explains on the basis of the fact that the southern whites had no organized group to represent their "interests." Indeed, in the neighborhood studied, there was no improvement association at all and mixed residency was causing no marked disturbance. Clark's study of the effects of desegregation, to which we have already referred, led to a similar conclusion: "The data reveals that desired changes in the behavior of individuals and groups can be brought about by a change in the social situation in which they are required to function" even where no accompanying change in private attitudes can be immediately noted.

The most important material for this discussion of "organized interest groups" is that supplied by Reitzes and by his mentor, Joseph Lohman. Reitzes carried out a remarkable piece of research work in which the interracial behavior of individuals was studied in terms of their participation in certain collectivities and of the definitions of these situations by these collectivities. The three collectivities were (1) the area of residence in which the neighborhood improvement association was strongly opposed to the acceptance of Negroes as residents; (2) the shopping area which served both the white neighborhood and an adjoining Negro neighborhood with an open-door policy; (3) an interracial factory situation in which the union policy was unequivocally one of complete equality. The behavior of the respondents common to the three situations was rejection, tolerance, or acceptance according to the particular situation. There was no definite correlation between acceptance or rejection in the neighborhood, on the one hand, and acceptance or rejection in the union context on the other. There was however definite correlation between involvement in the collective existence of the neighborhood and strong rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood. There was similarly correlation between active participation in union affairs and strong acceptance of Negroes at work. And, as we have said, the same persons were involved in both situations. Reitzes' rule then is: Know the collectivity and the degree of the individual's involvement in the collectivity and you have an indication of what his behavior toward Negroes will be in that group situation. "In modern urban society, behavior in racial contact is a product of collective definitions of the situations."

Now, as we have noted in the statement of the hypothesis with which we are working, the definition of what constitutes appropriate behavior in situations of interracial contact is increasingly that which is provided by deliberately-organized interest groups: Improvement Associations, Business Associations, Industrial Unions and the like. In the key article, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," Lohman and Reitzes describe these "interests" in terms of which collective behavior is organized in the three areas of Reitzes' research. In the shopping area, the interests involved are profits, on the one hand, and, on the other, value received and convenience. These interests are combined in an open-door policy. On the job, the interests involved are wages, security, working conditions and the like. The workers identify with the union as representing these interests and hence accept the union's definition of accepted behavior in respect to Negroes, namely equal rights and responsibilities. In the residential neighborhood, the interests are personal and social status, protection of property values, etc., so conceived as requiring the maintenance of a "white" neighborhood. The definition here is given by the improvement association and real estate groups. It is "in terms of these interests that the activities of individuals are mobilized and collectively shaped. . . . The organized groups define the situations for the individuals and give them an available pattern of behavior." Moreover, the definition is not perceived—except by an insignificant minority—as an external pressure, because the individual internalizes the definition and makes it his own, acting out the role defined for him by the collectivity. Thus, as reported by Reitzes, a particular individual joined with others in the neighborhood in violent resistance to the Negro and at the same time, in his role as union steward, acted to protect the interests of the Negro in the work situation. This looks inconsistent from the standpoint of individual psychology but it is simply a matter of the performance of segmentalized roles as the individual responds to antithetical definitions of collective interests in various contexts. As Mannheim points out in "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction," "Industrial mass society tends to produce the most self-contradictory behavior not only in society but also in personal life. . . . " The reason for this, as Mannheim sees it, and as we have already pointed out at the beginning of the article, is that in mass society the individual is not

involved in collectivities as a total personality but acts in segmentalized roles as defined by interest groups.

In the context of the foregoing analysis, let us consider the institutional church as it functions in our society on the local level. For all its pretensions to speak to and for the total man, the church has been effectively relegated, as we have said, to the sphere of privatized morals and beliefs. Gibson Winter has called this "probably the most serious problem confronting the church in the contemporary world." The interests around which the local church functions for the most part in our society are those of moral uplift, the cultivation of religious feelings, the promotion of a generalized "faith," fellowshipping and socializing. These are obviously not the interests whose definitions are *decisive* in the formation of patterns of community organization and of urban residence, except insofar as they raise no questions about the rightness of exclusion and discrimination and indeed give implied support to them. As Reinhold Niebuhr has said, "The fellowship of the Protestant Church is always degenerating into a sanctified sense of kind, whether of race, or class, or neighborhood," or to use a phrase of Winter, the church "reconciles on the basis of likeness." In general it may be said then that the interests of the church as a local institution in American society do not conflict with the interests of the homogeneous neighborhood.

Louis Wirth has suggested that the secularism of industrial society leads to "the disintegration of unitary faiths and doctrines and a blending into new syncretisms . . . [of] hitherto incongruous elements, symbols and slogans. . . ." Is this how we are able to combine the increasing popularity of church membership and our more-than-ever cherished American freedoms with a devotion to the homogeneous and segregated neighborhood? One may wonder whether, in our society today, the "American dilemma" is generally perceived as a *moral* dilemma by the majority of white citizens. Indeed, the "interests" which are involved in the present patterns of urban residence are not generally seen as discriminatory interests at all, but rather as noble social goals such as "the preservation of a good neighborhood and of the American home," "the inalienable right to live with neighbors of one's choice," etc. The typical local church calls these goals into question no more than the "members only" local tavern. Both function in a sphere of intimate association to provide solace in a congenial setting. The parallel can of course be carried only so far, since the local church pursues this particular function in the context of a ministry to families. But, without gainsaying the importance of this ministry, it must be emphasized that the urban church is fulfiling a *total* ministry only when it becomes concerned about the overall social and political patterns of the metropolis. Too often this concern is dismissed by the local churches as belonging in the domain of the denominational headquarters or of committees of Councils of Churches. As a consequence, implementation of "bold" pronouncements and of "courageous" analyses is distressingly spotty because local churches conceive of their ministry as primarily to the emotional, social and moral needs of individuals and families.

Is it at all surprising then that the priority which church bodies officially give to the achievement of residential desegregation has for the most part been locally ineffective and that, even where sensitive churchmen, motivated by the gospel, have sought to exhort and educate, the results have been minimal? We do not in any way disparage the need for the prophetic ministry in pulpit and in class and discussion room, but if the urban church is to respond in terms of the full claims of the gospel on man-in-society, it must give a much larger place to the prophetic ministry outside its own walls. In Pittsburgh, for example, such a ministry on the part of churchmen (and notably of one churchwoman) was the decisive factor in making that city the second in the United States to have an ordinance against residential discrimination. In Chicago, a handful of churchmen in one area in the path of the expanding Negro ghetto is cooperating in an effort to develop a new type of community organization which will not be based on the premise that "improvement" means primarily exclusion.

There are of course many other contemporary examples of the prophetic ministry "outside the walls" but in the overall picture they are still the exceptions. This points to the urgency with which the urban church should examine the perspective being developed by the social sciences relevant to the problem of social change in race relations. How can the dynamics of the processes of decision-making in modern society be re-channelled toward promoting integration in the urban neighborhood? Undeniably, there are many who would immediately object even to the question: "You cannot ask that. This is a democratic society. You cannot force people to act against their own prejudices." But this sort of reasoning ignores the extent to which "*my* prejudices" have in fact been defined, not by personal conviction, but by "hidden persuaders," by "interests" which may in fact contradict the real long-range interests of myself, my family and my community. It is then not a matter of personal conviction versus manipulation. It is a question as to whether or not the dynamics of the processes of consensus-formation in our society shall be redirected toward democratic goals.

The prophetic ministry in the area of community organization would begin with the challenge for the realistic reappraisal of the long-range interests of the urban neighborhood. It is becoming increasingly clear to the residents of these neighborhoods that, given the tremendous upsurge in minority population in northern cities, the present pattern of residential segregation and succession cannot be continued indefinitely. We are increasingly doubtful of the wisdom of the position which held that when "hold the line" is no longer possible then "flight" will solve the problem. Many suburbanites are also beginning to realize the disastrous effects on entire metropolitan areas of what Morton Grodzins calls "central city-suburban racial bifurcation." The old consensus with which urban neighborhoods have operated for more than a generation is obviously in a state of bankruptcy. The futility of the present "hold the line-flight" sequence is only one of the factors in the breakdown of this consensus. A second factor is the developing legal attack against discrimination in housing. A third factor is the substantial growth of a Negro middle-class financially and culturally able to hold its own. And a fourth factor is the increasing empirical evidence that integrated living can and does work.

Urban churchmen must address themselves deliberately and imaginatively to the creation of a new consensus and the building of a new type of community organization. Reitzes has written that an organization which would work for the residential desegregation of a neighborhood "can be effective if it can so define the community situation that non-discriminatory behavior would serve the interests of the people involved." At the 1959 Chicago hearings of the Federal Commission on Civil Rights the Chicago Commission on Human Relations stated: "Community organizations in different parts of the city are recognizing the futility of trying to preserve the quality of their neighborhoods simply by excluding minority groups. They are looking for ways in which to absorb minority group members while maintaining or even improving the quality of their neighborhoods." This is the direction of the re-definition needed to mobilize community action in terms of the real interests of the urban neighborhood today.

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May 31, 1954

Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Reverend Pritchard:

I should think your Commission should be appointed by the Mayor from a list suggested to him, the list to contain very carefully chosen persons, many of whom would be interested churchmen.

It would be a splendid thing if Anderson would do this.

I happen to be driving through Anderson this coming Wednesday, June 2, and should reach there about 10:00 in the morning. I will call on you at the church and greatly hope that I will find you there. So much in these matters is most soundly got at in personal conversations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

May 28, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am interested in the formation of an inter-racial commission in our community to act in a mediatorial capacity in dealing with the situation created by the recent Supreme Court decision. I am wondering how the Christian forces of the community can best be marshalled for this duty. Would it be better for the mayor of the town to appoint an inter-racial commission for advice and discussion? Would a carefully chosen committee of interested churchman be the better method?

If you can give me any suggestions or information which may be helpful, I will greatly appreciate your valuable assistance.

Do you have any statistics or material as to concrete ways in which southern communities might implement this decision?

Thanking you for your assistance, I am

Most cordially yours,

Carl R. Pritchett

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

Return to EB

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

June 29, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
64 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I appreciate your recent visit to Anderson and was delighted to have an opportunity to make your acquaintance.

In pursuance of your suggestion I approached the Mayor of our town on the possibility of the appointment of a Mayor's Commission. He was very interested and sympathetic with the idea but felt that it would be not only politically inexpedient for him to do this but would also hamper our objective. I think he was entirely sincere and in the present situation here am confident that he was right in his judgment.

A few of us on our own initiative have organized what we are calling a "Christian Council of Human Relations. We are holding our first organizing meeting at our Kirk here Friday, July 9 at 8:00 o'clock. We have drawn up a preliminary "Declaration of Purpose" which has been published in full in the local paper. We have sent out personal letters of invitation to about seventy-five people, keeping in mind some of the suggestions which you made on your visit. I am enclosing this copy of the declaration in order that you might see the general tenor of opinion.

If you have any suggestions as to the way in which we should conduct our meetings, the topics which we might discuss, and the frequency of the meetings, etc., I will be very glad to hear from you.

I have been told that the Ford Foundation is making some contribution to this effort for racial understanding. I understand that they are assembling facts which will be of use to individuals or groups concerned with the whole problem. If this is true and you know the address to which I might write, I would be very glad to receive it.

With warm personal regards and looking forward to our association together, I am

Most cordially yours,

Carl

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh
Enc.

# A DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

The South is confronted today with a crucial problem and a historic opportunity. This situation has been created by the recent Supreme Court decision. The Court has ruled unanimously that the segregation of children in the schools of the United States on the basis of race is unconstitutional. When this law is put into effect it will call for a major readjustment in the social life of the South. The Court has very wisely provided for a period of reflection on the time schedule and method by which this law can be put into practice. Next October it will invite suggestions from competent and authorized individuals and groups before making further deliverances. In the meantime public opinion is being crystallized. Responsible citizens all over the country, especially in the South, are being given an opportunity to think through this problem and make whatever contribution to the public discussion they feel will be of value.

A small group from both races propose that we form a "Christian Council of Human Relations" as an effort to promote understanding and good will. We have no authority but the convictions of our own conscience. Our concern has grown out of our Christian faith. We believe God is the Father of all men and no respecter of persons. We believe the teaching and spirit of Christ is "the supreme court" to which we must refer this matter. He has taught us saying,"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself...As ye would that men should do unto you do ye also unto them likewise...Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." Our conscience will not permit us to regard this great human problem with indifference. We believe that each of us must give an account to God for what we do or neglect to do in this vital issue. Our whole spiritual life is inescapably involved in it. We do not believe it is either wise or right to indulge in an orgy of violent feelings.

The issue is too serious and the cause of brotherhood is too precious to be treated in such an undisciplined manner. We believe we will be remiss in our plain duty if we do not honestly bring the Spirit of Christ into this whole matter. We do not believe we should yield to social custom or private feeling of prejudice but appeal to the Word of God for our guidance.

As we extend this invitation to others to join with us in this endeavour, we think it is natural that they will wish to know our general position. At the same time, we do not wish to presume on the right of the group when it is organized to express it's own opinion. We feel that we should be flexible and open minded. We do not expect to have entire uniformity of opinion nor do we think it is desirable. In general however, we believe that the ruling of the Supreme Court is in keeping with the highest traditions of American justice and freedom. We also believe that it is consistent with the spirit and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. It is our belief also that we should accept the fact that this ruling will be ultimately enforced. We are not interested in seeking evasions from the letter and spirit of the ruling. We believe that such attempts will not only be unsuccessful but may engender strife and ill will which will increase the difficulties.

The practical question before us is not whether the Court was socially wise or legally correct in their judgment. The heart of the issue is the question as to how we shall adjust ourselves to it in such a manner that the majesty and force of the law may be upheld and good will among men may be advanced.

We wish to make it quite clear that we are not forming a political "pressure group". Even if we desired to do this, it would be ineffective because of the strict limitations of local control over our schools. The most important decisions as to policy will be made at the State level. However, whatever those policies may be the local sentiment and spirit are of primary importance.

We believe that we should have a public forum in which citizens of both races may be free to express their opinions. There is no organization in Anderson at present which could serve as a mediator in the event of a critical situation. We do not anticipate such incidents but we should be prepared for them by the establishment of mutual confidence and thorough discussion of the issues involved. We might be able to prevent local lawsuits and make reasonable suggestions which would be acceptable to both races. We could assemble and digest the facts about our schools. In this manner we would have a firm basis in fact for our opinions.

We believe that such a constructive attitude will be in line with the best traditions of Southern leadership and Christian concern. It will appeal to the reason and conscience of many of our people. It will encourage our Negro citizens to believe more fully in the great resevoir of good will toward them which exists in the hearts of many Christian people. It will also relieve the conscience of many White Christians who have long been uneasy and troubled by the conflict between the teaching of Jesus and the inequities of our racial situation.

We do not believe that this is a time to indulge our fears and be ruled by a spirit of timidity. It is not a time for reckless defiance of the Supreme Court and villification of our justices. Rather it is a time for us to go into the "supreme court" of our own conscience and discover our duty. We are called to live by principle instead of passion. Let us not take counsel of our fears or permit our imaginations to envision all of the possible objections to such a council. Rather, let us seek that venturesome faith in which we can find courage, cultivate that spirit of humility in which we can discover wisdom and renew the spirit of love in which we can find true brotherhood.

A meeting is being called of interested persons in the "Kirk" of the First Presbyterian Church, Friday, July 9th. at 8:00 P.M. The "Christian Council of Human Relations" will be formed at that time.

July 6, 1954

Reverend Carl R. Pritchett, D. D.
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Reverend Pritchett:

I think your plans are most wise, and appreciate the letter from you ahead of the July 9th meeting.

The main thing, it seems to me, is to take steps which will incorporate the thinking and advice of the forward-looking people in the Negro community of the city on a program for the future conduct of the school system. Best if this can be done by formal representation; a desirable second best if it can be done only by informal, but effective and steady, consultation.

One of the subsidiary organizations of the Ford Foundation -- I believe, the Fund for the Advancement of Education -- has given some assistance to a program being operated by a group of Southern newspaper people from an office at Nashville, to provide an inter-change of full and accurate information among newspapers as to events over the South, as the problem of action in the school system unfolds.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education published, a few weeks ago, a volume called The Negro and the Schools, a copy of which I am sending you today. It is a factual summary of the present situation. The Public Affairs Committee has produced a condensed version of this volume, and I send a copy of that to you also. Our Council will publish in a few days time, a new pamphlet called Answers for Action which carries the map which I believe I showed you when I was in Anderson, and gives various suggestions as to constructive steps to be taken within the South.

I do hope that, in the future, there will be many opportunities for us to work together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dict[illegible] Dr. Mitchell
Si[illegible]ence
([illegible]t under separate cover)

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

Make file
Christian Council
of Human Relations

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

July 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding our Christian Council of Human Relations. I greatly appreciate the book "The Negro and the Schools" and the pamphlet on "Segregation and the Schools". I have already discovered that the first of these books is a veritable mind of data and guidance in this whole matter. I hope we can secure a number of copies for the use of our group. We intend to use a number of chapters as a basis for guided discussions.

We had our first meeting on July 9 and had about 50 people present. We had twenty-five white persons and twenty-five Negro people. Our next meeting is to be held Tuesday, September 7. At this time we expect to have a thorough panel discussion on the Supreme Court Decision. We have ordered copies of the deliverance and expect to thoroughly acquaint ourselves with it.

I believe I told you previously that the mayor felt that it would be inexpedient and unwise for him to appoint a mayor's commission. Our present organization is the next best thing we could think to do. We have had good publicity and will, I think, have a very interesting group.

With every good wish and thanking you again for your generosity and help, I am

Fraternally yours,

Carl

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

July 16, 1954

Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Reverend Pritchett:

Many thanks for your warming letter of July 14. All praise for what you and others in Anderson are about.

I will send you some copies of Answers for Action in a day or so, as soon as it comes from the printer. It contains the Supreme Court decision also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 10, 1954

The Reverend Carl R. Pritchett, D. D.
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Pritchett:

Many thanks for your nice letter. Volume I, Number 1, of Southern School News came out September 3. It's executive officer is C. A. McKnight, of the Charlotte News. The office is in Nashville.* I am satisfied that if you will write them with some indication that you request it as an active person in the Anderson Council of Human Relations, they will be glad to send it to you free of charge.

I haven't yet had a chance to more than glance at it, but really it is going to be a tremendous aid and resource!

You may be sure that I will be glad to come to Anderson at any time that you may wish it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

* Mr. G. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
Nashville, Tennessee

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

September 7, 1954

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I was delighted to see you at Montreat during the month of August. You are rendering all of us a very great service as you share with us your spirit and guidance in a cause to which you have so fully dedicated yourself.

I noticed in the newspaper today that there is a paper being published called "Southern School News" in Nashville, Tennessee. According to the account, private citizens can secure copies of this paper. If you will drop me a line indicating the address or the person to whom I might make application for this paper, I will greatly appreciate it. While it may not apply in detail to our local situation, I am quite sure there will be much pertinent information in it.

Our Council on Human Relations is moving along very nicely. We are having a panel discussion tonight on the contents of the Supreme Court Decision. Sometime in the near future I hope it will be possible for you to visit us and give us benefit of your rich experience and wise guidance.

With warm personal regards, I am

Most cordially yours,

Carl

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

October 25, 1954

Dr. Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Pritchett:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you about a possible speaker on Race Relations in the Armed Forces.

I have talked with James C. Evans, Civilian Assistant to the Secretary of Defence - actually, the Race Relations Advi~~sor~~ to the Armed Forces, who has done a lot to work the integration in recent years. Mr. Evans suggests as one possibility Lt.Col. Harry Lofton, Professor of Military Science and Tactics at A. and M. College, Orangeburg. (He is, of course, a Negro.) He promises to send me further suggestions after he has had a chance to check his files, and I will pass those along to you when and if they come. He felt that there was very likely a good chaplain or two with the Air Force in the state or with other units of Fort Jackson.

Dr. Mitchell sends his best regards and is looking forward to being with your group in December.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

/HCF/rf

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

October 14, 1954

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regioanl Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I am glad to report that we had a very fine meeting of our Council on Human Relations Tuesday evening. We discovered that the film "The Toy Maker" was an excellent film suitable to stimulate a discussion on the origin of racial prejudice.

I am wondering if it would not be a wise thing to try to get someone to speak to us a few months hence on Race Relations in the Armed Forces. I know when you come to us in December you will touch on this, but it seems to me that if we could find a sympathetic and well informed chaplin who could deal with this whole subject, it might be very interesting and helpful to our group. Do you know of such a person?

If you do not have such a person to recommend, to whom could I turn for a recommendation? It would, of course, be better to have someone close by.

I announced our date with you in December and our group was delighted at the prospect of having you with us. We will look forward to your coming with great pleasure. I hope you can spend the night with us in our home and bring your wife if possible.

With every good wish, I am

Most cordially yours,

Carl R. Pritchett
nwh

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

Evans =

Orangeburg - Prof Mil Sci
+ Tactics - Lt. Col. Hardy, Loyton State

A + M = Reserve alternative

AF Chaplain - in area.

Fort Jackson, Columbia =

November 9, 1954

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

You may recall our recent telephone conversation in which you gave me one or two suggestions of military personnel in the South Carolina area who might speak to the Anderson Human Relations Council on integration in the armed services. I have passed these suggestions on to the Reverend Carl R. Pritchett, who was very grateful.

Since the proposed meeting on that subject will not take place for several months, any further suggestions from your files will be appreciated by us and by Mr. Pritchett.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

MRS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

November 1, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Fleming:

Allow me to thank you for your letter of October 25 in which you gave me a suggestion for a speaker on the integration of the Armed Forces.

I note that Mr. James C. Evans, Civilian Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, has offered to send further suggestions after he has a chance to check his file. When they come, I will be glad to receive them.

We are looking forward to the visit of Dr. Mitchell in December with a great deal of interest. Many of us are profoundly grateful for the service of the Southern Regional Council in these critical days of human relations in the South.

With every good wish, I am

Most cordially yours,

Carl R. Pritchett

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

November 30, 1954

The Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Carl:

All straight about my being at your service December 14th at 7:30.

I am coming on Eastern Air Lines' plane which puts me at Anderson at 1:44 p.m. Nobody need met me. I will just come in and make my way to the church. Possibly the best use of my effort Tuesday afternoon is to store me away for a nap.

I have got a complicated travel problem from Anderson on out. I have got to catch a New York bound plane so as to put me in New York for a mid-day meeting Wednesday, December 15. The only plane I can figure leaves at 5:00 a.m. on Wednesday, December 15th. So, what I ought to have is just transportation Anderson to Charlottee during the night of the 14th-15th. Will you ask your young lady to check around a bit as to public conveyances to Charlotte?

I don't mind missing the sleep. This queer travel business precludes my accepting your kind invitation to spend at any rate the whole night of the 14th at your home. I expect what I will have to do is to take a late bus to Charlotte and get bedded down at a hotel in Charlotte for a few hours. The more I will welcome a nap at your home on the day of the 14th!

I send you a glossy. Also biography herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

November 24, 1954

RECEIVED
11/29/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Our "Christian Council on Human Relations" is looking forward to your visit with us on Tuesday evening, December 14 at 7:30 o'clock.

In making our plans for the meeting, I am wondering if you could send us some biographical material and possibly a picture which we could use in the local news paper. I imagine you have this handy. If not, do not trouble yourself too greatly to meet this request. We would like to have as full a meeting as possible. We have 75 or more people who have been to one or more of our meetings. Our attendance has averaged between 45 and 50 in attendance. We have discovered that this is a very broad subject which has implications running in all directions. It has been a very stimulating experience for many of us to try to educate ourselves in this important area of human rights.

As I indicated in the previous letter, I sincerely hope you will be able to spend the night with me. My family consists of a wife and four daughters and we will look forward to your visit. If your wife can come with you, please bring her. I will be in touch with you again prior to your visit.

With warm personal regards and anticipating your visit with genuine pleasure, I am

Fraternally yours,

Carl

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

December 1, 1954

The Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Carl:

All straight about my being in Anderson December 14th at 7:30 p.m.

I am coming on Eastern Air Lines' plane which put me at Anderson at 1:44 p.m. Nobody need meet me. I will just come in and make my way to the church. Possibly the best use of my effort Tuesday afternoon is to stow me away for a nap.

I have got a complicated travel problem from Anderson on out. I have got to catch a New York bound plane so as to put me in New York for a mid-day meeting Wednesday, December 15. The only plane I can figure leaves at 5:00 a.m. on Wednesday, December 15th. So, what I ought to have is public transportation Anderson to Charlotte during the night of the 14th-15th. Will you ask your young lady to check around a bit as to public conveyances to Charlotte?

I don't mind missing the sleep. This queer travel business precludes my accepting your kind invitation to spend at any rate the whole night of the 14th at your home. I expect what I will have to do is to take a late bus to Charlotte and get bedded down at a hotel in C Charlotte for a few hours. The more I will welcome a nap at your home on the afternoon of the 14th!

I send you a glossy. Also biography herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

File

MISS MARY ELLEN JACKSON
DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
MRS. WILLIAM HUNTER
CHURCH SECRETARY

CARL R. PRITCHETT, D.D.
PASTOR

HARVEY R. DICKSON
CLERK OF THE SESSION
JOHN A. HOLMAN
CHAIRMAN OF DIACONATE

# First Presbyterian Church

Anderson, South Carolina

December 18, 1954

RECEIVED
12/20/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Director
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

How can I tell you how greatly we appreciate your visit to our Christian Council on Human Relations? It was a most stimulating and delightful occasion for all of us. I am quite sure I have never heard anyone handle this subject with the insight, good humour and skill which you displayed. I know this is the result of long meditation and study as well as the application of your native abilities. I am confident that you are making a contribution to democracy and justice whose value cannot be estimated.

It was a great personal joy for me to have this opportunity to know you better and to have you as a guest in our home. Our little girls are still telling your stories and trying to make the paper gadgets.

I hope you had a happy and successful journey to New York.

Come by to see us if you are ever in this vicinity. With warm personal regards and gratitude for your fine service, I am

Fraternally yours,

Carl

Carl R. Pritchett

CRP/nwh

Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Carl:

Everywhere I go people very kindly hand me little slips saying that such and such a person in such and such a town is like-minded.

Here's a slip I have been carrying around for several months. I would not send you the full slip, except that I cannot read the address.

I don't know Miss Carolyn, but suppose you can find out whether she is someone suitable to add to your circle or not.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Participating in Panel:

Mrs.John M.Alexander

Mrs.Robert L.MacDougall

Mrs.F.R.Crawford,Farmville,Va.

Dr.George S.Mitchell

Mr.Mark Huie

Mr.Lawrence W.Bottoms

All but Mrs.Crawford,in Atlanta.

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary

DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director
Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director
Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

# Board of Women's Work

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

OCT 13 1955

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 5, Ga.

Some Information for Those Sharing in Panel, October 19, 7:30-9:30 P.M.

The conference for synodical chairmen of Intergroup Work and Directors of Christian Conference of Negro Women will bring together at the office of the BWW or in Board room, Board of Church Extension Building, women from several of the synods (some cannot attend) for a time of information, planning and encouragement in their work.

The evening session October 19th, will be a time for information largely, though worship is a planned part of the period. The "panel" will focus attention on Changing Patterns in the South Today. Five or six people will share in this. Mr. Lawrence W. Bottoms, Division of Negro Work, recently returned from visits to our mission fields in Brazil, Africa and Europe will be moderator of the panel. He would like to meet those sharing in this panel at 7:15 that evening, to have a few minutes together before the session opens.

Each person invited to share in panel has been asked to speak to certain phases of the Changing Patterns; Law, Order, the Press, Transportation, Education, the Church, and responsibilities of Church women amidst these changing patterns. It is hoped that as these persons speak and the conversation moves forward, under moderator's guidance, that the conference members will note items for further information or questions to be asked in last 30 minutes of the evening session.

Through what is said that evening, the conference members should have some clearer idea of the setting in which we must work today in local communities and states. We will seek to focus attention on these several areas of change, rather than on any one, keeping in mind that in our southern area are Indians, whose future is of concern to Christians today, foreign students, new-comers to the USA, as well as Negroes. We hope to have a challenging note sounded because of these changes which we recognize, and also to have some direction indicated as to plans that should be made as we seek to serve these various groups through the local church.

The following day the group will work out together plans, projects, and indicate material needed as the work moves forward. The conference will close with a 30 minute message of encouragement, stimulation, challenge and confidence brought by Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary.

Those planning this conference would be happy to have all members of the panel work with us on October 20th, but that is too much to hope for. We will have with us that day Dr. Malcolm Calhoun, who will be out of the city October 19, and Mrs. Robert MacDougall as resource persons.

The Planning Committee for this conference is grateful for the acceptance of each invited guest and looks forward to a most helpful conference.

A telephone call to your home or office not later than Monday, October 17th, will give exact place of meeting for Wednesday evening session.

Annie Tait Jenkins, Chairman
Program Committee for Conference

October 12, 1955

ATJ:cr
cc: McG.
ELH

October 17, 1955

Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
Presbyterian Committee on Woman's Work
341A Ponce de Leon
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Jenkins:

I will be there October 19th at 7:30.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 26, 1955

Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church in the United States
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Miss Jenkins:

The gratitude is all mine for the opportunity to be with that sincere, stable, and influential body of women. I was greatly impressed with the devotion and the wish to reach to the inwardness of these perplexing problems.

For the booklets. I brought out twelve copies of Changing Patterns in the New South, and I would think about ten copies of Answers for Action. Changing Patterns is 50¢ and Answers for Action is 20¢. If some of them sold and you will send us a check, we will be most grateful. No earthly need for you to take on responsibility for the left-overs; I will stop by and pick them up at your office.

Call on us again; no one we would rather serve.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary
DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director
Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director
Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

# Board of Women's Work

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 8, GA.

October 25, 1955

OCT 26 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Miss McGaughey joins me in expressing to you appreciation for your helpful part in the panel last Wednesday evening. We do appreciate the time which a person with so many responsibilities is willing to give to this type of conference. Then we want to thank you for coming by Thursday morning and bringing those booklets. We would like to know the number which you brought and will send check for those which were sold and if we find that we have need for keeping the balance will send covering check for all.

We believe that the conference was helpful and stimulating. The women seemed to appreciate it very much. Thursday was a rich day with discussion, planning, hearing of student work in our colleges among students of other countries, seeing a very stimulating film, My Brother, and then the message from Dr. Richardson in the closing hour of our conference. All of these guests were most gracious and we are grateful for such friends among whom we count you one of our stanchest.

With best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s
(Dictated 10-22-55)

October 31, 1955

Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church in the United States
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Miss Jenkins:

We do appreciate the $3.50. I consider that a handsom sum in cash money! I will stop by some afternoon and pick up the ones that are left.

With warm appreciation,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary
DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director

Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director

Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

# Board of Women's Work

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 8, GA.

October 28, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Exec. Director Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

OCT 31 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your gracious letter. We find that seven copies of the book Changing Patterns in the New South were sold and for those we send you check for $3.50. We have here in the office five copies of that book and fifteen copies of Answers for Action. Since you suggested stopping and getting this package we will have it ready for you and you can get it at your convenience, any afternoon when you are passing or morning either for that matter. Our office is officially closed at 4:30 although there is someone here who could help anyone calling after that hour.

CR
Rha

Again we would say thank you for your help. We are getting notes of appreciation from different ones of the group who were here with us last week.

Sincerely,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s
Enc.

October 31, 1955

Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
Presbyterian Committee on Woman's Work
341A Ponce de Leon
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Annie Tait:

Some days after the Attorney General of Georgia, in his anti-NAACP speech, spoke accusingly of SRC, we prepared this longish manuscript giving the facts. I wanted to be sure that a copy reached you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary

DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director

Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director

Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

# Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 8, GA.

November 14, 1955

NOV 15 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you so much for your note with the copy of the statements which were prepared and distributed late in October by the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. I have read these papers with much interest and appreciation and "it seems like to me" that a fair minded reader should be able to get certain facts clearly in mind and have a different attitude about some of these matters which are being talked about with so little understanding and discrimination.

It was most kind of you to send copies of this material so promptly and I do appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary

DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director

Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director

Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

# Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 8, GA.

- gen

January 4, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 5 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This morning back in my desk after almost two weeks holiday vacation I have read with interest and appreciation the letter from Mr. M. A. Wright, President Southern Regional Council sent out as a New Year greeting to friends. I would like to express to you and through you sometime to him, appreciation for such a cordial letter of confidence.

May this year be one in which progress is made in better relationships and greater understanding and an increasing extension of justice and righteousness throughout our southern region, nation and the world.

With appreciation of your service at all times,

Cordially your friend,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s

RECEIVED MAR 10 1956 Filly

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary

DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director

Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director

Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

# Board of Women's Work

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 8, GA.

March 9, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Wesley Memorial Bldg.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You were so very helpful to us in the meeting in October when we had the Synodical Chairmen of Intergroup Work with us, and we would like for you to have copy of this letter sent this week to those chairmen who were here and also others who were not with us and to our Synodical Presidents and some members of our Board.

This letter grew out of the conviction that the step suggested is one that we could take and should take. We would like for you to see what we are asking those women to do.

With best wishes to you.

Cordially,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s

PROGRAM DIVISION
Evelyn L. Green, Secretary

DEPARTMENTS
Christian Growth
Janie McCutchen, Director
Publications
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director
Leader Development
Annie Tait Jenkins, Director

# Board of Women's Work

Janie W. McGaughey, Executive Secretary
Mary S. Quidor, Treasurer

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E., Atlanta 5, Ga.

To Synodical Chairmen of Inter-Group Work March 7, 1956

Dear Friends:

These are days that demand much of Christians and call us to renewed consecration and greater faith in Rom. 8:28. Have you read the pamphlet, A VENTURE OF FAITH THAT WORKS written out of the experience of one of our ministers, Dr. Carl R. Pritchett? Copy enclosed as it may suggest something which you will plan or it may encourage you to go on with what you are doing. There is surely place for continued prayer, patient understanding and true humility in actions.

Once when St. Francis of Assisi was working in his garden someone asked him what he would do if he were suddendly to learn that he would die at sunset that day. He replied: "I would finish hoeing my garden." Perhaps that is the message we need---keep on doing that thing which we know to be the thing God would have us do.

"Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace.
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light; and
Where there is sickness, joy.
O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek
To be consoled, as to console;
To be understood, as to understand;
To be loved, as to love;
For it is in giving that we receive;
It is in pardoning that we are pardoned; and
It is in dying that we are born to eternal life."
...Francis of Assisi

After talking with members of Staff and Board of Women's Work we are asking you to join us in prayer, and that you ask your presbyterial chairmen to join you in this. The enclosed sheet gives suggestions to guide you in this intercession. If you want copies for your presbyterial chairmen, send request direct to me.

This is a time when statements alone are not enough, living must match those statements; words are not sufficient, actions must support words. If we believe that God is all-sufficient, and that He is overruling affairs of men and nations, if we believe Rom. 8:28, should we not give ourselves more to praying that His will be done, that His people will follow Him, that each of us will seek to know what He would have us do, asking for divine strength for doing that which He wants us to do? We dare not run ahead of Him; dare we follow afar off?

With the confidence that you want to be used as an instrument of His peace where you are, and to encourage others to be part of that same fellowship, and with the hope that you will find in this suggestion something to give you courage,

Sincerely your friend,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s

To Synodical Chairmen of Inter-group Work

Suggestions for Prayer

I cried unto the Lord with my voice; with my voice unto the Lord did I make my supplication. Ps.142:1

For myself---confession of my sins of whatever kind that add to the confusion and ill-will of this day.

---forgiveness of my sins

---Teach me to do thy will;...lead me into the land of uprightness. Pa. 143:10 (a,d)

For all Christians, in our churches and other churches, in places of tension throughout this country and in other parts of the world, that they may be strengthened by His might and used to witness to the power of God working in the hearts of men.

For all officials in local, state and national government, and for all seeking office, that they may be sincere followers of Christ and may be true to their trust.

For all who suffer because of misunderstanding, racial ill-will or prejudice.

For our Church, my local church, pastor and officers, courts of our Church as they meet in presbytery, synod and General Assembly, with great moral issues confronting them and the forward work of the Church to be done.

Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.
John 16:24

If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.
Mark 9:23

March 6, 1956

# Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVE., N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

MRS. LEIGHTON M. MCCUTCHEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS MARY S. QUIDOR
TREASURER
MISS EVELYN L. GREEN
SECRETARY, PROGRAM DIVISION
MISS JANIE MCCUTCHEN
DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN GROWTH
MRS. BEN KNOX
DIRECTOR, PUBLICATIONS
MISS ANNIE TAIT JENKINS
DIRECTOR, LEADER DEVELOPMENT
MRS. H. Q. HUIE
DIRECTOR, MAIL ORDER DEPARTMENT

May 28, 1956
(dictated May 24)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of May 23rd. We will give you the names of women who have responsibility in this area of Inter-group relationships from the states which you have mentioned, as follows:

Alabama: Mrs. Earl Andrews, 3135 Audubon Rd., Montgomery, Alabama
Florida: Mrs. J. B. Henry, 923 Sorrento Rd., Jacksonville, Florida
Georgia: Mrs. J. O. Cobb, 241 Brown Ave., Smyrna, Georgia.
XX Mrs. Chas. Rexford, 846 Barton Woods Rd.N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
Louisiana: Mrs. J. R. Sheppard, 1772 Jackson St., Alexandria, Louisiana
Mississippi: ~~Mrs. J. E. Johnston, 1506 Lynerest, Jackson, Mississippi~~
Mrs. Alton B. Tinney, 1051 Glenwood, Jackson, Mississippi
Kentucky: Mrs. Jack Caudill, Hazard, Kentucky
No.Carolina: Mrs. Geo.B. Little, 2135 Malvern Rd., Charlotte, N. C.
Mrs. Edward Helfner, Jr., 450 Westover Dr., Winston-Salem, N.C.
So.Carolina: Mrs. W. T. Cassells, 835 Kilbourne Rd., Columbia, S. C.
Tennessee: Mrs. Marion R.Wellford, 3383 Prescott Cove, Memphis, Tenn.
Virginia: Mrs. Frank R. Crawford, Farmville, Virginia.

Mrs. Chambers

We will be looking forward to reading, with interest and appreciation, copy of Gleanings of the Montgomery and Columbia Workshop. sent 5/29/56

I wrote to Mrs. Andrews last week asking her to tell us something more about the Montgomery meeting. I hope to hear from her and get her reactions too.

We have put on our calendar the date September 27-28, and I will clear that date with our Executive Secretary and also with secretary of the Program Division as soon as possible.

With appreciation.

Sincerely your friend,

Annie Tait J.
Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s

P.S.
Thank you for Findings. Have read each with much interest and pleasure. Today picked up Leaflet from Mrs. Andrews too. A wonderful sequence!
ATJ.

## SOUTH CENTRAL JURISDICTION

Jurisdiction Secretary - Mrs. Earl D. Cotton, 2023 Schiller St.,Little Rock,Ark.

Conferences:
- Central Texas - Mrs. J.Virgil James, 908 E.Ross St.,Hamilton,Tex.
- Little Rock - Mrs.George Meyer, 2404 So. Tyler, Little Rock,Ark.
- Louisiana - Mrs.C.F.Goldthwait, 6101 Louisville St., New Orleans 19,La.
- North Arkansas -- Mrs. Jeff Brown, Springdale, Ark.
- North Texas - Mrs. Jack Simms, 5621 Blue Valley Lane, Dallas
- N.W. Texas - Mrs. Henry Cusick, 2027 Ong St., Amarillo
- S.W.Texas - Mrs.T.A.Caldwell, 1626 Northumberland Road, Austin

## SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

Jurisdiction Secretary - Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson,Sr., Route 3, Laurens,S.C.

5/23

Conferences:
- Alabama - Mrs. S.R.Jones, 303 N. Orange St., Dothan,Ala.
- Florida - Mrs. Angus Barlow, 1010 Ayrshire Ave., Orlando, Fla.
- Holston - Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Box 6082, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Kentucky - Miss Mary Lena Wisehart, 25 West Villa Place, Ft.Thomas, Ky.
- Louisville - Mrs. C.Dwight Townes, 1605 Gardiner Lane,Louisville 5, Ky.
- Memphis - Mrs. George W. Stephenson,Jr., 1321 E. Court, Dyersburg, Tenn.
- Mississippi - Mrs. E. E. Deen, 206 32nd Ave., Hattiesburg, Miss.
- N. Alabama - Mrs. Herbert Stewart, 159 So. 9th St., Gadsden,Ala.
- N. C. - Mrs. J. A. Warren, Box 224, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- N.Ga. - Mrs. ~~Fred Williams~~, 508 ~~Clearwater Road, Belvedere~~,S.C.
- N. Miss. - Mrs. J.A.Burt,Jr., 1402 Sunset Circle, Clarksdale, Miss.
- S. C. - Mrs. Herbert McAbee, 509 Penwood Drive, Overbrook, Spartanburg
- So. Ga. - Mrs. L. R. Barber, Moultrie, Ga.
- Tennessee - Mrs. Henry Smith, 122 Maple St., Sparta,Tenn.
- Virginia - Mrs. W. C. Smith, 231 Broad St., Portsmouth, Va.
- Western N.C.- Mrs. Leslie E.Barnhardt, Creola Rd.,R.F.D.332, Charlotte 7,N.C.

Mrs. E. U. Robinson

Florida - Mrs. C. E. Biggerstaff, 4906 Adanson Street, Orlando, Florida

United Church Women

STATE CHAIRMEN OF

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ✓ ALABAMA | Mrs. Candler Tatum, 2422 15th Avenue South, Birmingham 5, Alabama |
| ARIZONA | Mrs. John R. Newcomer, 324 West Willetta, Phoenix, Arizona |
| ARKANSAS | Mrs. Earl D. Cotton, 2023 Schiller Street, Little Rock, Arkansas |
| NO. CALIFORNIA-NEVADA | Mrs. Frank Jepson, 1721 Francisco Street, Berkeley 3, California |
| S.CAL.-S.NEV. | Mrs. Schuyler Hoffman, 126 Spendrift, Portuguese Bend, California |
| COLORADO | Mrs. Emory Lane, 818 Josephine, Denver, Colorado |
| CONNECTICUT | Mrs. Allen W. York, 40 Middlefield Drive, West Hartford, Connecticut |
| DELAWARE | Mrs. George Jester, Landers Lane, Swanwyck, New Castle, Delaware |
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | Mrs. Oscar Shanks, 4621 Morgan Drive, Chevy Chase 15, Maryland |
| ✓ FLORIDA | ~~Mrs. L. S. Ashley, 1611 Drake Avenue, Ocala, Florida~~ |
| GEORGIA | ~~Mrs. J. K. Orr, 116 Lafayette Drive, N.E., Atlanta~~, Georgia |
| IDAHO | Mrs. Reed Moody, Route #1, Nampa, Idaho |
| ILLINOIS | Mrs. Walter Merkelbach, 714 East McCord Street, Centralia, Illinois |
| INDIANA | Mrs. D. J. Hendrickson, 39 North Webster Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana |
| IOWA | Mrs. H. E. Rosenkild, 115-1/2 First Street, S.E., Mason City, Iowa |
| KANSAS | Mrs. George W. Glenn, 103 East 14th, Hutchinson, Kansas |
| ✓ KENTUCKY | Mrs. C. A. Leutenmayer, 516 Lone Oak Road, Paducah, Kentucky |
| ✓ LOUISIANA | Mrs. E. P. Cudd, 1010 St. John, Monroe, Louisiana |
| MAINE | Mrs. Stanley Hyde, 67 Haven Road, South, Portland, Maine |
| MARYLAND | Mrs. Russell S. Callow, 240 Prince George Street, Annapolis, Maryland |
| MASSACHUSETTS | Miss Elizabeth Miller, 88 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts |
| MICHIGAN | Mrs. Jesse J. McNeil, 150 Longfellow Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan |
| MINNESOTA | Mrs. Forrest L. Richeson, 5004 Edinbrook Lane, Minneapolis, Minnesota |
| ✓ MISSISSIPPI | Mrs. I. N. Baker, Jr., 147 Cooper Road, Jackson, Mississippi |
| MISSOURI | Mrs. W. B. Easton, Jr., Box 29A, Route 3, Parkville, Missouri |
| MONTANA | Mrs. Henry Lohof, 1109 Rimrock Road, Billings, Montana |
| NEBRASKA | Mrs. Herman Marts, Nebraska City, Nebraska |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | Miss Mary E. Stearns, 89 Washington Street, Concord, New Hampshire |
| NEW JERSEY | Mrs. Edgar Compton, 106 Heller Parkway, Newark 4, New Jersey |
| NEW MEXICO | Mrs. Harry S. Jordan, 2460 B 35th Street, Los Alamos, New Mexico |
| NEW YORK | Mrs. Elmer Mould, 503 Fitch Street, Elmira, New York |
| ✓ NORTH CAROLINA | Mrs. Carrol Bryan, 210 Woodland Drive, Jacksonville, North Carolina |
| NORTH DAKOTA | Mrs. Oscar W. Olsen, 107 Third Street, Box 2957, Riverdale, North Dakota |
| OHIO | Mrs. Torrey Kaatz, 2144 Mellwood Court, Toledo, Ohio |
| OKLAHOMA | Mrs. Pursell Graham, 2221 N.W. 22nd Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma |
| OREGON | Mrs. Ralph H. Mort, 3060 N.E. 62nd, Portland 13, Oregon |
| PENNSYLVANIA | Mrs. Helen E. Heydrick, 1421 Arch Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania |
| RHODE ISLAND | Mrs. John F. Lopez, 10 Prospect Street, East Providence, Rhode Island |
| ✓ SOUTH CAROLINA | Mrs. S. A. Harvey, 15 Riverside Drive, Charleston, South Carolina |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | Mrs. Roy E. Long, Revillo, South Dakota |
| ✓ TENNESSEE | Mrs. T. T. McCarley, 2500 Ashwood Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee |
| ✓ TEXAS | Mrs. Tommie Stroud, 2524 Old Oaks Drive, Waco, Texas |
| UTAH | Mrs. Walter Jennings, Farmington, Utah |
| VERMONT | Mrs. Samuel T. Cushing, Upper Dummerston Road, Brattleboro, Vermont |
| VIRGINIA | Mrs. E. M. Doggett, 4612 Government Street, Richmond, Virginia |
| WASHINGTON-NO. IDAHO | Mrs. Roland S. Scott, South 1317 Grove, Spokane 9, Washington |
| WEST VIRGINIA | Mrs. Don Freeman, 2108 MacCorkle Avenue, S.E., Charleston, West Virginia |
| WISCONSIN | Mrs. A. R. Henry, 806 Barstow Street, Eau Claire, Wisconsin |
| WYOMING | Mrs. Malcolm Hise, 559 Marion Street, Sheridan, Wyoming |

November 1, 1955

# MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY REPORT

May 4, 1956

**2nd copy for your State C.S.R. chairman**

NEW CHAIRMAN (1957)..
(Please Print)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name of council or group reporting _____ State _____

Name of person reporting _____ Office Held _____

Address _____

Attendance at MFD program _____ What minority groups attended? _____

What was the total offering received, before being divided between local and state councils? _____

What kinds of publicity did you have? _____ (Please enclose any newspaper clippings)

Did you use the radio broadcast? _____ A film? _____

Did you use the theme "Who Forms Your Opinions?" _____

If not, will you indicate reason? _____

What was the general plan for the day? _____

Did you use the opinion poll and return copies to us? _____

Was the material in the Program Packet useful? _____

Do you plan any further study on the subject? _____

Please share your program, any suggestions or comments. Your national May Fellowship Day Committee will appreciate this very much. Use the back of this sheet if necessary.

COMMENTS:

Signed _____
1956 Chairman

Address _____

_____

Note: The offerings for May Fellowship Day are used by local and state councils in the percentage agreed upon at the state annual meeting. A large offering will help finance your own work.

SEPARATE THIS DUPLICATE REPORT; SEND ONE SHEET TO UNITED CHURCH WOMEN, 175 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK, AND ONE TO YOUR STATE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS CHAIRMAN. (SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR NAME AND ADDRESS).

# Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVE., N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

MRS. LEIGHTON M. MCCUTCHEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS MARY S. QUIDOR
TREASURER
MISS EVELYN L. GREEN
SECRETARY, PROGRAM DIVISION
MISS JANIE MCCUTCHEN
DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN GROWTH
MRS. BEN KNOX
DIRECTOR, PUBLICATIONS
MISS ANNIE TAIT JENKINS
DIRECTOR, LEADER DEVELOPMENT
MRS. H. Q. HUIE
DIRECTOR, MAIL ORDER DEPARTMENT

November 12, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Since being in the conference on October 30th I have wanted to express ~~to you~~ appreciation for the opportunity which ~~you gave~~ given not only to several of our Staff but also to some of our chairmen of Inter-Group Work in these several southern states under your jurisdiction. I thought the day was quite profitable and I only regretted that I could not be in the conference on the 31st and hear "findings" from the various groups.

I presume that there will be some sort of record prepared and mailed to those who participated so I am looking forward to having such a copy.

It is a source of real gratitude to us to know that ~~you~~ SRC make possible such conferences, and I am positive that there is a tremendous value which results during the time of such conferences and following those meetings.

With deep appreciation.

Sincerely your friend,

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins

ATJ/s

# Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVE., N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

MRS. LEIGHTON M. MCCUTCHEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 7, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council
432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

We owe you an apology for not acknowledging your letter of February 18, inviting us to attend the Workshop March 1, 1957. That was the day on which I returned to Atlanta after about five weeks absence from the office, and I was in the office the following day- but there were many things to be done, and there was also a two days absence that first week after my return. Then last week other things came up unexpectedly and, therefore, it was not possible for me to be away on March 1st., to be with you in that Workshop.

Yesterday, Mrs. James O. Cobb was in the office and told me how much she thought the workshop meant to her and that it was a mighty fine program you had arranged.

Appreciate being included in this Program, and hope you will remember me in any future similar programs.

As usual, we are happy to have findings, or minutes of any such meetings and appreciate enclosures you sent with your recent letter.

With best wishes to you.

Sincerely, your friend

Annie Tait Jenkins

Annie Tait Jenkins,
Associate, Leadership Education Department.

ATJ:ns

April 17, 1956

Miss Susan Gower Smith
3437 Dover Road
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Susan Gower Smith:

The nearest I get to you anytime soon is Greensboro, where I have to be at some sort of Institute about home life from the morning of Wednesday, April 25th through most of Saturday, April 28th. I will be staying at Bennett College and being part of discussion groups and speechmaking on each of those days.

If you or anybody with you could come over to Greensboro then, I would be delighted to confer. And I have some ideas on the matter.

I am a feeble Episcopalian. I think Irene Osborne is a Campbellite, but I am not sure. Anyway, Irene worked for the Am rican Friends Service Committee in Washington on putting the schools together. And now she is on loan to us from AFSC and is about at the end of six months of trotting around fiercely and telling reluctant listeners, in this part of the world, how to do the needed job.

I do hope there will be some way for us to be together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

# DURHAM MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

CLERK
SUSAN GOWER SMITH
3437 DOVER ROAD
DURHAM, N. C.

TREASURERS
WILLARD E. BERRY
C. FREDERICK KELLERS

ELDERS
DONALD K. ADAMS
KATHARINE M. BANHAM
FRANCIS JEFFERS

SPONSORS:
WALDO BEACH
JOHN BRADWAY
JOHN A. BUCHANAN
WARREN CARR
S. C. CHAMBERS
JAMES T. CLELAND
FRANK T. DE VYVER
E. J. EVANS
EDGAR B. FISHER
WATTS HILL, JR.
J. NEAL HUGHLEY
CLAUDE M. MAY
ELIJAH E. MENEFEE, JR.
JAMES H. PHILLIPS
FRANK A. PIERSON
KELSEY REGEN
MARY BIDDLE TRENT
MAMIE DOWD WALKER

March 29, 1956

Dear Friend:

Much has happened since you heard from us in 1953 and we should like to give you a progress report.

Actual construction on our Meeting House started February 16, 1956. Even the workmen have caught the spirit and, as a result, things are moving along rapidly and well. The building should be finished easily by June.

The dedication service is set for September 23, 1956, and Douglas V. Steere of Haverford College will be with us for that occasion. We hope that many Friends over the country will be able to come and share with us this wonderful event.

We are grateful that we had Elbert Russell as founder and spiritual guide in the early days of our Meeting. His nobility of spirit and indomitable courage, always ready to take the stand he felt was right even in the most controversial issues, have been an example to all of us. Our Meeting House is a memorial to him, outstanding Quaker scholar, minister, historian and educator. The dedication services are being held just five years after his death in September, 1951.

We have also been fortunate in a material way. Because of the generosity of Durham citizens and of Friends about the country we now have on hand slightly more than $12,000.00 and the promise of an additional $3,000.00. This, with the amount we hope to raise within our own membership, will leave only about $3,000.00 to complete the project.

If you feel that you want to contribute again towards our building fund (The Durham Monthly Meeting of Friends, Inc.), we shall be very grateful, if not, we shall still treasure your good will.

Cordially and sincerely,

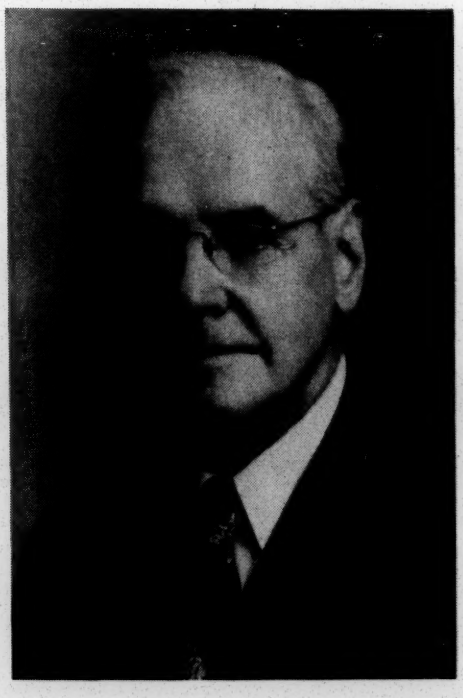
Susan Gower Smith

Susan Gower Smith, Clerk

# Durham Monthly Meeting
# Society of Friends

**Quaker**

# Durham, N. C.



## A Meeting House

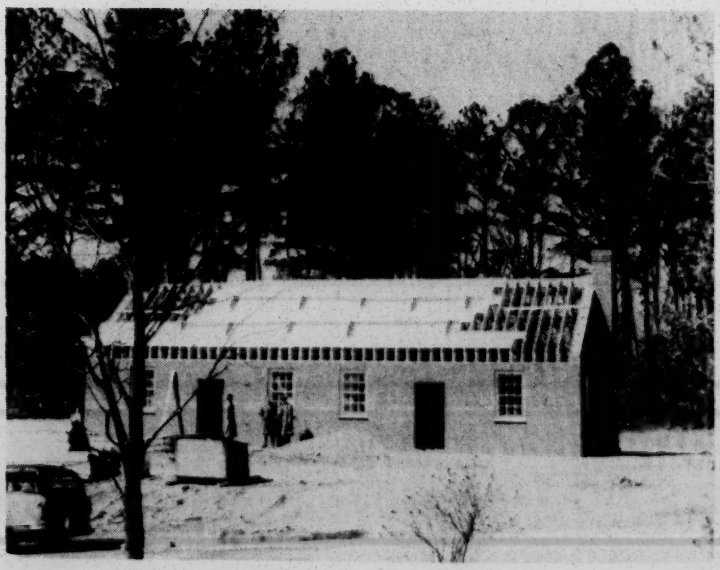
## In Memory Of

## Elbert Russell

You may be interested to learn of the progress made by the Durham Friends with respect to the building of a Meeting House. We have been fortunate in the confidence and the generosity of the Durham people and of Friends from all parts of the country. Because of this and our own faith we started construction on a simple but durable little Meeting House in February 1956. When completed this building will provide a favorable place for "centering down" into that calm repose so essential for the silent form of worship used by the Durham Meeting of Friends.

The group, brought together in 1943 by Elbert Russell, started meeting in the homes of different members. Months later it began to meet regularly on two First Days of each month, at various places on the Duke University campus. This continued for several years, when the decision was made to meet each First Day, but as before always in the evening. In 1955 it became possible to start holding our regular First Day services at the usual hour of 11 A.M. For this purpose we had acquired a small temporary building, formerly used as a construction office and later moved onto the rear of our lot at 404 Alexander Avenue. Before it could be used much had to be done and the fellowship experienced in this work drew us closer together and made us love the little structure although we realized it was only a temporary solution to our problem. At present we are continuing to meet here but meanwhile we have made plans for the present building, typical of Quaker Meeting Houses and shown here in the process of construction.

Our Cypress Lumber Arrived From Murfreesboro and Construction Began Feb. 16, 1956.



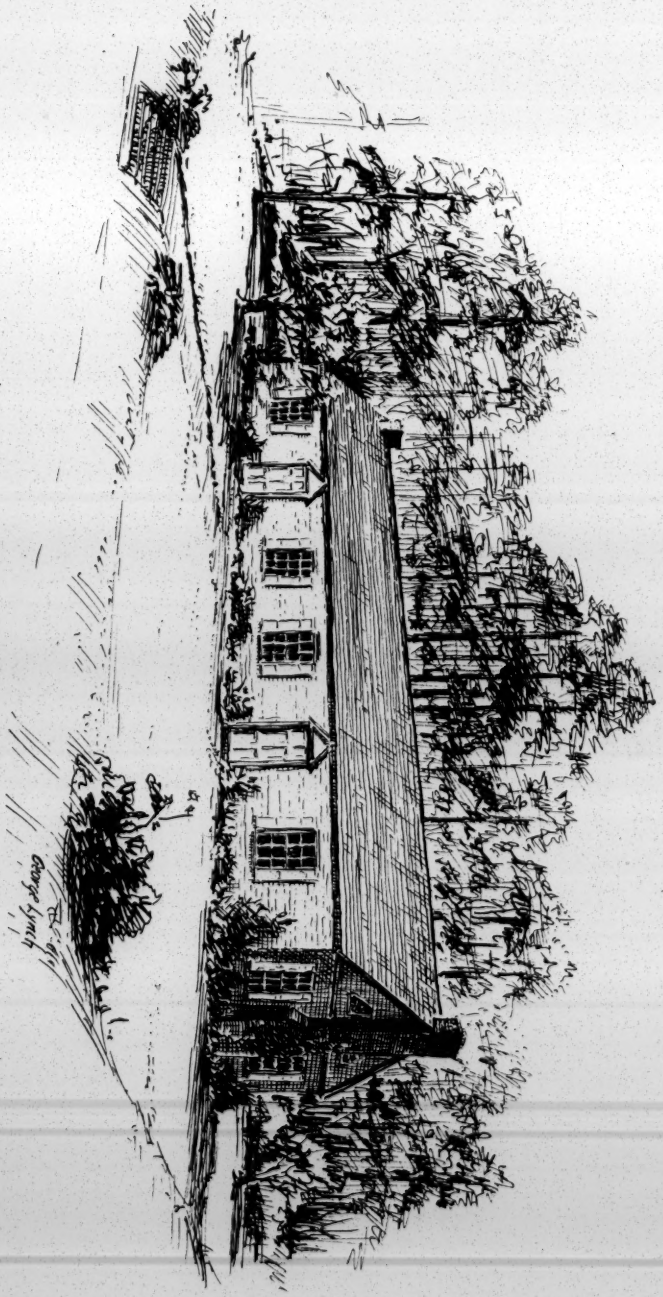
March 25, 1956

Believing as they do that a Christian life is more important than a Christian profession, Friends have embraced a deep but simple faith, one without formal creed. According to Elbert Russell in his HISTORY OF QUAKERISM: "The message which George Fox and his co-religionists brought to their contemporaries was not a system of doctrine. They had tapped afresh the sources of spiritual power in Christianity; they had found a new way of life, and they set out to live it uncompromisingly and to invite all men to share it. For them Christianity ceased to be a set of forms and 'notions' that left the moral life practically untouched. It became the basis of a new type of first hand experience. There is an intense feel of reality in their messages."

And so in this spirit Durham Friends gather each First Day morning in silent meditation. This corporate silence may lead to a spoken message or out of it may come only a deepened insight into truth or a clarifying sense of obligation. Any person who lives responsibly may have access to this deeper source of strength and guidance which transcends and gives purpose to life.

---

The present state of the world and the whole of life is diseased. If I were a doctor and were asked for my advice, I should reply: Create silence! Bring men to silence. The word of God cannot be heard in the noisy world of today. And even if it were blazoned forth with all the panoply of noise so that it could be heard in the midst of all the other noise, then it would no longer be the word of God. Therefore create silence. (Kierkegaard)



PROPOSED MEETING HOUSE

## THE MEETING

And so, I find it
well to come
For deeper rest to
this still room,
For here the habit
of the soul
Feels less the outer
world's control;
The strength of mutual
purpose pleads
More earnestly our
common needs;
And from the silence
multiplied
By these still forms on
either side,
The world that time and
sense have known
Falls off and leaves us
God alone.

—JOHN G. WHITTIER.

3437 Dover Road
Durham N.C.
April ~~May~~ 10. 1956

RECEIVED APR 11 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia.

Dear Friend:

I am wondering if either you or Irene Osborne expect to be in or near Durham in the near future? If so I would like very much to talk to you about the race problem. Ralph Rose has written me concerning an article on this subject and I would like very much to have your idea of

the present situation — particular regarding trends as you see them.

My feeling accords with that of Marks Ethridge (Time Mag May 5) that the Supreme Court ruling was right and it was inevitable. However that decision put everybody (No not everybody - but every status quo. conservative) on guard because it made them realize what was going on in a dignified and legal manner in the direction of integration. It was thus inevitable that there would be a set back in race relations but how significant or far reaching this is

I do not know and am hoping that you or Irene Osborne can help me.

Cordially and sincerely

Susan Gower Smith

[Durham Monthly Meeting of Friends]

P.S. I'm a little confused. Are you or Irene Osborne Friends? If so you may be interested in our building project and so I shall enclose our folder and letter to Friends which was recently mailed out. We feel that we are near the

realization of our dream and aim.
Very happy —
S.G.S.

# Quaker Program at the United Nations

Friends World Committee
for Consultation
American Friends Service
Committee

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 2-2745

August 6, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 10 1959

Harold C. Fleming
South Regional Council
60 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your list of Media folks.

We plan to work out with Philadelphia the releases and promotion of Race and Conscience. We probably will use the entire list you sent.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Associate Director

/ama

EMORY VIA
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE N E
ATLANTA GEORGIA

# Western Work

Published by Western Yearly Meeting of Friends

Volume XXIII | December, 1959 - January, 1960 | Number 6

## Commission On Church Extension Launches Program

The establishment of a Commission on Church Extension was authorized by Western Yearly Meeting in its Aug. sessions. The belief was expressed that if we are to live as a Church we must begin to reach out beyond ourselves. This Commission is made up of twelve persons from the Yearly Meeting, appointed from various areas on the basis of their concern in this project. George Castle, the newly appointed chairman of the Commission, in a letter to the Monthly Meetings states the reason for Church Extension is that we are convinced that Friends have a message and a purpose, but our membership has declined while our nation has had rapid growth in population. We feel that we must cultivate a stronger, vital religious community, or base, from which to minister to the needs of the world. We hope the original missionary zeal will inspire us."

The Commission has had its first meeting and has organized with George Castle, chairman, Lowell Mills, vice-chairman, and Gail Freeman, secretary. Already a number of areas have been suggested as possible areas for the establishment of new Meetings. These areas will be studied, and if it seems advisable a person will be put on the field to cultivate the area to bring together persons interested in the establishment of a Meeting.

The time has come for Western Yearly Meeting to experience new growth; not just for the sake of numbers, but for the sake of its own spiritual life, and the growth of the Kingdom of God. If we reach out we will grow. If we remain encased in our own area of limited activity and concern we will die!

When we begin to do something for the Kingdom of God **around** us we will find that something is happening within us. Spiritual concern will mean spiritual growth.

There are two things each Meeting can do, and should do, **now.** The first of these is to set aside 2% of your total budget for use of the Commission on Church Extension. This should be sent to the Yearly Meeting treasurer, Elvin Shepherd, and marked for Church Extension. This is not an assesment, but a voluntary action. The effectiveness of the work will depend upon the wholehearted concern and willingness of each Meeting. Your blessing will come as you give joyously to the extension of God's Kingdom.

The second thing you can do is to join, and promote, the 300 Club (which we hope will become a 500 Club). We are asking persons to volunteer to join others in pledging to give $10.00 for each new project, nor to exceed two, in any one year. Sign the form on the back page of this issue of Western Work. Send the form to Norval E. Webb, 207 S. East Street, Plainfield. The money will be called for as a project is started. Send the money to Elvin Shepherd, and mark it for the 300 Club.

Let us become channels through which the Spirit may work in the extension of God's Kingdom in the world. Give this newly appointed Commission tools with which to work for the Church, for Western Yearly Meeting, and for the Kingdom of God.

## Stewardship In Balance

We well remember the account of the Good Samaritan, how "he had compassion, — bound up his wounds, — brought him to an inn, — took care of him, — gave them (two denarii) to the innkeeper, — whatever more you spend, I will repay." His stewardship was well-balanced. He shared his compassion at first sight of the injured man, he used his ability in first aid, and walked that the bandaged man might ride. He gave his time freely, staying overnight at the inn to attend to the dressings, gave the innkeeper what coins he could spare at the moment, then gave a pledge to pay any additional amount necessary when he returned.

The story would not have served its purpose if the Samaritan had placed a limit on his giving. Had he not felt a concern for the man's welfare, had he left the man unattended by the side of the road after dressing his wounds, or had he left him at the inn without providing funds for his further care, his stewardship would have been less than complete and we would never have had Luke's account of Jesus' reply to the questioning lawyer.

Is our individual stewardship limited to something less than complete, so that it is out of balance? Does it consist of giving a portion of only one of the many gifts we receive in trust from God? Balanced stewardship calls for us to dedicate a portion of each gift in Christian service.

As individuals we may feel that we cannot possibly give a portion of our time in addition to the share of treasure we are giving. Or we may believe that our personal abilities are so insignificant as to be useless in the life and work of the Meeting, so we do not consider dedicating a portion of them to Christian service. Perhaps we should evaluate our gifts of time and abilities and consider their use in the light of Matthew 10:8 — "Freely ye have received, freely give." Finest spiritual rewards come from a balanced stewardship, when our giving of time and abilities match our portion of treasure dedicated to the work of the Kingdom.

As a means of encouraging its members to develop this balanced personal stewardship, one of our Monthly Meetings has included a questionaire as a part of its Every Member Canvass this year. Entitled "Service Opportunities, Unlimited", it is designed to discover interests and abilities in the membership as a basis for placement on committees, Sunday School staff, or in other areas of Meeting activities. Approximately fifty opportunities for Christian service in the Meeting are listed, each accompanied by two spaces for checking. The first space indicates "Check here if you have served or are now serving, the second,

(Continued on Page Four)

# Missionary Concern And Activities

## Missionary Homes in Africa Need Basic Furnishings

When a missionary family goes to Friends Africa Mission in Kenya, they go into a house where basic furniture is provided by the Mission. This includes dining room furniture consisting of a table, a buffet and six chairs; a cooking unit, including a stove, a refrigerator and a cupboard; bedroom furniture consisting of a bed for each person, achest of drawers, a bedside table and a chair for each bedroom; and living room furnishings including three arm chairs and a set of bookshelves. At best, the living rooms are austere.

The provision of basic furniture relieves the Mission Board and the missionary family of the heavy cost of transporting furniture across the esa. Though it is not possible to buy furniture in the stores in Kenya, good furniture can be made locally, and it is a good thing for the economy of the country when the Mission can patronize local craftsmen.

Today there is not enough basic furniture on the field to supply all the missionary families and single workers with even the minimum essentials listed above. There is no furniture not in use; no persons or families have more than they are entitled to under the listing of "basic furniture"; some lack even that much. To deny missionaries newly arrived of such necessities would be to help lower morale; neither can basic articles be taken away from those already on the field; no one has a surplus. Funds are needed immediately to fill needs that make the difference between privation and comfortable living. Following is a list that shows the approximate cost of a number of separate articles of furniture, so that givers may have an idea of how much their contribution is able to provide in a home. All but the refrigerators can be supplied locally.

| | |
|---|---|
| refrigerator | $350.00 |
| stove | 100.00 |
| buffet | 54.00 |
| dining table | 50.00 |
| chest of drawers | 35.00 |
| double bed | 35.00 |
| single bed | 28.50 |
| book shelves | 18.50 |
| kitchen table | 16.00 |
| arm chair | 15.00 |
| bedside table | 11.00 |
| straight chair | 5.00 |

# THANK YOU! THANK YOU!

The following letter is from Najla Shahla, the Arab Quaker lady who is the teacher of the Literacy School held on the grounds of Friends Girls School in Ramallah for the illeterate women and young girls who have no other chance to learn to read. This school has been supported for about three years by the U. S. F. W. of Western Yearly Meeting.

"We are so grateful to our dear friends that gathered the money for the Literacy School to run this year. Truly I say that the school is increasing and helping a lot of refugee girls and also some Ramallah women who never had a chance to learn to read.

"Every body that comes to visit the school says that it is very important and a good Christian service.

"Last month I took in two girls who came from a village near Nablus and never had a chance to go to school. Now they are in the Aramy Camp for refugees near Ramallah. They heard about the school, and they come every day. "I have four more new girls who are very poor and have to do the work of servants in homes, so they never go to school. These are coming every day to take lessons, after they finish their morning's work in the houses where they are employed. Among these four is a girl who has two brothers who are deaf mutes. She is the only one of the children in the family who can talk. She is very eager to learn to read and write and her family also are anxious to see their girl reading and writing. She is very bright and doing well. She is one of the pupils who hate to have a vacation.

"I have another girl who is living with an old grandmother, baceuse her father and mother did not agree in life, so they left each other and neglected their children. Now the girl is in my school and comes every day and is doing well. "One woman who comes has a brother and a sister in America, and she is learning so that she can write to them. Because she is alone, she has time to practice reading a lot. She comes to my sister, Nahmeh, who is a village worker, you know, and gets copies of the gospels and little religious books and reads them. She enjoys reading them for herself so much and they keep her from feeling so lonesome.

"The girls from the factories here in town still come at their noon hour (instead of eating lunch) to get their lessons.

"I think I told you about the poor couple who opened a little shop in Baitunia, a village a few miles from Ramallah. The wife learned to read when they were living in Ramallah, and I also gave her lessons in arithmetic in the school, so now in Baitunia she is keeping the accounts of the shop for her husband who is himself illiterate. Whenever my sister goes to Baitunia in her village work, they call out to her as she passes in the street and ask her to come in and visit with them in the shop. The husband always gives great thanks to the school that taught her. (the Literacy School.)

"I have a woman who is coming to learn to read and write because her little boy is now old enough to be in school, and when he would come home from school and ask her questions about his lessons, she was ashamed not to be able to answer. She is naturally bright, and she learns quickly. She tells me that now she can give him dictation at home so that he does not miss a word of it at school next day.

"Give my regards and thanks to the women of Western Yearly Meeting for me from the women and girls of the Literacy School. You can trust that the money you gave for the school will not go in vain."

With our love to you, our
far distant friends,
Jajla Shahla, teacher.

# "You Are Called"

Ephesians 4:1-6 is given as the scripture for this year's theme for the United Society of Friends Women. Yes, the woman membership of the local meeting and any others who desire to further the purposes of the society may be members of the Women's Society, therefore, "YOU ARE CALLED".

Each Society should read and study anew the PURPOSE of the Woman's Society.

Does your Society have copies of the Western Yearly Meeting Handbook? There are suggestions for the Department Secretaries and a list of the Projects you should help to support on the National level.

Start planning now to make your payment to the "Keys of the Kingdom" early in the year 1960 so that Western Yearly Meeting U.S.F.W. will be able to meet their goal.

YOU ARE CALLED to attend the Mid-Year Conference on April 26th, 1960, at the Mooresville Meetinghouse. Hope to see you then.

Helen Hollingsworth, Pres.
Western Yearly Meeting, USFW

## The Vision of Friends Today

**(Second-place essay given at Yearly Meeting-**

I, as a young Friend realize that in the future we are going to have a great racial problem to face. But rather than a problem we should look at it as a challenge or a goal to meet.

People are not born superior or inferior. If they happen to be born into a good home chances are they will have a good start in life. But they weren't born superior. Suppose an American was born and raised in China. He would most likely speak Chinese, not because it is a racial trait or because he inherited it, but because he speaks the way the people around him speak. Thus, people aren't born war or peace loving; they must be taught and trained.

Civilization was not caused by any certain race. All the races have gone together and found a great civilization Eact race added it's contribution to human knowledge. When people are isolated they find no need for inventions and, therefore, survive by old traditional methods. When grouped together people contribute what arts of life they have and these contributions accumulate over the centuries to make us a wiser people.

There are only three primary races in the world today, the Caucasion Race, the Mongoloid Race, and the Negroid Race. Aryan, Jews, and Italians are not races. Aryans are people who speak Indo-European, "Aryan" languages. Jews are people who practice the Jewish religion. Italians are a nationality coming from Italy.

As far back as the scientist can go he finds proof that men move around in the world. At first, travel was by foot; but travel improved and with it the mixing of races continued until now there is no pure race.

Race prejudice isn't an old universal instinct. Actually it is hardly one hundred years old. People were persecuted because of their religion not their race. Negroes were enslaved because they were pagan — not for being black. People shudder to think of all the blood shed in religious conflicts. But now race conflicts are almost as terrible. Why should their be racial difficulty when our nation is a mixture of all kinds of races? Weak nations are afraid of stronger nations and too people are afraid of another's political or economical power. They are afraid of revenge for past injuries; they are afraid of social rejection. Conflicts can grow on fear. Steps are being taken to disolve these fears and conflicts. There are a number of organizations working for democratic race equality.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is trying to college educate one out of ten Negroes. The goal in this action is that the Negroes which receive a college education will serve as an example or leader for the young Negroes. As a result the standard of living of the Negro race as a whole will be raised.

Other such groups are The East-West Association, which is emphasizing the importance of racial understanding between Asiatic and Western people; the China Institute which is promoting the work of Chinese students in America and the Phelps-Stokes Foundation which is trying to cement relations between the two continents, Africa and North America.

Education in the school and church would help bring about a change in this conflict. Prayer and guidance on the part of the parent would also help meet our challenge.

— Mary Marlow

# MEETING NEWS

### CARMEL

On the evening of September 20th a reception was given in the social room for Murray and Savilla Johnson.

A welcome was extended by Marcus Kendal land others followed by short talks by the Johnsons.

Virginia Gustafson led the group singing and the girls trio furnished two songs.

The Morning Circle of the U.S.F.W. entertained with a 9:00 a.m. breakfast September 23rd for the three circles. An interesting program was given.

The Dessie Hershey Circle observed guest day November 10th with Lela Mills as guest speaker who told of her work among the American Indians.

Speakers for the Missionary Conference held here November 7-8 included Robert and Carol Mills, Earl Barlor, Clara Weaver and Landrum Bolling. The closing address on Sunday morning was given by Landrum Bolling when our offerings for special projects amounted to $140.00.

The Quaker Comrades class met at the parsonage Sunday evening, November 8th, with Murray and Savilla Johnson and Harold and Ermima Kaiser as hosts. Leonard Compton gave the Devotions and Nellie Houecker of Marion was in charge of the program.

New members welcome into the church recently were Herschel and Georgia Kitchens, Jack, Mildred, and John Graves, and Murray and Savilla Johnson.

On Sunday, January 3rd, Dr. Elton Trueblood of Earlham College will be the speaker for the morning service. For the evening service, Samuel Emerick, Director of the Yokefellow Movement, will speak on the work of this organization.

### INDIANAPOLIS FIRST FRIENDS

The annual Quaker Council luncheon meeting was held Oct. 6 at the Meeting House. Helen Spradling president, welcomed new members and guests. Mildred Pearson program chairman, presented Mrs. Helen Woden, a former member of our choir, who sang a slection of favorite songs. Ruth Haramy, Mrs. Leta Shonle and Mrs. Arthur Krick gave their impressions of the Middle East as they saw it on a tour of that area last May. They are members of a group of twenty eight sent by the organization known as "American Friends of the Middle East" to act as "missionaries to the people". They visited Egypt where they talked with Nasser and with officials in Lebanon, Isarael and Jordan. They were cordially received every where and through their interviews with men of state and many common people, they were able to gain a better understanding of the countrie's needs and their feelings towards the United States.

October 25, John Haramy spoke to the adult classes during the Sunday School hour about his impressions of the trip. During the worship period he brought a message on "America's Destiny" inspired by conversations he had with persons in the Middle East who felt that America's Destiny was to act as a leader and guide for the faltering people of the world.

The First Friends Men sponsored a sizeable project this summer in building cabinets for two Sunday School rooms and the A. F. sewing room. The Quaker Council contributed funds for the materials an dthe men gave some six hundred hours of work to complete the job.

At 11:30, November 3 ,Group meetings of Quaker Council were held in the church for devotions and business. Following a sack lunch at 12 a program was given by members of Group 2. Marilyn Overman showed pictures of Africa with interesting comments. Mary Diaz gave a cmoprehensive evaluation of "The Challenging Africa".

### QUARTERLY MEETING HOLDS TRAINING SCHOOL

The meetings in Vermilion Quarterly Meeting, Western Yearly Meeting, are learning the power and effectiveness of cooperative efforts. They have

(Continued on Page Five)

# WESTERN WORK

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**EDITORIAL STAFF**

**Norval E. Webb, Editor**
**James R. Furbay**
**Clarence Bugher**

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# VITAL STATISTICS

### Deaths

CATT — Alonzo D. Catt, 64, 623 E. Walnut St., Kokomo, Inidana, died early Saturday morning, October 24, of a coronary occlusion. He had worked at his place of employment on Friday. He was a member of Union Street Friends Church and the Fellowship Class. Survivors include the widow, two sons, Lewis of Cleveland, Ohio, and David of Kokomo; three daughters, Marjorie Weaver of Westfield, Evelyn Smith of Kokomo, and Carolyn a student at Sibley Hospital, Washington, D. C. Funeral services were held at Fenn Funeral Home with Norman E. Young officiating.

KIDDER — Ward R. Kidder, 51, died at 8:30 p.m., Saturday, October 31, after a long illness. He was one of 10 children of the late Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Kidder. He was a member of Union Street Friends Church. Survivors include the widow, two daughters, Betsy and Cheryl, both at home; three brothers and four sisters. Funeral services were held at Union Street Friends Church, Norman E. Younf officiating.

WOODARD — Edward M. Woodard, well-known Friends minister, died Wednesday morning (October 14, 1959) at the home of his son, John of Bloomingdale. Beloved "Ed", as everyone knew him, had preached in many churches throughout Parke County. He served as Evangelistic Chairman of Western Yearly Meeting at one time. Also he spent two terms as a Representative from his home County during which he was a strong foe of the liquor traffic. However, he is best remembered for the unusually large number of marriages and funeral services at which he so capably presided. Most of his 89 years were spent in his home County and he was very fond of his home Meeting at Bloomingdale; which, needless to say feels his loss greatly.

Besides the son, John of Bloomingdale, he is survived by another son, Charles of San Diego, Calif., two grandchildren and six great-grandchildren. A son, Francis of Georgetown, Ill., preceded him in death this Spring.

Memorial services in charge of Sarah E. Rayle were held in the Bloomingdale Friends Meeting House.

WEAVER — Edgar Weaver, husband of Maggie Weaver, Kokomo, Indiana, passed away suddenly at St. Joseph Hospital on July 17. Funeral services were held with Norman Young officiating. Survivors include the widow and two daughters.

SPARKS — Maniel Sparks, manager of Western Union in Kokomo, passed away on July 30, at St. Joseph Hospital. Norman Young officiated at the funeral services. Survivors include the widow, Jaunita, two daughters, Norma Dunn and Janet Aaron of Kokomo, and a son, Donn, of Washington.

### Marriages

VOURAX-REYNOLDS — Ruth Eleanor Reynolds, daughter of Allen and Izetta Reynolds, and Myron Vourax, son of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Vourax of Detroit, Michigan, were married on October 24th at Second Friends Church, Indianapolis; Allen Reynolds, father of the bride, officiating.

COMSTOCK-LONG — Martha Long and Carl Comstock were united in marriage on August 15th.

LONG-JESSUP — Marcia Sue Jessup and Thomas D. Long were united in marriage on September 26th.

ANDERSON?SYMONS — Dorotha Symons of Carmel and Benjamin Anderson of Plainfield were united in marriage on October 25th.

JUSTICE-HARRIS — Sondra Fierke Harris and Michael Rae Justice were united in marriage on August 22 at Union Street Friends Church with Norman E. Young, officiating. The couple will reside in Kokomo.

### Births

KRATZER — Born to Jack and Gloria Kratzer, Kokomo, Inidana, a girl, Kelly Jo, on October 20.

VAN SICKLE — Born to Bill and Barbara VanSickle, Kokomo, Indiana, a boy, Kent Russell, on October 31.

DEGLER — Born to Trevor and Sylvia Degler, Kokomo, Inidana, a boy, Dennis Grant, on November 9.

FIELDS — Born to Don and Betty Fields, September 22nd, a son named Spencer De.

WHITE — Born to Dean and Mary Lou Pearson White of Clinton, the latter a member of the Bloomingdale Meeting, on August 28, a son, Douglas Dean.

CHAPMAN — Born to Clifford and Dorothy Hadley Chapman of Marshall, members of the Bloomingdale Meeting, on September 1, a daughter, Martha Jane.

WALKER — Born to James and Mary Ironmonger Walker on May 28, a boy, Brian Lee, at Kokomo, Indiana.

BRINLEY — Born to Peter and Jo Anne Fierke Briney, June 24, a boy, Douglas Ray, at Kokomo, Indiana.

KNOTTS — Born to James and Barbara Knotts, Kokomo, Indiana, a girl, Beth Elaine, on June 27.

SIPAHIGIL — Born to Teoman and and Jeanne Rhine Sipahigil, Richmond, Indiana, a boy, Stuart Anthony, on July 4.

MOSS — Born to Wayne and Rebecca Moss, Kokomo, Indiana, a boy, David Wayne, on July 10.

OREN — Born to William and Helen Oren, Kokomo, Indiana, a boy, William Allen, on August 6.

DUNN — Born to Jesse and Norma Dunn, Kokomo, Indiana, a boy, Timothy Allen, on August 16.

## STEWARDSHIP IN BALANCE

(Continued from Page One)

"Check here if you are interested and are willing to serve." A paragraph introduces the form — "The responsibilities in the Meeting are many and varied, providing opportunities for each member to contribute a share of his time and his abilities to the life of the Meeting. Which areas of service are your special interests? To which of these are you willing to give a portion of your time and your abilities, as a faithful steward of these gifts from God? Carefully consider the items listed below, checking those which indicate your interests and abilities. By so doing, you will help your Meeting to achieve its program. In turn, it will be of better service to you."

This questionaire is accompanied by a friendly letter from the Monthly Meeting Stewardship Committee explaining its purpose and encouraging the member to include the giving of time and talent in balanced personal stewardship.

Does not such an endeavor represent an important responsibility of the local Stewardship Committee — that of leading and encouraging Meeting members to develop balanced personal stewardship as a part of their Christian lives?

# EARLHAM PROPOSES A SCHOOL OF THE MINISTRY AT EARLHAM

**By Wilmer A. Cooper**

The following is an excerpt from a report of a survey undertaken to study the need and possibility of establishing a School of the Ministry for Friends. The survey was sponsored by Earlham College and financed by Lilly Endowment, Inc. It was carried out over a six months period, between April and September of this year, and was nationwide in scope covering most of the Friends Yearly Meetings and Friends colleges.

Those wishing a fuller treatment of the subject should read the November 16 issue of The American Friends, or write to Wilmer Cooper at Earlham College for a reprint of that article. The portion of the survey here printed has to do only with the proposal for a School of the Ministry at Earlham College.

### Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of a Graduate School of the Ministry for Friends would be to train and prepare men and women for the Christian ministry within the tradition of Friends. Its leadership objectives would include pastoral ministry, teaching ministry, writing ministry, lay ministry of Quaker outreach.

### Distinctive Features

An attempt was made in the survey to find out what should be the distinctive features of such a school apart from a program of academic excellence.

1. It should be a school with a distinctively Quaker orientation and should emphasize a Friends approach to Christian faith.

2. It should stress firsthand religious experience and the idea of commitment and growth in the spiritual life.

3. It should not only expect students to grow spiritually and intellectually but to become mature persons emotionally and psychologically.

4. Emphasis should be placed upon the development of an intimate Christian felowship on the part of the teachers and students in the school.

5. Training in Christian Education should be centrally emphasized.

6. Stress should be placed upon training for lay responsibility in the ministry.

7. It should relate Christianity in a positive and constructive way to the rapidly changing non-Christian world religions.

8. It should help students to become aware of the world in which they live and to develop a sense of social and political concern.

9. It should be a place where Friends could study and worship in a scholarly atmosphere and think through the nature and purpose of Quakerism as well as wrestle with basic problems of religious truth.

10. The education of women for various phases of the ministry and Christian service should be emphasized.

11. Every student should be given basic training in organization, finance, and administration for work in the meeting.

12. Leaders should be trained who know how to build new meetings.

13. In teaching methods stress should be placed upon seminars and tutorial work.

14. A revolving teaching chair for an outstanding visiting professor each year should be established.

### Curriculum and Teaching Staff

In order to work toward accreditation the following four areas of study would have to be included: Biblical, historical, theological and practical. The curriculum would be geared to a three year program of study leading to either the Bachelor of Divinity or the Master of Theology degree.

A minimum of four full-time teaching faculty would be required, one in each of the four major areas of the curriculum. In addition, other part-time teachers would be required to offer specific courses, particularly in the practical field. Before full accreditation could be expected a minimum of six full-time faculty would be required. The success or failure of the school would depend largely on the faculty selected.

### SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING PROGRAM

The survey indicated a definite demand for a program in addition to, and perhaps prior to, the proposal School for the Ministry. This would be to meet the needs of several groups of persons who would either not qualify to enter the graduate school or who would not want to pursue their training that far. To meet these needs an expansion of existing undergraduate study might be undertaken in three forms. The first would be a sum-

(Continued on Page Seven)

### MEETING NEWS

(Continued from Page Three)

been working as a unit on several projects.

A Leadership Training Institute was been planned and sponsored by the Quarterly Meeting. Beginning Sept. 27, it ran for six Sunday evenings.

Six courses were provided: "How to Study the Bible" and "What Friends Believe and Why", both taught by Norval E. Webb, Superintendent of Western Yearly Meeting.

"Guiding Religiously the Growing Child" and "Your Home Can Be Christian" were led by Helen Dawson and Mary Elizabeth Brunson of Plainfield.

"Work with Teen-Age Youth" was under the leadership of Dorothy Majors, of Ridgefarm, and Lawrence Peery, of Thorntown, Indiana.

And A. Willard Mendenhall, pastor at Vermilion Grove, taught a course on "The Preparation and Use of Audio-Visual Aids."

James R. Furbay, pastor at Ridgefarm, serving as dean of the school, and Stacy E. Wesner, pastor at Georgetown, worship leader.

One hundred persons enrolled in the school.

### VERMILION AREA FRIENDS HOLD LECTURE SERIES

One of the many successful united efforts in Vermilion Quarterly Meeting, Illinois, has been a Sunday Evening Lecture Series. These are sponsored by Georgetown, Vermilion Grove, and Ridgefarm Meeting. THE THEME: GREAT ISSUES IN THE CHANGING WORLD.

The second series opened on October 4, at Ridgefarm. They are held on the first Sunday evening in each month from October to March.

The opening lecture was given to a full house of about 300, by the local pastor's brother, Dr. John H. Furbay, educator, lecturer, world traveler and air line executive. He spoke on "The Shape of Things to Come."

As educational director of EWA, his work has taken him frequently to four continents, where he has had contacts with educational, civic, business, and governmental leaders. He called for an above-the-world view which minimizes the differences of race, language and custom, and that emphasizes the human race.

He stated that this century sees four dreams or demands emerging, which are as follows: World peace, freedom from hunger and want, self-determination and self-government, and human dignity and worth of the individual person. He called upon us to help to

(Continued on Page Six)

# Christian Education News and Activities

## Five Years Meeting Program for Children

### July 14-21, 1960

There will be a planned program for children in both the mornings and afternoons during the sessions of the Five Years Meeting, July 14-21, 1960, as well as nursery care for the younger children.

Junior High and Senior High young Friends will have their own programs also; so Friends families are urged to start planning now to make attendance at the Five Years Meeting sessions in the summer of 1960 a real family affair. More information will come in a later issue.

### ARE YOU USING VISUAL AIDS?

The following filmstrips are available and may be secured from Mary Elizabeth Brunson, 118 S. Mill St., Plainfield. A slide-filmstrip projector is also available for use from the same address. Help your meeting grow by using some of these helpful filmstrips somewhere in your Christian Education program. Fifty cents, plus return postage, is the rental fee.

**For Leadership Training:**

"Goals of the Church for Children"
"The Church Plans for the Children"
"The Nursery Child and the Church"
"The Kindergarten Child and the Church"
"The Primary Child and the Church"
"The Junior Child and the Church"
"Learn a Lot and Like It" (on adult education-

(All the above have records and scripts)

**On the Christian Family:**

"The Christian Family"
"A Family Affair"

**On Stewardship:**

"Two Dollars' (with record)

**For Use with Children:**

"The Story of the Good Samaritan" (primary, junior)
"The Seasons" (kindergarten, primary)
"Spring Is Here, "Summer Is Here", and "Winter Is Here"
"Grandfather's Boyhood Thanksgiving" (junior through adult)
"Happy Days with Carol and Peter" (Thanksgiving) for primary
"Let's Keep Christmas" (based on Peter Marshall's sermon), junior through adult.
"Puppy for Christmas" (kindergarten, primary)
"Happy Days with Carol and Peter" (Christmas) primary

(Continued on Page Eight)

## With Our Young Friends

The Youth Department of the Yearly Meeting met for a planning session on October 24th. Out of that session came plans for the work of the coming year.

Nancy Cox was named as Western Yearly Meeting's representative to the Five Years Meeting sessions to be held at Earlham College in July, 1960. Nancy wil serve on the Youth Cabinet for the five year period. At a later meeting another person will be appointed to the program committee. William Griggs and Nancy Cox attended a meeting of the Youth Council in Richmond September 14-15.

The date of June 19-24 was tentavely set for Senior High Samp. Other camp dates will be considered at the next meeting. The Youth Cabinet and Youth Department are also considering camp themes, staff, and class titles for the coming camps.

### YOUNG FRIENDS SEMINAR

There have been two seminars already held this past fall at the United Nations in New York. Some of the Young Friends from Western Yearly Meeting were privileged to attend.

Three seminars are planned for Washington, D. C. in the late winter and early spring months. The dates for these are February 17-20, March 16-19, and April 6-9. These seminars are sponsored by the Five Years Meeting Youth Department under the direction of Wayne Carter, and are planned with the Friends United Nations team and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

These seminars are outstanding events for Young Friends and we urge you to see that some Young Friends from your meeting get to attend one of these. Contact Wayne Carter, 101 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond, Indiana, for further information.

### NATIONAL YOUTH WEEK

National Youth Week will be observed during the week of January 31-February 7th. A Youth Week packet, costing one dollar, can be secured by writing the Youth Department, (Address above). The packets are very valuable in helping Youth Week become a meaningful experience in your meeting.

### MEETING NEWS

(Continued from Page Five)

answer these demands and to bring these dreams to pass.

Succeeding lectures will be as follows:

November — Congressman William G. Bray, a Friend from Mooresville, Indiana, speaking on "How to Achieve Christian Objectives through Government." At Vermilion Grove.

December — Frank C. Laubach, world citizen and literacy specialist, speaking at Georgetown on "The Battle for the Minds of Men."

January — Richard P. Newby, pastor at Friends Memorial Church in Muncie, speaking on "How to Make the Local Church an Effective Force."

March — Errol T. Elliott, pastor at Friends in Indianapolis, who will give the Lenten season emphasis: "Finding a Vital Religious Faith for These Times."

### SANDCREEK — AZALIA

Among the new members being welcomed into fellowship of the Azalia Friends church is the pastor, the Rev. Robert E. Garris. Rev. Garris began his pastoral duties at Azalia September 1.

Rev. Garris came to the Azalia church from the Gray Friend's church near Noblesville, where he served as minister for four years. Before this he had served as minister of the Huntsville community church near Anderson for four years.

He received his A. B. degree from Anderson college and is finishing his requirements for the B. D. and M. A. degrees from Christian Theological Seminary at Indianapolis.

Mrs. Elsie L. Garris, wife of Rev. Garris, and daughter, Rebecca Sue are also being received as members as are Mr. and Mrs. William Johnson and sons, Terry Lee and Gary Ray.

The Annual homecoming was held October 11th. There was a good attendance at morning services. The ladies of the church served lunch. In the afternoon a special service was held for former residents and members with Mina McHenry presiding. Special music was furnished by a trio from the First Nazarene Church of Columbus.

October 18th Glenn Reece, executive secretary of the five years meeting was speaker at the morning service.

October 25th, a special representative of the Indiana Temperance League brought the message.

The young people of Junior and Senior High School ages have been organized by Robert Garris, pastor and his wife Elsie. Average attendance is twenty. This group accompanied

by the pastor attended the drama "Cry Dawn in Dark Babylon" at the Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis.

During November the ladies of the church, aided by the entire community, have held a chicken supper and bazaar and also a rummage sale. Proceeds from both activities go to helping pay for church needs.

— Mabel Stansell, reporting

### EARLHAM PROPOSES

(Continued from Page Five)

mer school each year, perhaps running for two three-week terms. The second would be extension courses offered at various Quaker centers. The third proposal is that in cooperation with the Board of Training for Church Vocations of the Five Years Meetin workshop training programs be conducted in local meetings or Quarterly Meetings for the purpose of helping members of the meetings to become better workers and assume a larger share of responsibility in the life of the meeting.

In addition to these undergraduate offerings, a special effort could be made to expand the one year M. A. degree in religion program at Earlham along the lines already in operation at Guilford College in North Caroina. This program as well as the expanded undergraduate program could go into operation in 1960 prior to the establishment of an accredited Graduate School of the Ministry.

### IN CONCLUSION

The motive which lies behind the concern of Friends about qualified leadership is not merely a concern to survive organizationally. Friends believe deeply that historically they have had a message and mission to share in the word. If this is true, then Friends need to rediscover and redefine their message and mission for today. This is particularly necessary if a School of the Ministry is to be established. It is necessary in order to know for what ends and purpose Friends are seeking to train leadership, and thus what kind of a curriculum and teaching program would most likely produce the desired results.

There are of course many divergent views among Friends. But there is a widespread conviction that if a School of the Ministry is established it could not only meet some of the immediate leadership needs of Friends, but it could help to focus Friends attention and energies in such a way as to achieve greater unity among themselves as well as prepare them for a wider service in the Christian movement as a whole.

# REGISTRATION FORM
# INDIANA PASTORS CONFERENCE
## DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana
## February 15, 16, 17, 1960

NAME _____

HOME ADDRESS _____

DENOMINATION _____ CHURCH _____

Please enclose check for $4.00 which includes enrollment fee of $2.50 and banquet Tuesday night $1.50. AFTER JANUARY 31, 1960, THE FEE INCLUDING BANQUET is $4.50. There are no parttime registrations. Send registration to:

Indiana Council of Churches,
1138 N. Alabama St., Indianapolis 2, Indiana

Do you desire lodging in homes at $2.50 per night? _____

Tickets for meals may be secured at time conference opens.
Monday night dinner — $1.35 Tuesday lunch — $1.25
Breakfast served cafeteria style in The Hub

## PROGRAM

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15

1:30-2:30 Registration — Student Union Building
AFTERNOON SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
2:45 Opening of Conference
Bible Lecture — Dr. J. Robert Nelson, "Taking the Form of a Servant"
3:45 "One Team or We Lose" — Dr. Grover L. Hartman
4:00-5:30 Denominational Meetings
6:00 Dinner — Student Union Ballroom
Executive Committee dinner
EVENING SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
7:30 Music — DePauw University Choir
8:00 First Mendenhall Lecture — Dr. Nels F. S. Ferre', "The Main Perspective on Man"
9:00 Fellowship Hour

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16

7:00 Devotions — Old Bethel Church — Dr. Samuel E. Carruth
MORNING SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
9:00 Bible Lecture — Dr. J. Robert Nelson, "Obedient Unto Death"
10:00 Address — Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, "Century of Crises"
11:00 Second Mendenhall Lecture — Dr. Nels F. S. Ferre', "Man as a Physical Being and Its Meaning for the Christian Faith"
12:00 Lunch — Student Union Ballroom
AFTERNOON SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
1:30 Bible Lecture — Dr. J. Robert Nelson, "Jesus Christ Is Lord"
2:30 Business Session
Report of Indiana Council of Churches, Dr. Grover L. Hartman
3:00 Address — Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, "Crises for Christians"
7:45 BANQUET — Student Union Building
Toastmaster — Dr. Carruth
Speaker — Dr. Russell J. Humbert, President DePauw University, subject, "The Minister — His World and Work"
EVENING SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
8:00 Third Mendenhall Lecture — Dr. Nels F. S. Ferre', "The Freedom of Man"
9:00 Fellowship Hour

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17

7:15 Executive Committee Breakfast
MORNING SESSION — Gobin Memorial Church
8:45 Address — Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, "Christians for Crises"
10:00 Chapel Hour
Fourth Mendenhall Lecture — Dr. Fels F. S. Ferre', "The Social Nature of Man and Freedom"
11:00 Adjournment

## CHRISTIAN EDUCATION NEWS

(Continued from Page Six)

### CHILDREN'S SERVICE FOR WORLD DAY OF PRAYER

The World Day of Prayer comes this year on March 4, and there is a children's service for observing it. The theme is "Laborers Together with God." Copies of this service cost five cents each and they may be secured in quantity from:

P and D Department
National Council of Churches
Box 320, Madison Square Garden
New York 10, N. Y.

Other materials are also available write for descriptive flier.

## Read A Good Book

The Warriors, J. Glenn Gray ---- $3.95
Reflections on Men in Battle

Strength of Men and Nations, Hockling ---------- $3.50
A wise, hopeful and Statesmanlike appraisal of our times.

Leaders of New Nations, Leonard Kenworthy ---------- $3.50

A Man Called Jesus, J. B. Phillips $2.50
A series of short plays from the life of Christ.

The Foreigner, Malvern -------- $3.00
Story of Ruth and Naomi.

Saints in Aprons and Overalls, Barker ---------- $2.00

Through a Quaker Archway, Horace Mather Lippincott, Editor $6.00

The Cheerful Heart, Elizabeth Janet Gray ---------- $3.00
New book for young people. Story of an eleven year old Japanese girl.

The Way in Africa, Carpenter -- $2.95

Henry Purcell and His Times, Vipont ---------- $2.25

Wide is the World, Louise Griffiths ---------- $2.95
Will help junior highs grow as world minded Christians.

Jungle Pilot, Hitt ---------- $3.75

Windows for the Crown Prince, Elizabeth Gray Vining -------- $5.00

Prophet in the Wilderness, Hagedorn ---------- $3.50
Story of Albert Schweitzer, revised edition.

Mama's Way, Bjorn ---------- $3.50

Papa's Daughter ---------- $3.75
Excellent stories of a minister.

Papa's Wife and Family -------- $3.50
Humor and insight.

The Choice to Love, Raynolds -- $3.75

Putting Your Faith to Work, Redhead ---------- $2.00
Answers to questions people ask.

Discovering Love, Lance Webb -- $3.00
Timely and convincing. Very important book for the present time.

The Creative Years, Howe ------ $3.50
Mature faith for adult life.

A Book of Public Prayers, Fosdick ---------- $3.00
A great book by a great Christian.

Which Way, Judy, by McFadden and Carnahan ---------- $3.00
Excellent book for girls.

Pebbles in a Pool, Yates ------ $3.50
Biography of Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

### CHILDREN'S BOOKS

**For ages 6 to 8 years:**

And God Cares for Me, Breitwesier ---------- $2.00

Friends Around the World, Helen Doss ---------- $1.50

It Is Night, Phyllis Rowand -- $1.75

In the Beginning, Alf Evers ---- $2.25

At Jesus' House, Carolyn Wolcott $1.00

**For ages 9 to 11 years:**

Champions of Peace, Edith P. Meyer ---------- $3.50

John Greenleaf Whittier, Fighting Quaker, by Ruth Holberg ------ $2.75

Bible Readings for Boys and Girls ---------- $3.00

Bible Stories, M. A. Jones ------ $2.95

Rainbow Around the World, Elizabeth Yates ---------- $2.50
A story of UNICEF.

## You Can Help the Christian Education Committee of Western Yearly Meeting

The Christian Education Committee of the Yearly Meeting has a big task in planning a program for children, youth and adults of the Yearly Meeting. There are many and varied opportunities for giving of time and talent that you might like to share. If you are interested in helping in any part of our program, would you check the following list right away and return to Mary Elizabeth Brunson, 118 South Mill Street, Plainfield, Indiana. Pans for the summer are in the making now. Your checking of the list only indicates your interest and does not commit you to the job, but it will be a help to the planning committees as they seek necessary leadership.

| | | Indicate age group |
|---|---|---|
| CAMPS | ------Instructor of class | ------ |
| | ------Music | ------ |
| | ------Cabin Mom or Dad | ------ |
| | ------Recreation | ------ |
| | ------Hobby (nature study, etc. | ------ |
| | ------Speaker | ------ |
| Regional and Monthly | ------Adult leaders | |
| Meetings of Youth | ------Assistant leaders | |
| Promotion | ------Printing, posters, etc. | |
| | ------Camps, etc. | |
| | ------Five Years Meeting | |
| | ------Children and Youth Programs | |
| Transportation | ------Washington Seminar | |
| | ------New York Seminar | |
| | ------Quaker Haven Camps | |

## JOIN THE 300 CLUB NOW!

**I want to be one of 300 to make an initial gift for each new project launched by the Church Extension Commission. Each share is $10.00.**

Name ----------

Address ----------

Monthly Meeting ----------

**Return this blank to Norval E. Webb 207 S. East Street, Plainfield, Indiana**

July 28, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Tartt Bell
Associate Director
Quaker Program at the United Nations
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Tartt:

This is to say a word of belated but sincere thanks for your thoughtful report on Alice and George Mitchell. I'm all the more grateful for it since my information, while accurate, has been quite impersonal and second-hand.

Needless to say, all of George's friends here were shocked and distressed by the news. As for immediate concern, Alice's situation has worried everyone. I take it, however, that she has accepted George's condition with surprising calmness and courage, and that the financial prospects aren't catastrophic.

If you should hear anything else from Morris that we are not likely to know about down here, I'll be most grateful for it. I expect to be in New York sometime in August and, if you aren't on vacation, will hope to see you. Meanwhile, my best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

# Quaker Program at the United Nations

Friends World Committee
for Consultation

American Friends Service
Committee

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 2-2745

July 5, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Alice Mitchell tells me that you know of George's illness. Nevertheless, it has occurred to me that you might appreciate a first hand report.

Adele Bell and I dropped by Putney to see Morris as we returned from a New Hampshire vacation. We were astonished and delighted to learn upon arrival that Alice and George were there for a visit. Before we greeted them, Morris thoughtfully took me aside to let me know that this would not be the same George Mitchell, because of the brain damage from arterial sclerosis. He suggested that I not try to engage George in serious conversation, or raise probing questions with him about the experience in Scotland.

We were there over night, and while we had a very pleasant and hospitable visit with all the Mitchells, it was a sad, sad experience. To anyone who has known him well, I think it would be obvious from his physical appearance that George is not well, in spite of the fact that he has put on some weight, and seems quite healthy. There were some glimmerings of recognition but at no point was there was any advancement of interest of a personal nature in Adele and myself. When it was announced to him that we were coming, he claimed to remember us but we came away not at all convinced that it had really dawned on him who we were. Needless to say, it was immeasurably frustrating to have George there in person, and yet not have him there in those qualities of mind and spirit which we have known and appreciated. George did not participate in the dinner

table conversation, rose and left the table before the rest of us had finished without excusing himself. On the other hand, later on the terrace, he made some penetrating comments about a number of problems. At times therefore, it is difficult to evaluate his condition. It is perfectly clear however, that certain childish actions in which he persists, indicate that there already has been considerable brain damage as a result of this condition. Alice may soon be faced with a situation in which George is not able to take care of himself and will need constant supervision. She feels that it will be necessary immediately to stop him from driving an automobile.

As I gather the story, there has certainly been very expert medical attention. As I understand it, the prognosis is that there is very little hope of altering the steady deterioration which is a general pattern in cases of this kind. Alice apparently is going to be able to secure fairly soon, Social Security for total disability for him. She feels that this is likely to answer her financial needs for the foreseeable future. According to present plans, she is anticipating the very brave step of returning to Scotland with George just as soon as she is able to clear the necessary red tape with Social Security. She assured me that she has genuine friends in their village onw whom she can depend for any kind of help that may be necessary. You probably know that Ellen has just married a South African boy who is a student at Yale. He is the son of the head of the Forestry Service for the Union of South Africa and does not want to return to the Union but probably will be accepting a job in Southern Rhodesia. Adele and I gave Ellen a ride from Putney down to New Haven Sunday. Ellen and her husband Philip Craib will be flying to England in a few days and then on to Africa. It was a rather heart-breaking experience to see Alice tell Ellen goodbye. Ellen of course, dreads to leave her mother with this problem, but herself now faces a whole new series of adjustments.

Alice feels that there is no reason at all to conceal George's condition, and that nothing is to be gained in sheilding him by trying to keep this quiet.

Alice has promised to let some of us know if there is any way we can help. Apparently she is returning to Scotland because she feels that this is a relatively simple situation in which George may be able to operate for the longest possible time, and because it is the place he wants to be. Morris is to be in New York sometime soon, and I may have additional news of developments when he arrives.

Please plan to let me know in advance of your next trip to New York, so we can plan to get together.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Associate Director

BTB:cg
cc: Marion Wright

MF - Ple review before next NYC trip

# Quaker Program at the United Nations

Friends World Committee
for Consultation
American Friends Service
Committee

345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York
MUrray Hill 2-2745

August 1, 1960

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter. The prospect of being in New York City during August is somewhat brightened by the hope that you may be here for a day or so. Please let me know when you are going to be here. I would like to see you, and hope you can save a time when we can get together. How about saving an evening for the Bells, meaning dinner and some kind of "activity" afterwards. I look forward to hearing from you.

Warm regards,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Associate Director

BTB:cg

February 15, 1961

Mr. James F. Walker
Friends World Committee
152-A North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Walker:

The invitation to participate in the National Conference of Friends is greatly appreciated, and it is a matter of real regret for me that I cannot accept. I am committed for the dates of the Conference, indeed for virtually the whole month of June.

I should have liked to come in any case, but all the more so in view of a note about the meeting which I received the other day from Frank Loescher. If there is any other way in which the Southern Regional Council can be of assistance to the Conference Committee, I hope you will call on us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

# FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE

AMERICAN SECTION AND FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL, INC.

152 A North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Telephone: LOcust 3-0757

MIDWEST OFFICE: Wilmington College
Wilmington, Ohio
Telephone: FUlton 2-2491



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Richard P. Newby
Ruth Replogle
Allen J. White


February 10, 1961

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia (3)

Dear Friend:

Another National Conference of Friends on the subject of Race Relations is being called at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, June 19-24, 1961. We hope that you can be there. Please reserve the dates. It is planned that it be a working conference of people who are already serving in this field, or else are dedicated to the subject and wish to become more active. The limit of attenders has been set at 200 persons.

It is proposed to have a separate theme each forenoon, and then to have workshops in the afternoon on housing, employment, voting, school desegregation, and public accommodation and recreation.

One of the morning topics deals with the Changes in the Negro Community and the Impact of these changes on Race Relations. We would like you to be one of the speakers on this occasion. We are inviting Ira de Reid to be the second. Following the lecture period and morning recess there will be a plenary session when the whole subject will be reviewed by the group. The Conference Committee will expect to bear your expenses for this trip. We, of course, hope that you will be able to spend the entire week with us. The present thinking is that this subject will come on Thursday. Hoping that you will find this a service that you can render.

Very sincerely,

James F. Walker

James F. Walker,
For the Committee

JFW/s

# FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE

AMERICAN SECTION AND FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL, INC.

152 A North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Telephone: LOcust 3-0757

MIDWEST OFFICE: Wilmington College
Wilmington, Ohio
Telephone: FUlton 2-2491



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RECEIVED
FEB 20 1961


February 17, 1961

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We are so sorry that you cannot be with us at Earlham College for the Race Relations Conference. I realize that these are very busy days for you.

With best wishes for you in your work.

Very sincerely,

James F. Walker

James F. Walker
Executive Secretary

JFW/s

**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.**
*Southeastern Regional Office*
**1818 South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina**
P. O. Box 1307 88 2-0109

CLAUDE C. SHOTTS
*Regional Chairman*
B. TARTT BELL
*Executive Secretary*
B. RUSSELL BRANSON
*Finance Secretary*

file

December 12, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Congratulations and best wishes in your new position as director of field activities for the SRC. Our latchstring is out, and I hope you will make a point of stopping by for a good visit as you make the initial round of visits to your new territory. I'll look forward to seeing you at the interagency gathering in January.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps

cc: Leslie W. Dunbar

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

File
Rel. of Quakers

359 Westchester Avenue
Crestwood, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 10707
5 March 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Anthony:

I expect to be in Atlanta Sunday and Monday March 10 and 11 and at the suggestion of my friend Rev. Gordon B. Hancock I am writing to inquire whether you can see me either of those days. My concern is to learn of what assistance, if any, New York Quakers might be in relation to April's poverty protest marches. Your comments on the questions below would be helpful:

1. In what cities in New York state are marchers being trained for non-violent action in Washington?

2. The Quaker Project on Community Conflict of New York Yearly Meeting of Friends has bern working for some time with community groups, especially with the police authorities, in Buffalo (with a grant from the Ford Foundation), Rochester, Syracuse, Westchester County, and elsewhere in New York. We are committed to changes by non-violent means. Is there a part for Quakers active in this project, to take in New York state preparatory to, and possibly on, the marches?

3. The Race Relations Committee of New York Yearly Meeting is ready to distribute to our 70 local Meetings suggestions about preparing their communities to think rationally about the marches: letters to editors, visits with congressmen, etc. Might such communication be useful?

4. Do you want the support of sympathetic middle class whites who are <u>not</u> among the poor of their cities? If so, in what specific form can white participation be most useful?

I can be reached at Quaker House, 1384 Fairview Road, N. E., Atlanta 30306. Thank you for any attention you can give these inquiries.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Ludwig

Walter Ludwig
Member of the Race Relations Committee, and the Committee on Peace and Social Action, New York Yearly Meeting, the Religious Society of Friends

# The 1958 American Friends Conference On Race Relations

## Minute On The Atlanta Friends Center Project

Westtown School
Westtown, Pennsylvania
August 31, 1958

In this time of stress the call of Friends to be true reconcilers sounds more clearly than ever before. The weight of discord in human relations rested heavily on this conference. Our thoughts, as those of the whole of American Quakerism, turned particularly to our Southern Friends who feel their special responsibility as reconcilers in a situation full of frustrations.

Therefore, the Conference was encouraged to receive a message from the Atlanta Friends Meeting of a vision of a hopeful and significant service there, providing Friends nationally will help them to use the opportunity which now seems to open.

Atlanta's position as a regional business and government center and its prominence in political and cultural affairs give it a strategic and symbolic importance unique among cities of the deep South. A Friends Center there, the result of local initiative and locally administered, could be the scene or the base of operation for a number of racially integrated activities which are now impossible for lack of any suitable physical facilities. Having known the value of Friends Centers in other key cities, we were glad to know that the local situation in Atlanta gives hope that a Center under the auspices of the Religious Society of Friends could operate successfully at this time, and could have truly national significance.

The Atlanta Meeting is vigorous and imaginative but small in numbers. While able to provide personal supervision for this project and more than their share of the cost, the members cannot carry the financial burden alone, particularly the expense of acquiring a building.

Therefore, this Conference recommends to all Friends and their Meetings that the Atlanta Friends Center be adopted as a special project worthy of national support. We ask that it be considered as one effective way to express the basic spiritual unity of all Friends. We ask that it be given a special claim on our generosity, but not as a means of salving our consciences for local tasks undone. We ask because we believe that sharing in such a demonstration, supporting Friends who every day are called on to testify to their beliefs, will strengthen us in carrying out our own mission of reconciliation.

- : -

Inquiries and contributions
may be sent to:

John W. Stanley, Treasurer
739 W. Peachtree Rd., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

File

# FRIENDS OF ATLANTA CENTER

*1201 Chestnut Street — Room 1205, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania*


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*Des Moines, Iowa*

PAUL J. FURNAS, *Chairman*

MARGARET E. JONES, *Secretary*

OCT Star 1959

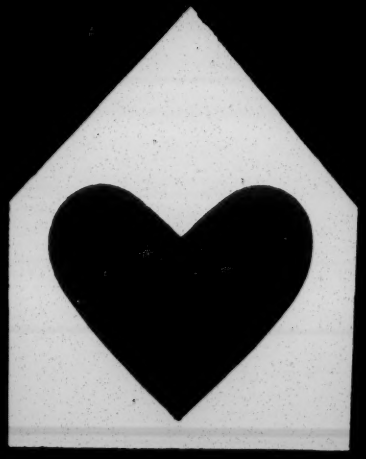
*. . . an urgent appeal to concerned*

*individuals of all persuasions from*

*a Friends Meeting in the South.*

The Religious Society of Friends

**QUAKER**



**"THAT OF GOD IN EVERY MAN"**

Quakers in Atlanta — having for many years met and worshipped with their doors open to all seekers — are now led to ask the help of concerned people the nation over, that a more effective witness to *"that of God in every man"* may be made in this crucial location.

Faced with an almost overwhelming problem of complex racial and religious loyalties, our city has given us a heightened awareness of the need for Friends testimony in daily life. To offer a concrete program of help in the life of this community, Atlanta Friends must find facilities for worship and for service, in which we will be free to express the inward guidance underlying our way of life.

We have resolved to meet our obligations to ourselves, our children and our community through a Friends Center — that is, a meeting house with facilities for activity directed toward the community.

Our own resources, however, are not adequate to meet the larger challenge of a centrally located building — serviceable to the nine colleges and universities, concerned civic and religious groups, and the other informal discussion, dramatic or art groups which combine to make Atlanta a virtual laboratory of human relations.

It is with this vision that we appeal to others of many persuasions — who share our concerns in human affairs — to assist materially and spiritually in making this immediate contribution to the heartening efforts of constructive forces here in the Southeast.

The Friends Meeting in Atlanta — whose members represent such callings as education, law, insurance, advertising, architecture, farming and medicine — is prepared to undergird the Center with its energy and spirit. We ask economic help toward the $70,000 cost of Center facilities and an initial two-year program.

Recent developments in our city deepen our conviction that the time for a more searching Quaker witness in Atlanta is *today*. Your part in this venture of faith can be made in the form of a contribution to Atlanta Friends Center, sent to John W. Stanley, Treasurer, 739 West Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia. Further information may be had upon request.

TURNPIKE PRESS

Atlanta Monthly Meeting Religious Society of Friends
BUILDING FUND
Financial Statement as of 31st Dec. 1959,

| | | Receipts |
|---|---|---|
| Cash contributions from inception to 31st Dec.'59 | | $43,957.52 |
| Interest on Savings Account Funds, .. .. .. | | 220.40 |
| | | 44,177.92 |
| Down payment on new Quaker Center | $15,000. | |
| Additional payment 30th Nov. '59 | 10,000. | |
| Closing Costs, .. .. .. .. .. .. | 588.75 | |
| Furnishings, ..stove,.drapes,cornices,etc .. | 400. | |
| Interest , .. .. ... .. .. .. .. . | 68.91 | |
| Brochures, .. .. .. . .. .. .. | 261.01 | |
| Dishonored check, .. .. .. .. .. . | 5.00 | |
| Treasurers Bond, .. .. .. .. .. .. | 25.00 | |
| Postage,phones,travel, for promotion .. .. .. .. | 600.00 | |
| Advance to Philadelphia for promotion, .. .. . | 2000.00 | |
| Total expended, .. .. . .. | 28,948.67 | |
| Bank deposits as of 31st Dec. .. .. .. . | 15,229.25 | 44,177.92 |

Disposition of Deposited Funds:

| | |
|---|---|
| Citzs & Sou. Peachtree Branch,Savings Acct. | $10,747.31 |
| " " " Checking Acct. | 4,481.94 |
| | 15,229.25 |

Debts. Balance owed on Center Property .. .. $20,000 at 6% for five years,Interest payable annually,with the privilege of prepayment in whole or in part without penalty.

Audited and Found Correct,
Charles E. Shepard,
7th January 1960

| Breakdown of Funds Received to date: Original Goals. | | Cash to 31st Dec. 59, | Still to be raised |
|---|---|---|---|
| Center Property | $50,000 | $33,210.21 | $16,789.79 |
| Program, | 20,000 | 10,747.31 | 9,252.69 |
| | 70,000 | 43,957.52 | 26,042.48 |
| Promises believed good .. .. ... ... ... .. | | | 5,200. |
| Minimum still to be raised .. .. .. .. | | | 20,842.48 |

The above "still to be raised" includes nothing for furnishings,nor for the cost of raising the Fund.

Submitted by John W. Stanley,Treas.

All Friends Center

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES
HOME OFFICE NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

JOHN W. STANLEY, REPRESENTATIVE
739 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONES: BUS. TR 4-4451
RES. DR 3-5357

ATLANTA, GA.,

26th Jan. '60

Dear Harold:

Pherm asks me to send you a copy of our financial statement, Building Fund.

I enclose the Audited statement up to Dec. 31st 59, and the Jan. statement to date, prepared for the Trustees meeting on the 28th.

Receipts are coming slowly now, and we must plan our strategy for raising the last $70,000.

Sincerely
Jno Stanley.

Jan Rec'd to 25th

To The Board of Trustees,
Atlanta Monthly Meeting

Supplement to Annual Statement on Another Sheet,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Credit Balance 31st Dec. 1959 | On Deposit Savings Acct. | | $10,747.31 |
| | " Drawing " | | 4,481.94 |
| | | | 15,229.25 |
| Contributions 1/1-1960 .. .. | | 1,349.15 | |
| Refund on Hazard Insurance policy, | | 47.60 | 1,396.75 |
| | | | 16,626.00 |

Disposition of Funds:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On Deposit, C & S Savings Account | $10,747.31 | |
| " " Drawing " | 5,866.69 | 16,626.00 |
| (includes $10. undeposited) | | |

Due JWS petty cash $37.69

Submitted by
John W. Stanley, Treasurer,

*Atlanta Meeting*

1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD N. E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA
Tel. DRake 3-7986

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 19, 1960

Dear Friend:

At a meeting of the Trustees of the Atlanta Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, held June 26, Quaker House, 1384 Fairview Road, N.E., Atlanta, with the blessing of the members and attenders of the Monthly Meeting, approved of employing John R. Yungblut, as Director of the Atlanta Meeting of Friends Center Program. It is expected that he will take up his duties here at Quaker House as soon as possible in September, 1960.

This step, employing a director, is the second step in an adventure of faith of Atlanta Friends;- the acquiring of our home here on Fairview Road, Atlanta, being our first step. As has been voiced by several of us, our prayers have been answered more largely than we dared hope. We have faith that God will continue to lead us and we ask your prayers for His guidance as we travel ahead on this journey of "Adventure of Faith."

To each of you who has beenso very helpful in acquiring this valuable piece of property for our home we owe our sincere thanks, and we trust that you will ever remain near to us.

Sincerely,

Phern Stanley

Phern Stanley,
Clerk

PS/mfm

CC to: Marie Turner
Paul Furnas
Jean Fairfax
Margaret E. Jones
Barbara Moffett
Colin Bell
Wilton Hartzler
Steve Cary
James Walker
Lawrence McK. Miller, Jr.
Harold Evans
Clarence Pickett
Henry Cadbury
Harold Fleming
Morris Abram

June 21, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

If there would be time available in Richard Greg's schedule, I believe our staff would benefit from having him here a few hours to discuss principles of non-violence.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

MF file

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

June 16, 61

Dear Leo:

Lane and I are off in the morning to a week-long conference at Earlham College on Race Relations. We'll be back June 26.

Richard Gregg will be here, as I indicated, June 26 – July 5. It has occurred to me that having him present at a luncheon meeting of the Board we had planned might be very good – an occasion for coming together. He is extremely undogmatic and would, I think draw the group out into a frank discussion. But we can consider this when I get back. I'll follow through promptly then.

I hope your talk with Wyatt went well.

Best wishes

Affectionately,

John Yungblut

P.S. I enclose the material from Steve.

August 9, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

The enclosed memorandum, written by Paul Rilling, might provide a basis for our next discussion.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

August 25, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Friends Center
1384 Fairview Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $200.00 as agreed upon in our earlier discussion.

This is intended to help defray the cost of your liaison role with regional agencies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1.

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Pl

September 1, 1961

Dear Leslie,

I wanted to acknowledge in writing receipt of your check in the amount of $200.00 to be used to defray the cost of our "liaison role with regional agencies". It is a generous sum and should last for quite a while.

June and I enjoyed so much the evening in your home last week. It made me very happy to have my children meet yours and they enjoyed the evening as much as we.

Yesterday, I put Marty and Jay on the train for New Haven. I have been very grateful for their visit and hated to see them go, but have already begun to plan some future longer visit.

It was a real joy to learn that you are willing to lead the Seminar on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights this fall. Let us set the time as beginning Monday, October 9th and running through Monday, December 11th. Monday, I believe, seemed the best evening to you, and I am sure it will work out well here too.

Let me congratulate you on the part you have played in the peaceful and constructive desegregation of the schools, even though you and I must continue to grieve that it is at so token a level. No one in the city, in my judgment, has done more to help others do their part than you.

One of the deepest satisfactions to me across the last few months has been what I have believed to be a deepening friendship between us. I cherish it very much.

Faithfully yours,

John

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

file

October 25, 1962

Dear Leslie,

Finally, we have secured a date for our "Quiet Day" which seems possible for all whom we had originally invited. It is, as you know, Wednesday, November 21st, the day before Thanksgiving. We will meet at the very lovely residence of Esther and William Turner in a delightful part of the country near Duluth, Georgia, from 9 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon. Our hostess will provide the luncheon.

In order to make the best use of our time together, it would be very helpful if we did some individual thinking in advance. I write to ask what particular concerns you have, what special theological or philosophical questions you would want to raise, relevant to the theme which brings us together. Will you be good enough to write me your reflections at least a week in advance in order that I may assure time on the agenda for their consideration.

We ought to be able to get everyone there in two carloads. The others invited and planning to come are: Allan Chalmers, Will Campbell, Vincent Harding, Martin King, Jr., John Morris, and Wyatt Walker.

I shall be in touch with you regarding transportation a day or two in advance. Please do set the entire day aside. May we together anticipate that as we wait upon the Spirit a clarification through insight and a fresh resolution through experienced unity may be forthcoming.

Faithfully,

John.

P.S. I'm so sorry it follows two days of exhausting conferences with your Board. But it still seems the last shape of getting together this year and I offer two consolations: couldn't you look on it as relatively relaxing (in the country etc) or, if not, just holiday on for one more day since a real holiday follows. Also if one of your Board is still here why not bring him?

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

MET ✓
MA ✓
SB ✓
PA ✓
MJ - file

Jan 9, '63

Dear Lis:

Here are some reflections I've put down relating to the Nashville Conference. I thought they might be of some value in your future planning. Some time perhaps we can talk about them at leisure.

I caught a glimpse of you last night and appreciated what you said about my efforts in Miss. I must get in to see you and Paul soon.

Faithfully
John

P.S. Perhaps these thoughts have some relevance to the Chicago conference.

REFLECTIONS PROMPTED BY SOUTH-WIDE CONFERENCE
Nashville, Tennessee - December 27-29, 1962

The conference had as its theme, "The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration." This title could be understood to refer to the ethical demands that would seem to be inherent in the vision of an integrated society. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed himself to the theme from this perspective and suggested three demands: recognition of the sacredness of personality; recognition of the fact that the denial of freedom is a denial of life itself; and, recognition of the solidarity of the human family. He made a valuable distinction: the demands of desegregation are enforceable; those of integration are not. Desegregation can be enforced by man-made laws which assure justice. Integration can come about only through the individual's recognition of inner laws, written upon the heart, which attest the authority of love.

He suggested that desegregation must be viewed as a necessary means to the end of integration. In advance of the man-made laws which can secure desegregation, those who engage in the fight for this tangible justice are under the "built-in" ethical demand that the means for realizing desegregation must be as pure as the goal. Therefore, the Negro in his struggle for the realization of basic human rights, and the whites who will make common cause with him in this struggle, are free to use only non-violent techniques.

This analysis seemed to me a sound one, as far as it went. I felt, however, that another approach might well have supplemented this one. The title of the conference, for example, might have been understood to include the question, "From whence do the ethical demands for integration come?" I presume that the three demands of integration which Dr. King listed emerge from what we might call the characteristic religious experience. It is precisely this that I should like to examine. This would seem to me appropriate in view of the fact that one group which sponsored the conference is the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. I'd like to inquire a little further into this source of these demands.

Some years ago the French philosopher, Henri Bergson, wrote a book on what he called "The Two Sources of Morality and Religion." These, he felt, are the laws operative in the nature of man and of the universe which are discovered in the process of building community on the one hand; and on the other that mystical consciousness which both reveals to the individual that men are already members one of another and affords the incentive to transfigure this given togetherness into a redeemed and blessed community. It is this latter source of morality and religion to which I would like to draw attention.

The characteristically religious experience combines a perception of the relatedness of things, the matrix which binds them together, with a compulsion to be used as an instrument for the realization of the highest harmony and the noblest integration of which these elements are capable. I did not hear mentioned at the conference this basic religious apprehension, the realization ~~that~~ men who live in physical proximity to each other are irrevocably bound together in some kind of "integration." Robert Frost expressed this reality in a line of one of his poems, "Men work together, I told him from the heart, whether they work together or apart." Some form of "integration" is inescapable. It may take a demonic shape such as slavery or segregation, in which case its roots will be reflected in the abherrent and neurotic preoccupations and obsessions described so effectively by William Faulkner in his novels. Men cannot occupy the same segment of the earth's surface without being related in some way to each other, for good or ill. And, that surface so shrinks with modern means of communication and transportation on this globe that presently men will not be able to live anywhere without relating to their fellows everywhere.

I want first to make this point: that the nature of man and the universe in which he dwells is such that some kind of "integration" is absolutely inescapable. Mankind must determine whether this "integration" will be demonic, merely stultifying, or genuinely creative and fulfilling for those who are caught within the finely-spun fabric of human life. The pattern inevitably affects the tone and quality of every thread. The way in which white men relate to Negroes inevitably determines the kind of white man they will be, and the structure of the society in which both are enmeshed.

The immediacy and intimacy of this interior perception is reflected in the recognition that I am not only my brother's keeper, but that my own life is lived in his life and his in mine, that I am what I am because he is what he is and that I can only be what I aspire to be if I am doing all that I can to make it possible for him to be what he aspires to be. It is this interior recognition of identification with all men in their varied conditions that lies behind the three ethical demands of integration which we envision when we use the word.

Precisely because the ethical demands of integration are not enforceable by man-made laws, we need to explore diligently the ways of quickening this basic religious experience in men and of sustaining it in those in whom it has already come alive. Our conference, perhaps because of time limitations, did not move sufficiently in this direction. One might concievably take the position that this mystical consciousness or basic religious experience is like the Spirit itself in that "it bloweth where it listeth" and that we "cannot tell whence it cometh or whither

it goeth." I do not feel, however, that we are so destitute of creative and practical resources in this area.

Let me now relate what I have been saying to the address of Dr. Sam Williams. For my own part, I am very grateful for his astringent analysis of the role of the "white" segment of the Church in desegregation efforts in Atlanta. That the two manifestos of the white Christian ministers of the city fell considerably short of being genuinely Christian in utterance, I think we must concede. That the ministers and the official boards of these churches have not made any kind of prophetic witness to the Judeo-Christian message in this area of human relations seems to me indicated by the facts to which Dr. Williams referred. Whether the Negro segment of the Church can be exonerated of all guilt in this matter is a question which can appropriately be considered only by these churchmen themselves. I accept the proposition that the white segment of the Church must accept the major, if not entire, responsibility for the evil that has come about in the segregation of the Church of Christ. I share Dr. Williams' conviction that the white segment of the Church, insofar as it is congealed into the institution of existing congregations and collections of congregations in presbyteries, synods, conferences, dioceses, and the like, has not played, and is not now playing, a constructive role in the immediate movement toward integration. But this does not free white churchmen from the moral imperative to seek to transform the Church from within so that she, herself, becomes integrated as swiftly as possible and can play her proper role even as an institution within the whole process.

What was not sufficiently pointed out, however, by any of the speakers, it seemed to me, was that the very presence of individual Christians and Jews, dedicated and committed to the ideal of an integrated society, is itself a tribute to the fact that the historic, organic vessel of the institutional church and synagogue has itself managed by the grace of God to preserve both the ideal and a remnant who have, in some kind of continuity, responded to it from one generation to another. It seemed to me that a theological dialogue on the nature of the Church was not as out of place in the conference as the chairman of that particular session felt it to be. I felt rather that it had genuine relevance and actually should have been encouraged. Apart from the Judeo-Christian heritage, preserved through history by the institutional framework which in many ways has had a hideous record of failure, there would not now be any individuals with the insight which this tradition has passed on to them through its scriptures and that singular apostolic succession of individual men and women, themselves always a minority within the church or synagogue, who have in some measure imparted to and through one another, in conscience and character, the ideals to which their scriptures pointed through the symbols of words.

I noted that an earlier statement of the subject to be presented by Dr. Williams had been expressed in these words: "The Role of Religion in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta." Had this been the theme of the discussion instead of the role of the white segment of the Church the conclusions, of course, would have been very different. Religion in the sense in which I have described its basic and most characteristic insight and compulsion has certainly been determinitative in the very limited realization of desegregation that has been achieved to date. It will certainly be determinitative of any real progress toward the vision of integration we espouse. For the mystical consciousness of the human condition of built-in and inevitable "integration" with its accompanying sense of what a creative and fulfilling integration might be provides also the compulsion as well as irresistible attraction for movement in that direction. Now this religion may be present in individuals who do not attach themselves to any institutional church. Here, unfortunately, in some degree they are drawing upon a resevoir which they are not themselves assisting in replenishing. They do not recognize that their own motivation, insofar as it is the basic mystical consciousness I have described, is profoundly religious and that it has been quickened and guided in some sense by the Judeo-Christian prophetic witness in history. Moreover, there is certainly in the existing institutional church only a very tiny minority to be found which actually partakes of this basic religious experience. Creedal statements, Bible study, liturgical participation, none of these things automatically assures the infusion of this mystical consciousness.

To return to our earlier question now concerning the quickening of this kind of awareness in evermore individuals, and maintaining it once it has been aroused, I feel some constructive things might be said. While these things cannot be taught in an academic or didactic way, the evidence of history itself points to the fact that they are "caught" by those "in whom deep respondeth to deep" in another in whom these ideals have already found some incarnation. This places a very heavy responsibility upon those who have in the providence of God been vouchsafed this vision and already experienced the liberation which it produces. They must "consecrate themselves for the sake of others," deliberately and faithfully undertake those tried and tested practices of disciplined prayer and contemplation that will enable this vision to be sustained within them and afford them the strength to interpret its meaning to others without growing weary in well-doing. Further, such men must band themselves together in small fellowships which are themselves integrated and, therefore, in miniature present realizations of that blessed community

toward which they strive. These fellowships, I would think, might well be ecumenical as well as interracial, though there is also a role within the individual parish church for such a small fellowship as a redemptive nucleus within the larger congregation. Moreover, such individuals will find themselves constrained to build little islands of realized integregation which will embrace men and women of all religious faiths. Here the dialogue between the faiths will take the shape of interpretation with concern to share the best, that another man's faith might be enriched without the instinctive recoiling accompanying any attempt at conversion. Moreover, these dedicated individuals, supported by one another in the intimacy of the fellowships which have been established in small numbers, will move into the areas which their social, economic, and political responsibilities take them, as fifth columnists, infiltrating not for the purposes of violent revolution, but as salt might season the lump or leaven cause it to rise.

The role of religion, so concieved, seems to be at once crucial and determinative. I would hope that some conference in the future might give attention to this area of exploration.

--John Yungblut

ORANGEBURG REPORT October 24, 1963

Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional office telephoned me in early October to ask if I might spend two or three days of follow-through work on a visit which Charles Davis{Bill Bagwell had made to Orangeburg. They had discovered that things were in a very inflamable condition and that the situation threatened to turn into an"Albany". I indicated that I would try to go October 17 - 19. Later, Bill Bagwell sent me a detailed account of the findings of the visit he and Charles made in Orangeburg October 5 & 6. Orangeburg is Charles Davis' home town and so he felt a double concern.

Bill Bagwell's letter indicated that they had made only one contact with a white person in the community, Father McGonagle, 351 Amelia Ave, N.E. He is the only white person in the community who has spoken out publicly in support of the Negro protest movement. No other clergyman has spoken out and no other clergyman has expressed sympathy with the Negro protest movement except Father McGonagle's assistant , Father McDonald.

Bill pointed out that there is no inter-racial ministrial organization in the community and that the white ministers association does not include Catholic Priests. The only evidence of desegregation in Orangeburg is in the waiting rooms of the bus and train stations, and neither of these has eating facilities.

The population of Orangeburg is about 50% Negro. Orangeburg county is about 65% Negro, and is primarily rural. Bill further pointed out that because of the two Negro colleges in Orangeburg, Claflin (Methodist--perhaps 500 students) and South Carolina State College (perhaps 2000 students), the educational and economic level of the Negro in Orangeburg is often higher than that of the white citizens. This constitutes a threat to the rural white in the community.

The first major protest movement for civil rights took place in Orangeburg in 1955. In 1960 the students staged sit-ins and held mass marches . One march of 300 or more students was broken up by fire hoses and considerable police brutality, but no tangible evidence of desegregation was forthcoming. The recent Supreme Court decision related to the grounds of imprisonment and the charges brought against these young people at that time, and represented vindication on a national level.

This past summer a boycott by Negroes of white business was started and is still continuing.

Between September 28th and October 8th more than 1500 persons had been arrested, even the armory having been pressed into service to house the prisoners. At one period a number were held for several days. Charges included breach of peace, inciting to riot and trespassing. Several high school students were sentenced to the State Reform School to the age of 21 and the sentence suspended provided they would not participate in further demonstrations. One public school teacher was fired for participating in demonstrations and as a result of her dismissal, a total boycott of the community's six Negro schools was in effect for a few days.

The local daily news paper, The Times Democrat, and the two local radio stations are on the side of the conservatives.

President Turner, State College

My first visit was with President Turner of South Carolina State College for Negroes. He very kindly gave me an hour though I had no advance appointment. His wife, who serves as a receptionist, was with us also part of the time. The rather remarkable educational background of Mr. Turner is pertinent , I believe. He graduated from Andover Prep School in the East and then from both Harvard College and Harvard Law School. For a time he taught Law in North Carolina and then came to be President of this institution. His son also went through Andover and is now a Freshman at Harvard. The daughter is a Freshman at Boston University. He has been President of the institution at least six years, I believe.

Dr. Turner is obviously very much in the middle. An employee of the State, with an all white board of trustees under the authority ultimately of the Governor, he is under fire from this side. As the head of the institution to whom the student body would want to look for inspiration and leadership, he is under pressure from that side. Shortly before my coming he had been called to the Governor's office for a special meeting of the board of trustees. He took one or two of his faculty members along with him and when the Governor put pressure on him with a threatened close down of the school unless students refrained from participating in demonstrations he and his faculty members insisted that this would be a fatal course to take. The pressure was to some degree withdrawn but the students learned of the threat and there was a demonstration which ensued in protest. Whether Dr. Turner is doing all he could short of being fired to support the students and the movement itself is a question I could not answer. I did get the impression, however, of integrity and concern. The tragedy is that neither he nor Dr. Manning, President of Claflin, has any close relationship to any of the leaders in the white community. Here are the heads of the two institutions of higher learning without any honor in the city to which the institutions bring honor and certainly lift the level of the culture for Negroes and therefore for the whole community.

Dr. Turner showed me the newspaper clipping which listed the "demands" of the Negro movement: 1. Removal of segregation signs from public buildings; 2. Removal of ordinances requiring segregation from the city books; 3. Inclusion of Negroes in over-all planning for community fund raising programs; 4. Up-graded employment opportunities in City and County controlled agencies; 5. Opening of training centers to all qualified persons; 6. Removal of racial discrimination at the facilities of the county-operated hospital; 7. Removal of racial barriers at the playgrounds and recreational areas; 8. Compliance of local school districts with the Supreme Court ruling of 1954.

John Brunson

I next went to the headquarters of the movement in the Negro Methodist church which is opposite the campus of Claflin College. I was refered to the barber down the street named John Brunson, whom I next saw. He is one of the assistants in the movement which locally is under the leadership of Dr. Caldwell, a dentist. Dr. Caldwell is president of the local NAACP. Mr. Newman, state executive of NAACP has been giving the active leadership however to the movement at many of the stages of development.

John Brunson felt that there was almost no one in the white community who could be trusted to support the just demands of the Negro movement. He spoke of the school teacher, Mrs. Gloria Rackley, who had been relieved of her teaching position in the public schools. He said that this had angered the Negro community

because she had been a favorite of many of the students.

He suggested that there were two councilmen who might be interested if one could get at them; Frank Limehouse who has a clothing store and E. O. Pendarvis who has a wholesale store on Russel Street. He felt these men might be worth seeing.

He spoke warmly of the effective leadership of Dr. Caldwell in the movement and of the support of Harold Rowland, pastor of a Negro Baptist church. It was his conviction, moreover, that things would remain at a stalemate unless there could be additional demonstrations. He told me that the city council had passed a new ordinance requiring the pickets to be registered. This would not hold up in court ultimately but for the present it constituted a"new offense" and was deeply resented by the Negroes. Apparently, some of the Negroes had gone through the process of registering to picket because I found one or two on each of the down town streets. Others were picketing without having registered and decided to risk imprisonment.

He did confirm the name of Sumter Williams, pharmacist, as a sympathetic ear in the white community.

Dr. Cabotaje and Dr. Manning of Claflin

A brief interview with Felisberto V. Cabotaje, Dean of Instruction at Claflin, revealed that this Philipino who had received his college training in Manila and advanced degrees at the University of Minnesota, Northwestern University and Garrett Theological Seminary, had been subjected to considerable indignity since his arrival in the community. On several occasions he was not permitted to buy a house or to rent one in the white community even though they knew that he was not a Negro, simply because he taught in the college. He was at first welcomed in the white Methodist church but in the change of pastorship the reception there has cooled as well. He stressed that only his "Christian" convictions sustained him in a most uncomfortable way of life in which, though not Negro, he was identified as part of that community by the white community and therefore had no real contacts outside his vocational work in the college.

Dr. Hubert V. Manning is President of Claflin College. He told me that,although an administrator and concerned from this point of view for the running of a good academic program, he was first of all a Negro! He therefore feels a very deep identification with all those who are participating in the movement. His students of course are more free to become involved than those at the State College. He, like Dr. Turner, has no real friends in the white community although he has this position as college president.

He pointed out that there are all degrees d of involvement in the Negro protest movement. Some would hesitate to press for demonstrations, others feel that only these are effective. His own conviction is that the best means of securing the d desired objectives are sustained boycott and the vote. He feels that it is relatively easy for Negroes to become registered to vote in Orangeburg and thatthe boycott is at least 25% effective and has during some periods been about 75% effective.

Brooks Hays

To my happy surprise Brooks Hays was in town as the guest speaker at the 90th convocation of Claflin College. Incidentally, Dean Muelder of Boston University

was to receive an honorary degree as well. I attended the evening lecture at Claflin College at which Brooks Hays spoke. It seemed to me that he was quite effective in reaching the young people and in stressing the point that white moderates and liberals must no longer do things "for" the Negro but rather "with" the Negro. After his address I asked whether I might have breakfast with him. He graciously consented to this and asked that I join him and Mrs. Hays in the morning. It proved a very good opportunity. He had had dinner the night before with Hugo Sims, a city soliciter who had responsibility in prosecuting those arrested.

At the breakfast meeting I was able to share with Brooks Hays some of the impressions I had received. I pointed out that it seemed very unfortunate that none of the white Protestant clergy of the community had participated in the celebration of the 95th anniversary of the founding of Claflin College. Because of the position that Brooks Hays had held as President of the Southern Baptist Convention for two terms it might have been expected that some of the Baptists in town would have been interested in his presence as special speaker at the college.

Though Bill Bagwell and others had spoken of Hugh Sims as an arch conservative Brooks Hays had felt in his conversation with him in his home the previous evening that he was basically a moderate. He had lost an election earlier because of his moderate views and he felt that he was now unchanged, but that his position as City Solicitor put him in a very difficult position. Brooks Hays was to be seeing the Mayor, S. Clyde Fair, later that day. I suggested that he intercede with him to see what might be done about setting up the official inter-racial committee which the Negro movement had been seeking.

Brooks Hays indicated that he would be glad to come to Quaker House soon to speak to a group of concerned Baptist laymen and also to speak to an Inter-Seminary meeting of young men preparing for the ministry. I felt he would be very effective on both grounds.

Sumter Williams

Mrs Spearman of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations had suggested that I ought to see Mr. Williams. He owns a pharmacy in Orangeburg on Russel Street and enjoys the respect of both the white and the Negro communities. It was he who had met with Hugo Sims, the city manager or administrator, Alex Brown and one or two of the Negro movement leaders to see what might be worked out. I found this conference with Mr. Williams one of the most fruitful. He is very forthright and his sympathies are all with the Negro objectives. He has done and is now engaged in doing all he can to effect the establishment of a official inter-racial committee in the city. He reviewed for me the sequence of events which has been very disheartening and frustrating. Before the boycott had begun last summer he had undertaken to try to pursuade the mayor to form such a committee. The inactive White Citizens Council had come back to life over the issue. The John Birch Society, of which there is a very active local unit, joined forces in reaction. The boycott had begun to bring the business community to a position of yielding when the demonstrations still further antagonized them. A petition was circulated to prevent the formation of such a committee and things have been at a complete stalemate ever since. Mr. Williams now feels that probably only further demonstrations will produce any kind of action on the part of the business and political leadership.

He spoke to me of his own pastor, a Mr. Frampton, Presbyterian, and of Father Tisdale, Episcopal Priest, as being concerned persons. He particularly wanted me to see Mr. William Clark, principal of the white junior high school, who had been

very much involved in trying to work things out for a spirit of conciliation in the white community.

Convocation at Claflin

Later in the morning of the 18th I attended the Convocation exercises at Claflin College. Brooks Hays gave an excellent address with a good deal of humor and a good deal of real punch as well. Once again there seemed to be no representatives of the white community present on this historic occasion. The morale of the students seemed high and there was an excellent reception of what Brooks Hays was trying to say. As a distinguished layman and concerned churchman as well as a Presidential Assistant he was in a good position to speak to the students. He described himself as "an ecumenical Baptist and a non-partisan Democrat" and his genuine concern on the race question was certainly conveyed.

Henry Sims and William Clark

An appointment in the office of Henry Sims, brother and partner of Hugo Sims, with William Clark, principal of the white junior high school, proved to be one of the best contacts I was able to make. My own impression confirmed that of Brooks Hays, namely that the Sims brothers are not as arch conservative as I had been led to believe. Their father had earlier a large interest in the local newspaper but sold out to the more conservative members of the family, a loss of an effective medium for the forces of moderation which the family of these two lawyers has continued to regret. Henry Sims, like his brother, is a very young man, but I felt he had a sincere concern to have things move forward. He had himself taken the trouble to be present as an eye witness at several of the demonstrations. He pointed out that whereas the boycott had been conducted in a very orderly manner two or three of the demonstrations deteriorated in the tone of witness. Sometimes the youthful Negroes participating would shake their fingers in the face of passing white people and sometimes shake their fists and shout at the police, generally provoking tension. It was his feeling that the local police as well as the state police had done all they could to keep things in hand and had more than once restrained themselves when in his judgment they would have been justified in taking some action. I was favorably impressed by the junior high school principal, Mr. Clark. He had won a state-wide reputation earlier as a football coach. He is, as Mr. Williams pointed out, a very well rounded man in his interests, being extremely well read and having a sincere interest in and concern for forward movement on the race question. He is a very gracious gentleman and very persuasive in his manner. I feel that he and Mr. Williams and the Sims brothers are key people in the resolution of the problems that confront Orangeburg. They reviewed the sequence of events which Mr. Williams had told me about and confessed the frustration they felt at the present impass. I proposed to them that it might be well to try to form an informal committee which would afford communication between the Negro movement and a few concerned white people in lieu of an official committee, which seemed unlikely at the present time. They felt that this might serve a valuable purpose but didn't see how it could be nearly as effective as an official one and that it might actually retard the formation of a committee which might actually do something.

Both of these men agreed with me that Dr. Caldwell is a moderate man of balance and good sense of humor and that the community is really fortunate that he is head of the NAACP group. They indicated that they would continue to do all they could and seemed grateful that I had come.

Dr. Caldwell

Dr. Caldwell is a native born Negro, graduate of Claflin College, and Mahary School of Dentistry, who is now the head of the NAACP organization in Orangeburg. I noted with interest that he was on the platform at the Claflin Convocation and that he represented the whole alumni of the school at that occasion. When I called on him in his office he was most cordial. Despite the tensions with which he daily lives and a large practice from which he was taking his weekly day off, he seemed relaxed and to be blessed with a singularly kindly and detatched disposition. I marveled at his sense of humor and his freedom from the usual evidences of undercurrent of bitterness. I felt that he was an asset to the whole community, both Negroes and whites, and that it was unfortunate that he could not communicate in direct relationship at face to face meetings with the political leadership of the community. He is the kind of Negro which the colleges have produced for the community, an unrealized asset and resource for good. I gathered from him that he himself had not been participant in the demonstrations and that perhaps he himself inclined more toward sustained boycott and securing of additional voters, but he was of course grateful for the enthusiastic support of the movement by the students. My own feeling is that the movement is getting excellent leadership through him though probably through Mr. Newman there has been some pressure that has on occasion produced perhaps ill-considered and not sufficiently prepared for demonstrations.

Mrs. Spearman and Mrs. Ledeen

It was my privilege to have luncheon with the two ladies who head up the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Mrs. Alice Spearman and Mrs. Ledeen. Both seemed to be of exceptional ability in their work because they are long time citizens of South Carolina and while aristocrats in bearing and manner are not wanting in the common touch to reach various kinds of people. They stay in very close touch with the situation in Orangeburg as elsewhere in the state. Mrs. Spearman, in advance of my first calls in Orangeburg, had given me by phone some good suggestions for contact. She has considerable confidence in Mr. Williams. She had hoped that I might call on Mr. James Moss, a cousin by marriage, who had been attorney for the board of trustees of the South Carolina State College for Negroes. Unfortunately, he was not at his office when I called. Mrs. Spearman and Mrs. Ledeen were in town to make contacts of their own and as in my earlier visit to Columbia, S. C., I had wanted to coordinate my efforts with theirs.

SUMMARY

I should say that tensions have eased considerably in the last couple of weeks. The absenteeism at the two colleges has been so great that the presidents and student bodies have realized the importance of staying with their studies for a time. Moreover, the demonstrations did not seem to produce any effective results and I think the inclination at the moment is to return to sustained boycott of the stores. If Dr. Caldwell retains the leadership of the movement and there can be good coordination I believe that results are bound to be secured fairly soon. The Supreme Court decision on the earlier arrests in Orangeburg should have some effect. Mr. Williams, Mr. Clark and Mr. Sims will continue to explore possibilities of an interracial committee of an official kind. I feel strongly that some effort should be made for informal communication on a sustained basis in some unofficial gathering at which the college presidents, the leadership of the NAACP, protest movement and white business and political leaders might regularly meet.

Others that should be contacted at a future date are the following:
Earl Middleton, barber, 191 Amelia St. Wife serves in library at State College. He also may do some work in insurance and real estate.

T. K. Blythwood, undertaker, lives next door to Mr. Middleton. One of the wealthy local Negroes. Mr. Blythwood introduced Brooks Hays at one of the meetings at Claflin. He must be close to the college.

W. C. Bethea, president of the First National Bank and secretary of the board of directors of State College. He owns a hardware store and Mrs. Spearman feels that he is probably taking advantage of this position to drive some hard bargains that will be remunerative to him in relation to contracts at the State College.

Paul Webber, economics professor at State College whom Mrs. Spearman commends as reliable and effective.

Elmwood Lackey, has photography shop two or three doors from Sumter Williams' pharmacy. He distinguished himself by refusing under pressure to become part of the White Citizens Council.

Mayor F. Clyde Fair, the Mayor runs an insurance business of his own on the side. He would seem to be a very reasonable man but is more concerned for his own popularity than the plight of the Negroes.

Alex Brown, city administrator. It has been indicated above that Mr. Sims and Mr. Clark feel that he is a fair minded man but that his hands are tied because his position is not an elective one and he is beholden to the Mayor.

Cassendra Maxwell Birnie, now an Atlanta attorney, her parents ran a grocery store in Orangeburg. She was for a time on the faculty of the State College Law School for Negroes.

Mrs. Gloria Rackley. Teaching in the Negro public schools, she was dismissed for encouraging her pupils in high school to participate in the demonstrations. Earlier she had brought suit against the hospital for its discriminatory practices.

Dr. O. W. Calhoun, Department of social studies at Claflin College. He had been dropped from the public schools for his forthright stand earlier.

Matthew McCollum, formerly pastor at Trinity Methodist Church in Orangeburg, He has been on the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The movement is entirely an NAACP movement without any apparent participation, at least official, from SNCC or CORE, or the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) . I believe that we should stand ready to return to Orangeburg for further work at the request of Mrs. Spearman or Tartt Bell. ~~Families of the city and is identified by all as one of the strongest liberals in town. A very strong person, she seemed quite knowledgable regarding conditions in the city and potential contacts for us to make.~~

PA ✓ John MM / please ✓
wel further to
Alice S. Dougherty
with the above
copy for her

✓ J ✓
PW ✓
SB ✓

See Rel. Orgs
Quakers Atlanta

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

October 26, '63

Dear Les:

I thought you might like to see this report on my two days in Orangeburg. You may want to share it with Paul Athony. Then, will you be good enough to forward it to Mrs Sparman since it is the only extra copy I have.

It meant so much to Jane and me to be with you and Peggy the other day. It was a quiet and refreshing afternoon and we felt restored.

I hope Tony may give our High School group another try, though I shouldn't blame him for giving up on it - the way it sort of petered out last year. But I have a new, very attractive Union Theol. exchange student pastor (serving at Martin King's church) who is going to do a series of discussions on The Living Religions. He's a real liberal and I believe will be appealing to the young people. Sustained leadership was the problem last year.

Before I head East to Phil. & New York to seek to raise enough money to survive next year I may give you a ring and get any suggestions you may have.

Faithfully,

John

PA
SW - file

# RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

## ANNUAL REPORT

## FALL 1963 - FALL 1964

Quaker House
1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30306

21245 SE

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# RETROSPECT

and

# PROSPECT

## ANNUAL REPORT
## FALL 1963-FALL 1964

### Retrospect

Because we believe that you will be more likely to peruse this Annual Report with some care if we keep it brief, we have been at pains to do so. An amplification of any aspect of the program that any reader might desire would be swiftly forthcoming on request.

First, an initial word of orientation. This Program is sponsored by the Atlanta Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. It is supported by individual Friends all over the country and by friends of Quaker House in Atlanta, as well as members of the Monthly Meeting. This report brings to a close the fourth year of operation of the Program. You will recollect the plumbline by which we have been guided in all our planning: the conviction that the genius of Quakerism at its best has been a delicate balance between the cultivation of the inwardness of religious experience and a wise implementation of a deep passion for social reform. You may be the judge of the extent to which we have been faithful to this principle.

Certain elements in the Program which had seemed well-tried and proven we have felt it wise to continue. Quarterly seminars of eight to ten weeks duration have been offered for seekers in the life of the

Spirit of every religious background. These included: "The Living Religions: Distinctions and Likenesses," making use of The Religions of Man, by Huston Smith; "The Gospel of Love in St. John", considered as a notable historic synthesis of two streams of religious thought, Hebrew and Greek; and "The Phenomenon of Man," interpreting the thought of Teilhard de Chardin in his book by this title, reflecting an extraordinary fusion of the disciplines of man of science and man of faith. Once a quarter Quiet Days provided an opportunity for sustained meditation and prayer under the guidance of someone with capacity to quicken the aspirations of others

The monthly Evenings With the Arts continued to bring together varied groups around a shared interest in drama, music, poetry or contemporary dance. Such relaxed meeting, where the focus of attention is one of these languages of universal communication, removes barriers of self-consciousness, exercises a quiet ministry of reconciliation, and builds creative community. Twice monthly we were also hosts to an international student fellowship and presented programs involving dialogue along cross-cultural, interfaith, and even cross-ideological lines. Here we seek for some meeting in depth between foreign students and American students, Negro and white, to build, in this miniature League of Nations, trust through understanding.

Inasmuch as integration is not yet realized in Atlanta's elementary schools, we provided a Children's Story Hour every Friday afternoon for youngsters from seven to twelve years of age, affording at once an interfaith and inter-racial group in

which the legends and myths of the living religions and cultures were presented. Young People of high school age met Sunday afternoons to discuss on their level of interest and need Huston Smith's The Religions of Man and later examined some contemporary literature for the picture it gives of modern man's predicament.

Last Fall, as the Program year on which we now report began, we reached a policy decision to undertake a ministry in some form to Atlanta's "inner city." Our major concern all along has been race relations. In retrospect it seemed to us that we had been justified in attempting to reach first with our message on this crucial question those in a position to influence others. Our seminars and other forms of programs drew therefore more or less privileged people, Negro and white, in terms at least of education: students and professors from the institutions of higher learning, business, professional, and civic leaders. It was important to exert maximum influence where change was most essential, for far-reaching effect. At this juncture, however, we felt that a balanced program for the long pull required, in addition, a bold attempt to minister to the city's least privileged people, Negro and white.

We undertook to train ourselves for this venture by setting up two ten-week seminars, one last Fall and one in the Winter: "Atlanta's Inner-City: A Call For Help" and "War Against Poverty In Atlanta's Inner-City." Before choosing some small tactical engagement of our own in what had been proclaimed by President Johnson as a nation-wide War on Poverty, we wanted to understand

a little better the complexity of the problems which accompany and interact with poverty. We brought as resource people to these seminars all of the experts on the local level we could secure to interpret for us the various social ills involved and to brief us in the extent of existing services and current need for volunteers. Meantime we had been building a volunteer team of college students and older adults and had determined that the area of our relative competence lay in several forms of educational effort.

The metropolitan planning and research agency, The Atlanta Community Council, at first sought our assistance in expanding the program of an agency that ministered to disadvantaged whites. When it became apparent that we could not serve within the existing policy of that agency and keep our team of volunteers integrated, we reluctantly declined this assignment. The Council then called to our attention work which had been undertaken by the Urban League in a section of the city designated (from the first letters of its bounding streets) as the NASH AREA, a poverty pocket adjacent to Atlanta University. Though this is virtually an all-Negro community, work undertaken can be open to all and be administered by a thoroughly integrated team, thus meeting a minimum requirement for participation established by our trustees.

Having been invited by the Urban League to take responsibility for educational programs in the overall social and physical rehabilitation of the community through the Nash Corporation (a resident organization) it had established, we went to work in April and May. The principal of one of the Negro elementary schools

who had been a resource person for us in the period of preparation urged us to find forty college students as individual tutors for as many children in his fourth grade. These secured from several college campuses in the community, and a small break-through ensued: the Atlanta school administration, which had come to have some measure of confidence in us through our work in relation to Atlanta's school desegregation, allowed us to bring our integrated team into the public school for this work after school hours. (Atlanta's teaching staff is still thoroughly segregated.) These young people were to be not so much drill-masters as "big brothers" and "big sisters" to these children, befriending them and taking them to the art museum and other civic centers, enlarging their vocabulary, life-experiences, and therefore, horizons. Meantime, working under the general supervision of those who knew the children best, their teachers, we could be spared blunders and receive the benefit of objective appraisal of our work.

At the same time two other elementary schools in the area were invited to refer to us twenty-five children each from the fifth to seventh grades for supervised study-halls held in facilities offered by the Eagan Homes (an Atlanta Housing Authority unit for Negroes). With the benefit of college students and other adults at hand to help with homework, and in attractive surroundings, the children were stimulated to do their assignments more faithfully and certainly more comfortably than would have been possible in many of their homes. A high school adjacent to the area referred some fifteen eighth-graders to us for special tutoring needs, and additional

volunteers were found for this assignment. The management of the housing unit gave us every conceivable encouragement and afforded us without rental charge the very attractive facilities.

Meantime, we had trained about twenty-five adults in the Laubach method of teaching adults to read and write. Some of these immediately embarked on the plan "each one teach one." We are, however, just beginning to learn how to overcome the barriers of lethargy, hopelessness, and shyness which stand in the way of sustained motivation of those who need this kind of help. New methods are also coming swiftly to the aid of those seeking to implement the Basic Education section of the Economic Opportunity Act. We hope to benefit by these and to improve our effort in this area of removing the shakles of illiteracy from those whom this handicap alone would impoverish.

Late in the Spring, the National Student Christian Federation asked us if we would take responsibility for planning and offering over-all supervision during the summer for one of their Voluntary Ecumenical Service Projects. We were delighted to have this increase in manpower for the work we had begun on behalf of the children of this area. Again, the Nash Corporation, the Urban League and the Atlanta Housing Authority cooperated with us in the planning and execution of this project. Eagan Homes provided camp-style housing for the twelve college students chosen nationally and their two resident directors, a husband-wife team, who had already had excellent training for the work by having supervised ecumenical projects with students in Hong Kong, Chicago and Harlem.

Their leadership was superb. Each college student had responsibility every morning, five days a week, for six weeks, for a group of from six to twelve children of the same age so that there was meeting and interrelatedness in some depth. We provided additional resource persons in Dance, Drama and Art from our "talent bank" of adult volunteers, but the "campers" had to plan the morning's program for their little flock entirely on their own initiative. Unhappily we had to turn away some children who sought to register because it was essential, we thought, not to jeopardize the quality of the work by accepting too many.

You can readily imagine that there were all kinds of learning experiences both for children and "campers." Perhaps the most moving aspect for an observer of the daily scene at the Eagan Homes, as the project went forward, was the response of the children to this warm, personal interest in them as individuals. Some undoubtedly experienced love in a degree they had not known before. At the same time some of the college students confessed that their's was a comparable experience. Their day was balanced by hard physical work in renovating a home in the neighborhood which was in a state of considerable disrepair. And their evenings were spent in Bible study and dialogue with various leaders in the civil rights groups in Atlanta. It was a strenuous period for these "campers". Several have since written us, however, that it was a turning point in their lives and that they have volunteered for comparable service in communities near their college campuses.

While this work was in progress, another group of college stu-

dents, at home on vacation in Atlanta, undertook tutorial assignments with high school young people. One group read together Midsummer Night's Dream and then enjoyed a performance of the play as guests of Atlanta's Academy Theatre. Several special interest groups in art, sewing and choral work continued through the summer.

In completing this review of the last year's work, mention should be made of several additional undertakings. We brought Philadelphia's famed "Singing City" to Atlanta for an inspired evening's concert which spoke to the condition of the audience, as only fine art can, a message relating both to world peace and to race relations. Heinz Kloppenburg, important figure in the East-West dialogue of the churches in Europe, friend of Niemoller and Bonhoffer, provided us a very stimulating Peace Institute. The Peace Committee of the U.S.S.R., brought to this country through the patient and untiring efforts of A. J. Muste, interpreted its views to a large audience at Quaker House. The Japanese World Peace Mission had a similar opportunity. And on a number of occasions we were hosts to members of the Quebec to Guantanemo Peace March.

## IN PROSPECT

The fifth year of our Program at Quaker House has already begun as this report is being written. Two new seminars are in progress: "Changing Theological Patterns", reviewing the theological positions of Teilhard de Chardin, Thomas Merton, Martin Buber and Paul Tillich, with special interest in parallel lines of approach in new emphases; and "Race

Relations And The War On Poverty," examining the changing emphases and opportunities in the civil rights struggle with special concern for the interrelationship between this effort and the effort to reverse the poverty trend, making use of such new studies as Silberman's Crisis in Black and White. Meantime, all of the regular programs for children, high school, college and graduate students are being resumed.

In addition, our efforts involving volunteers in the Nash Area are being expanded. We continue to cooperate with the Urban League, Nash Corporation and the Atlanta Housing Authority and will be coordinating our efforts also with the Community Council and the newly established Atlanta-Fulton Economic Opportunity Authority. The one-to-one tutorial work in the elementary schools and the supervised study-halls in Eagan Homes have been started again with a new group of student volunteers who have made firm commitments for one quarter's service. Those trained in the work of adult literacy are awaiting assignments. Certain special groups for teen-agers in art, sewing and shared vocational interest are in process of being formed.

Finally, a new project in the shape of an experimental Nursery School is being planned by another group of older volunteers. The new emphasis nationally recognized experts are placing on the training of three and four year old children with participation by parents, to reduce the cultural lag before Kindergarten, is the guiding principle to which this group is committed. Mothers will first be drawn into active cooperation in the planning of the Nursery, and forms of sustained involvement will be worked out. This, we hope, can

be a controlled experiment in which we can in two year's time measure the comparative experience and vocabulary level of those who enter the same Public School Kindergarten without similar training. We are happy to have played some small role, meantime, in the winning for Atlanta of a Ford Foundation Project in pre-school education, by reason of having brought together for conference at an early stage the deans and faculty of Atlanta's two graduate Schools of Education at Emory and Atlanta University. The cooperation of two such schools, one predominantly Negro and the other predominantly white, was one of the requisites in the Ford plan. Since only a relatively small number of Atlanta's "slum" children will be reached by this revolutionary step forward in public school education, our own small project will still be needed.

Our efforts in all our Nash Area planning have been greatly influenced by the invaluable experience and creative thinking of one who has coordinated all aspects of the project. Now we rejoice at our good fortune in supplementing this service with the work of a full-time volunteer sent to us by the VISA program (Voluntary International Service Assignments) of the American Friends Service Committee. Only six young people have been chosen for domestic assignments in Southeastern United States. We are fortunate to have one of these. A recent graduate of Earlham College, she will help us in all phases of our own Nash Area Program.

## FINANCES

All of our supporters will be happy to hear that we have just paid in full the $15,000.00 mortgage with which we began the program four years ago. This enables us without increasing our budget to transfer this item of $5,900.00 for debt reduction in each of the last three years to program expansion in the Nash Area for the coming year. We need some paid training personnel and secretarial assistance if this program is to make effective use of the volunteer assistance which would be forthcoming if there were more adequate supervision. This is a consuming demand on time, as anyone knows who has undertaken a program making such extensive use of volunteers.

The contributions of Foundations continue to contract in size or to be withdrawn in accordance with accepted Foundation policy. Hence, the very great need for expansion and enlargement of individual contributions from friends of Quaker House. We are most grateful for your past support and make bold to ask a larger share of your sacrificial giving in the coming year.

John Yungblut
Director of Program

* * *

## PROPOSED BUDGET, 1965

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Administration & Existing Program | $15,000.00 |
| 2. | Utilities & Maintenance of Property | 3,250.00 |
| 3. | Insurance on Property | 850.00 |
| 4. | Expansion of Program in Nash Area | 5,900.00 |
| | Total | 25,000.00 |

150 Glenn, SW
Zma 8-0096

QUAKER Service

Bulletin of AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SPRING 1964

# WAYS TO EASE TENSION IN GERMANY SUGGESTED IN PUBLISHED REPORT

THE further easing of travel restrictions on both sides of the Berlin Wall is suggested in a special report recently published by the American Friends Service Committee.

Entitled *Journey Through A Wall*, the report is based on a trip which eight representatives of the AFSC made last September to both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

On both sides of the Wall, the group reports, they found a "mirror image," each half of Berlin blaming the other, and each fearing the other's intentions. Continued lack of communication has bred suspicion and a hardening of attitude, the members of the Quaker mission believe, which will make an eventual solution more difficult.

Reports of conversations which the traveling group held with Walter Ulbricht, chairman of the State Council of East Germany, and with high officials of the Bonn government, are made public in the report for the first time, and reveal the mission's concern that communication be increased.

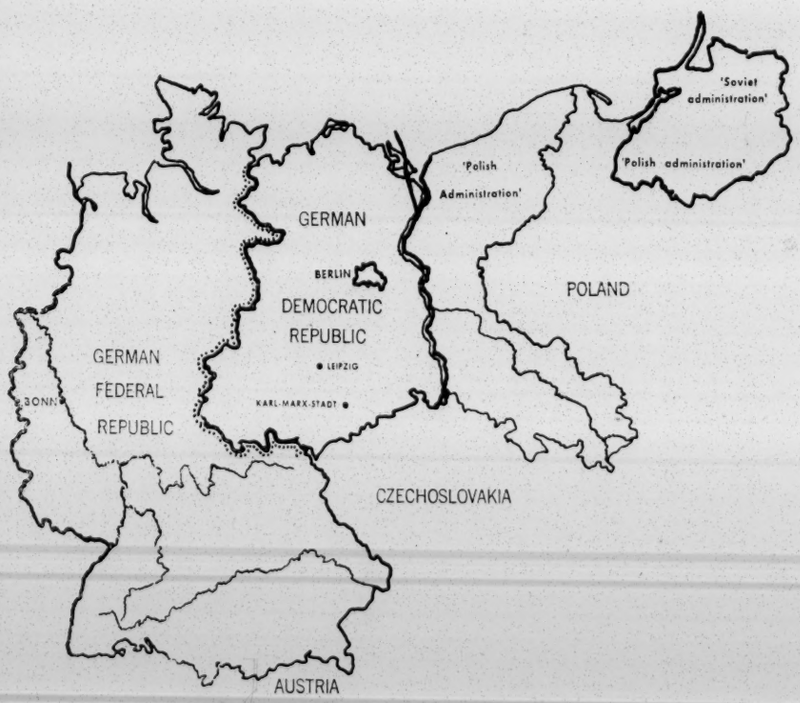
"Particularly important, it appears to us, are increased meetings between persons who are capable of significant dialogue despite conflicting outlooks," group members said to Walter Ulbricht last September in a prepared statement. To the Bonn government they stated: "We recognize the extreme political difficulties involved, but must ask, 'Is not such communication the best hope for a way through to better conditions?'"

In a letter to Walter Ulbricht, mailed November 12, after the mission's return to the United States, the AFSC group suggested that he consider lifting the ban on travel between East and West Germany in cases where married or engaged couples have been separated by the building of the Berlin Wall, and in cases where persons wish to visit close relatives who are either gravely ill or dying.

To the Allied Travel Board, the mission also sent a letter asking modification of restrictions which keep certain categories of East Germans from traveling in NATO countries.

"The recipe for transforming the walls that divide Berlin and Germany is not to be found in a three weeks visit," the report says. Rather than making a series of detailed recommendations, the mission group sought to pose a series of "provocative questions"

*continued on page 4*




**An outline map of divided Germany today, showing the four cities visited by the AFSC representatives on their recent mission.**

## NEW YOUTH PROJECTS PLANNED FOR SUMMER

NEW developments in the Service Committee's College Program are evident in the expansion of summer projects.

The traditional "internes" projects this summer will include Internes in Civil Rights, in Housing Desegregation, and in Urban Social Change. Some will work with civil rights groups in San Francisco. Others will assist agencies in Chicago working on problems of housing desegregation. Philadelphia internes, working in industry and in social agencies, will study and experience problems of urban social change.

Special projects are also being organized in the field of citizenship education and voter registration. Participants in Detroit will assist teachers in a tutoring and remotivation program for elementary school children. In Cleveland, project members will cooperate with a local community center on a program which combines service to tenants both in the rehabilitation of their homes and in voter registration. A similar project will be in Orangeburg, South Carolina. In Delaware a playmobile will tour seasonal farm labor camps, and participants will conduct educational and recreational programs.

One of the earliest types of peace education projects, the Peace Caravan, will be revived this summer, when five such caravans will take young people into Oregon; California and Arizona; Ohio and Indiana; Michigan; and New York.

A caravan, which is international and interracial in composition, includes four or five young men and women of college age. They spend five weeks during the summer traveling throughout a specific area of the nation. Following a schedule prepared by a local committee in advance of their arrival, they discuss domestic and world affairs and new approaches to peace with civic groups, granges, labor unions, churches, and service clubs.

This summer's caravans begin with orientation at the Midwest Summer Institute, Williams Bay, Wisconsin.

# RETRAINING PROGRAM FOR FARM LABORERS BEGUN

THE AFSC, in cooperation with the California Departments of Employment and Education, has contracted with the federal government to recruit and pre-counsel 200 Tulare County farm laborers to participate in a new training project in marketable farm skills.

Although Tulare County is the second richest agricultural county in the nation, farm laborers who provided hand labor have found their jobs eliminated by mechanization of agriculture. For example, 28,000 such jobs were available in 1958, and only 17,000 in 1962. Most of this original work force, however, still resides in the county and is unemployed.

The proposal follows upon eight years of AFSC farm labor project experience in Tulare County, where staff observed the great need for new marketable agricultural skills, as well as the need for increased self-confidence which they would give to workers seeking year-round employment.

AFSC's role is one of recruiting and pre-counseling. Counseling and job placement will be the responsibility of the state's Department of Employment, and classes where specific skills are taught will be developed through the state's Department of Education.

The project has two unusual aspects. AFSC's Farm Labor staff workers have long been aware of the farm worker's fear of "passing over the government's doorstep" whether that government be county, state, or federal. Secondly, many farm laborers have less than the minimum educational background to qualify for the current testing procedures.

It is AFSC's task to convince those farm laborers who are most likely to remain in agriculture to apply for the training program, and then to pre-counsel them in meeting the problems of interviewing and testing.

New tests have been devised for the training program, so that trainees with little or no education, as well as those Mexican-Americans who have additional language and cross-cultural problems, may qualify. Then, as the course in specific skills progresses, parallel training in remedial education will be provided.

It is anticipated, therefore, that as the trainees become skilled in tractor and machinery operation, tree and vine pruning, budding and grafting, fruit thinning, vine culture, and special harvesting techniques, they will improve their ability to read instructions, gauges, and other data.

The contract between AFSC and the Department of Labor was signed on January 2, 1964, by Northern California Regional executive, Stephen Thiermann, and by Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training. It has a duration of 14 months, and an allocation of $40,000 to provide for staff, office, and other costs.

The project got underway shortly after signing with the appointment of Peter Lauwerys as director, working with Kirke Wilson, manager of the AFSC cooperative—the Sequoia Farm Labor Association Incorporated.

This pilot project may provide some answers to the growing problem of unemployment in the ranks of unskilled labor, as agriculture becomes increasingly mechanized.

**The skyline of Lima, Peru, is visible in the background of this view of one of its barriadas. Migrating to the city from rural areas, barriada dwellers are largely underemployed and live in deplorable housing without water or sanitary facilities. The Service Committee has begun a program which will seek to improve conditions in the barriadas and help these people to become self-sufficient.**

## "...the prevalence of newness..."

*Philadelphia, Pa.*
*March, 1964*

*Dear Friends:*

"One thing that is new is the prevalence of newness, the changing scale and scope of change itself, so that the world alters as we walk in it, so that the years of man's life measure not some small growth or development or rearrangement or moderation of what he learned in childhood but a great upheaval."

These words of Robert Oppenheimer are born out, it seems to me, in the accounts you will find in this bulletin of some of our current activities. One story tells of cooperation between government and a private agency, the AFSC, to retrain American seasonal agricultural laborers whose livelihood, always precarious, is threatened by automation and other factors which are taking from them the only asset they have—their hands. For too long they have lived on the far, outer margins of our affluent society. Now, a few of them have the chance to retrain into skills through which they can find not only livelihood but self-respect.

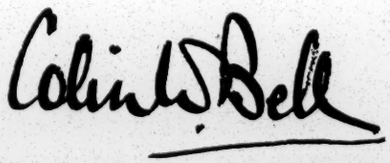
Another article records a Quaker visit to East and West Germany, where the walls of division between men's minds and souls are much higher than the walls of concrete and barbed wire. It was a mission of search for understanding and reconciliation which did not try to dodge or ignore the intractable problems, but sought to help open some genuine human contact in a situation of political estrangement.

A third speaks of another group of outcasts, this time in Lima, Peru, a city ringed about by squatter villages of those who have tried to escape rural poverty by flocking to the towns. A disastrous fire in the *barriada* compelled resettlement, and we have become involved in the new situation.

This is a busy time of year for those of us who set up summer projects for young people. The plans for 1964 show how much our youth is challenged to take part in the constant remolding of a world which "alters as we walk in it" and in which, hopefully, these young people will walk for many years.

Retraining, reconciliation, resettlement, remolding—here is the changing scale and scope of change itself. It is our task to see that the timeless truths by which men have nourished their spirits in the past are not thrust aside by the sweep of change, but find their appropriate application to the life of our time.

*Sincerely,*



*Executive Secretary*

# WORK PROGRESSES IN PROBLEM AREAS OF LIMA, PERU

THE new AFSC program in Peru is helping in the resettlement of 300 families in the *barriadas* of Lima as its first major project in a program of urban community development.

A *barriada* consists of a group of villagers who have migrated as a unit from the rural areas and have established themselves on land surrounding the city. Often, in the urban environment the *barriada* picks up other families.

In Lima it is estimated that over 500,000 persons, or more than one-quarter of the city's total population, now live in *barriadas*. The vast majority of these people lack adequate employment, housing, or sanitary facilities.

One of the *barriadas*, Tacora, was swept by a disastrous fire in December, 1963. Most of the families lost everything they owned except the clothes on their backs, and even the small number of wage earners have been unable to return to work because of loss of tools, working papers, and other basic possessions.

Junta Nacional de la Vivenda, the government agency responsible for public housing and city planning, has moved these families to Pamplona, a new resettlement area south of the city. Here, each family has been given title to a plot of land. In a further effort to build a more stable and more prosperous community than in the old location, the Junta has invited the Service Committee to help these families establish themselves at the new location. In this manner, it is hoped a pilot project of proper community development in the *barriadas* will result.

The building of a new community in Pamplona is actually starting "from scratch." The Junta has distributed straw mats and poles to each family to serve as temporary dwellings. Another government agency, Junta de Assistancia Social, has supplied water in tanks, and set up a temporary common kitchen. Though streets have been laid out, no other facilities are present. A solution to the water problem is urgently needed.

To help the families of Pamplona make a new beginning, the field director of the AFSC Peru Program, Alan Walker, has hired three Peruvian social workers — including one health specialist — and is working alongside these people in surveying community problems. As pressing needs are uncovered, the new staff attempts to deal with them. Currently, AFSC workers are helping *barriada* dwellers apply for new working papers to take the place of those lost in the fire, and to borrow tools and basic funds from government agencies. Once the men get back to work, Alan Walker feels, it will be easier to deal with other emerging problems of community development.

When a pilot project is firmly established in Pamplona, the AFSC hopes to expand its activities into three or four additional *barriadas*. The experience thus gained by AFSC staff will then be shared with other *barriadas* in a variety of ways. One possibility currently being considered is the establishment of an information center where *barriada* dwellers can learn about serv-

*continued on page 4*

## Germany Report Published

*continued from page 1*

which persons concerned about reducing East-West tensions might ponder.

A description of the economic condition and social institutions of East Germany is made in one chapter of the report. The AFSC group states that they felt this chapter might be useful since few such eyewitness reports are now available to the West.

"With reasonable accuracy one might describe the economy of the Federal Republic of Germany as highly prosperous and sound; the economy of West Berlin as prosperous, though somewhat artificially so; and the economy of the German Democratic Republic as clearly lean and austere," the report reads.

"It nevertheless remains to be said that the GDR has made considerable progress, particularly during the past ten years. This was quite apparent to those of us who had visited East Berlin as few as five years ago. Much has been accomplished in new construction and in cleaning away the ruins of World War II. Unemployment is nonexistent."

Other chapters deal with the development of the present problem of a divided Germany, with the state of religion in East Germany, and with possible future roles for Berlin. Might not the city come to serve as an international cultural center, the mission members ask?

The dialogue between the mission and the East German Peace Council is presented in a special chapter as a case study in communication across ideological barriers.

Members of the visiting AFSC party were William Barton, executive secretary of the Friends Service Council of Great Britain; Finn Friis, former advisor to the Danish Foreign Ministry; Irwin Abrams, professor of European history, Antioch College; Francis Dart, professor of physics, University of Oregon and member of the board of directors of the American Friends Service Committee, as is also Hertha Kraus, former professor, School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College; Morris Keeton, dean of faculty of Antioch College; and Clifford Maser, dean, School of Business and Technology, Oregon State College. Also traveling with the group was Roland Warren, sociologist and Quaker International Affairs Representative in Germany.

## Work Progress In Lima

*continued from page 3*

ices and resources available to them, and can be sure of a sympathetic audience for their troubles.

Currently, Alan Walker is also serving as advisor to a voluntary group, "Los Amigos del Peru." Key members of this group of young professional people have taken part in the Service Committee's community development work in Mexico. Upon return home, they were concerned to help further with the development of their own country, and have registered themselves with the government as a voluntary group authorized to work in the *barriadas*. They began their first project in the *barriada* Ciudadela Chalaca in January, 1964. Here they have already organized both a mothers' club and a boys' club.

The AFSC program in Peru is projected over a five year period. The Committee hopes to work as a catalyst, bringing together Peruvian social workers and Peruvian capital, as well as Peruvian *barriada* dwellers, in a search for solutions to their common problems.

***Manhattan Battleground*, a 50-minute television documentary on the work of the American Friends Service Committee in East Harlem, New York City, is now available for circulation.**

**Produced and directed by William Jersey, the film shows Dan Murrow, former project director, as he visits local residents of the block, giving them friendship, encouragement, and advice.**

**The 16-mm film has since been used by religious organizations, high schools, colleges, and at meetings of professional educators. It may be scheduled free of charge by arrangement with the audio-visual service of the AFSC national office in Philadelphia.**

**American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Phila. 2, Pa.**

If more than one copy of this Bulletin comes to your home, please send us the address panels from each. If it is feasible, the duplication will be eliminated; however, the duplication is often less expensive than the special procedures necessary to avoid it.

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LESLIE W DUNBAR
SOUTHERN REGNL COU INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW
ATLANTA 3 GA

73

Rec'd 3/16/65

Quakers House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

See Relig. orgs

PWV
PAV
MJ - file

March 12, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I have some qualms of conscience in speaking so vehemently on our shared plane flight a week ago this Wednesday. I do hope that you will forgive the depth of emotion I may have expressed at that time. I felt that possibly I was a little rude in countering your convictions with such emphasis.

Like many others I felt moved, almost instantaneously and largely intuitively by Dr. King's invitation through the National Council of Churches, to participate in the march this past Tuesday in Selma. I had not before that time taken any part in demonstrations, you perhaps realize. I am referring of course to demonstrations in the civil rights movement itself. I had participated in some Quaker marches witnessing for peace. A very clear sense of "calling" came, however, on this occasion. I was at the time with others at the ESCRU office in a meeting of the Team Ministry in Southern Cities, studying the effect of their recent mission to Jacksonville, Florida. A telephone conversation with John Morris brought word of what was transpiring there. Though I waited until I conferred with June later it seemed to me at the moment that this was the time when I must respond to direct action for reasons that I indicated in the enclosed report.

filed in Research

I am simply sharing this account with several friends and you are one I wanted to include. Sometime soon I hope we will have a chance to talk together again. I have such great admiration for you as a person and for the soundness of your judgment on many matters that I would appreciate your candid comments regarding your own impressions of these past few days and your analysis of what has happened.

Constantly with me were your comments about the "sacrifice" involved in the cities which Dr. King has chosen to make these stands. I should like to share with you my own personal impression that the young Negro lad with whom I marched, hand in hand, seemed extremely grateful for our presence there. Whatever devastation in terms of consequent lack of communication between whites and Negroes in Selma may immediately follow, I have a feeling that the average Negro young person will not soon forget the common

cause made by all who came to Selma. This will be an abiding experience. In the case of this young lad we exchanged addresses and my son will follow through by writing him. It is a very small thing, I know, and yet I feel that it probably is a symbol of what took place between many others there.

I must confess to you personally that it was one of the richest experiences of my life. I had not been able to participate in the march on Washington because of an engagement to speak at the Episcopal Pacificist Conference which I felt I could not turn down at the time. But I shall always be glad that I was there in Selma on this particular march. I feel that it was in some ways the most significant thing that has happened in terms of tangible evidence of a great awakening in the Church itself. The sense of solidarity between the concerned so transcended race as to remain in one's heart for a long time to come.

I want, lest my account be misunderstood, to say that I have the highest confidence in and admiration for many of the SNCC participants. They are inspried by great courage and high idealism in many many cases. I should not want to belittle in any way their effort. I only want to bear this additional testimony to the point that I was making on our journey, namely that I for one am extremely grateful for all the spiritual leadership which Dr. King has given the movement and for the way in which he has drawn into his demonstrations white participation.

We must get together soon.

Affectionally,

John

John Yungblut

JY/bh

Enclosure

April 6, 1965

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

It was good of you to write to me at such length and with such thoughtfulness. I want to assure you that I found our conversation on the plane extremely interesting, even helpful, and very much a pleasure.

All the way through it, however, and since, I have felt a little uncertain as to why we seemed to be disagreeing so much. In my own mind, the only difference which separated us was that I seem to feel less pessimistic than you about SNCC and not quite as unreserved as you in my assessment of Martin's leadership. But I felt all along that these were only disagreements of degree, and not very sizeable degree. I have the utmost admiration, and even wonder, for Martin King. So I believe we really think pretty much alike; that is, we don't "think" alike, but we do pretty well agree.

Come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Relig. Orgs. "Quakers" Atlanta

April 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

I just want to thank you for your most gracious letter. I certainly agree that we are much closer in our perspectives than would have appeared to one overhearing our conversation on that occasion.

You may be interested to know that I have very strong reservations about the wisdom of Martin King's latest move in the boycott decision. It seems to me that this was not timely nor is it a particularly practical thing to do. My own hope is that energies ought now to be turned toward a joint witness for negotiation on the Vietnam crisis and in the united efforts that would be possible in our war on poverty.

Faithfully yours,

John

John Yungblut

JY/bh

Rec'd 3/18/66
File: Rel. org. Quakers.
or. rep.
TA - gen.
also
"Potential Contributors"

MJ

March 17, 1966

Mr. Hubert R. Taylor
1706 Girard Trust Building
1400 South Penn Square
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Dear Mr. Taylor:

This is in response to your letter of March 10, 1966 to John Yungblut--who is away in England and South Africa until August or September--asking for information concerning the existence of the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

I have learned that the Southern Commission was reorganized in 1944 and then merged with other similar agencies to become the Southern Regional Council, presently located at 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 (Telephone: (404) 522-8764). The executive director of the Council is Mr. Paul Anthony. I am sure Mr. Anthony would appreciate hearing from you about the bequest of $95.00 which was to be distributed to the Southern Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Harkins
Secretary to John Yungblut

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

LWD

# Toward a Creative Community through A House of Living Dialogue

Quaker House
1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA
DRAKE 3-7986

nothing

nothing others!

FA what do you think?

Tyler: Rel. orgs. Quakers Atl.

Dear Les:

In cooperation with the Friends General Conference, Quaker House is offering a Community Friendship Project January 31 through February 6. The chief aim is to help increase communication between dominant and minority group peoples. To this end local workers are trained in the use of group conversation to help develop friendliness and trust in the participating communities.

This opportunity will be open to some 15 or 20 people from various agencies in our community. The intensive period of training will take place Friday evening January 31 and throughout the day and evening of Saturday, February 1. The training leader will be Rachel Davis DuBois of the Friends General Conference. She has won national recognition for her development of certain techniques in group dynamics which have proven effective in breaking through various forms of tension and distrust, thus permitting genuine and deep level communication. She is also the author of the book The Art Of Group Conversation.

The sessions will begin following supper at 6:30, Friday evening, Jan. 31. The cost of registration, including luncheon and supper on Saturday as well, will be only $15.00.

Individual appointments with Rachel DuBois will be set up for the early part of the following week.

On the enclosed card will you indicate those in your organization whom you wish to enroll in this Project?

Faithfully yours,

John

John Yungblut

JY/so

P.S. This woman is really good, Les. Do you have any in your organization that might well profit from such training? It would take very little time off the job. The intensive part is Friday evening + Saturday.

May we enroll the following in the Community Friendship Project at Quaker House, January 31 - February 1.

Organization: _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

NAMES:

July 21, 1960

Mr. Joe Earl Elmore
Texas Council of Churches
504 W. 24th St.
Austin, Texas

Dear Joe:

Just a hasty note. It was a real pleasure being with you, and sharing long conversations. I hope we will see more of each other and before too long.

I have dug up the report of the Texas Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. It is brief, but I think you should read it and I am sure the University library would have it. Title: The National Conference and the Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. 1959. Members of the Texas Advisory Committee are:

Chairman, Judge Thos. B. Ramey, Tyler;
Secretary, Jerome K. Crossman, Dallas (SRC board member);
Members, Col. W. B. Bates, Houston;
Robt. L. Bobbitt, San Antonio;
J. S. Bridwell, Wichita Falls;
M. R. Bullock, Fort Stockton;
N. H. Hannah, Jr., Port Arthur;
Dr. N. D. Sadler, Ft. Worth;
Dr. W. R. White, Waco.

Mary Ellen Goodman's address is: 250 Pine Hollow Lane, Houston, 21, Texas. She is the author of Race Awareness in Young Children.

I am sending you under separate cover an initial offering of stuff. The pamphlet, School Desegregation: the first six years, contains a few figures on Texas. The verifax copies of pages from the SERS Statistical Summary are the most recent issue. The additions and corrections on the Texas sheet were given to me by SERS when I questioned them about some of the material. A questionnaire was prepared for use by the Tennessee Advisory Committee on Civil Rights. Whether it is actually being used I don't know. The reports on the

Student Protest Movement may be of use to the hotel and restaurant commission.

We are going to make a more or less careful search to see what materials we may have that would be useful to the various commissions. We may get something off to you in a week or two.

The pieces by Dabbs, Campbell and Tarplee are for your own personal enjoyment.

Best wishes, and keep me informed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosed:
Verifax, SERS pp. 1, 2, 18
Sample questionnaire

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years
Student Protest Movement
Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy
Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas
Dabbs, The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners
Campbell, A Man Had Two Sons
Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

Mailed separately:

Notes on Convention Facilities
Negro Police in South, 1953 (SRC list)
Desegregation of Recreational Facilities in Southern States, 1959 (SRC list)
Desegregating Institutions, white and Negro colleges and universities, 1959
Southern School News, Jan. 1959 to June 1960
Integration: North and South, Loth and Fleming
New South, July 1951, "Professional Associations Drop the Color Bar"
May-June, 1951, "Negro Municipal Workers in the South"
Aug. 1952, "Negro Firemen in the South"
Jan. 1954, "The Color Line in Southern Libraries"
April 1954, "A Court Rules on Park Segregation"

July 27, 1960

Mr. Joe Earl Elmore
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Joe:

I am sending you, under separate cover, a few things which may be of use to you. A brief word of explanation:

The rough notes on convention facilities are extremely sketchy, but we have had not much luck in Texas.

The listing of Negro police is of course dated, but it is the last one we have done. Newspapers don't record appointment of Negro police any more with much completeness; the subject no longer is considered newsworthy. If you are interested in any more information on this question, I suggest you write to Professor Elliott M. Rudwick, School of Social Welfare, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, who has been conducting a new survey.

Copies of Integration: North and South are scarce as hen's teeth. I would be grateful if you would return the one we are sending you when you leave Texas.

I am sending you a complete file of Southern School News from January 1959 to the present, plus one or two other things.

If we think of, or run across, anything else, I'll send it on. When you leave, you might want to give me the names of the commission chairmen so that next year I could communicate with them if anything came along which I thought would be of interest.

Hope that everything is still going well. How have you made out with Noland?

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

*Churches:*
DR. HAROLD LUNGER

*Colleges and Universities:*
DR. JESSE R. WILSON

*Employment:*
THE REV. BOB BREIHAN

*Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:*
DR. W. ASTOR KIRK

*Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:*
MR. TOM REAVLEY

*Housing:*
MR. WILLIAM PARKER

*Public Facilities:*
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

August 19, 1960

Dear Friend:

Each of the eight commissions of the race relations study has had its initial meeting and outlined its work. Enclosed are brief summaries of the plans of your commission and the seven others. I hope you will take time to read these outlines with some care to see what others are doing and to get a perspective on the entire venture.

The Steering Committee and the Council staff requested that I commend each of you for the excellent beginning you have made and to relay to you their pledge to support the study in every way. The committee is seeking financial backing and will be in touch with you in the not-too-distant future about financial and personnel resources.

May I ask each of you to do two specific things:

1) Many of you have information and experience in areas other than that in which your commission is working. Before putting the summaries away, send your suggestions and information to the chairman of the relevant commission. Each commission will be compiling a list of experiences and incidents: will you please write out any known to you and send them to the appropriate commission chairman?

2) The Commission on Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants is compiling a list of organizations which cannot meet in Texas because of a policy requiring open facilities. Will you please send a list of such organizations known to you (e.g. learned societies, professional organizations, etc.), together with what information you have on the subject, to Mr. Tom Reavley. I urge you to take this request seriously; it will greatly strengthen the study.

You will notice that the commissions are comprised of excellent people and the plans they have made are promising. I am convinced that our labors can and will be significant in Texas.

Cordial best wishes in your work and sincere thanks for your involvement and enthusiasm.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Earl Elmore

Joe Earl Elmore, director

JEE:wv

October 4, 1960

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

Some time ago Joe Elmore sent a set of the work plans drawn up by each of the commissions for the race relations study. Mr. Saul Silverman, staff director for the Governor's committee in Florida, was in our office recently and I was describing to him the Texas study. He would like very much to have some information about it. I wonder if you could send him a set of the work sheets and any other pertinent descriptive material you may have. His address is:

Mr. Saul Silverman
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol Building
Tallahassee, Florida

If you have another set of the work plans that you can spare, we would appreciate receiving another copy for our research files.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Saul Silverman

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
*President, United Church Women of Texas*

*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MR. WAYNE EWEN (*Fort Worth*)
*President, United Christian Youth Movement of Texas*
*Secretary*: THE REV. ROBERT D. MATHENY (*Jacksonville*)
*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)

File

# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK
*Office Manager and Youth Work Advisor:*
MRS. WANDA VAUGHN
*Dir. Dept. of Religion and Public Education:*
C. T. GIFFORD, Ph. D.
*State CROP Exec. Dir.:*
MR. G. JAMES HUSTON
*Dir. Migrant Ministry:*
MISS BETTY WHITAKER
*Migrant Ministry Staff:*
MISS KAY MANAGBANAG
MR. JOHN C. ROBERTSON

October 19, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have held up replying to your letter hoping that I could enclose several questionnaire and survey forms which some of our study commissions are using, or rather, are going to use when we produce them. However, the office has been so swamped with fall program activities that they are not ready.

Some of the commissions have proceeded to have their materials commercially produced. However, we have discouraged this because we have no money remaining in the Race Relations Progress account.

At Will Campbell's suggestion, I am writing today to the Taconic and Rockefeller Brothers foundations, using your name as Will's.

Most of our commissions are on the job and doing good work. I shall send you a batch of materials shortly.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY - TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

COMMISSION MEMBERS

CHURCHES

Dr. Harold Lunger, Chairman, T. C. U., Fort Worth
The Rev. J. B. Fowler, Box 334, Vega
Mrs. Cordye Hall, 5835 Ellsworth, Dallas
The Rev. H. Rhett James, 2700 Hibernia, Dallas
The Rev. Edward Robertson, 4007 Lullwood, Austin

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Dr. Glenn Routt, T. C. U., Fort Worth

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Mr. Tom Reavley, Chairman, Brown Building, Austin
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The Rev. Edwin Kloppe, 2103 Oldham, Austin
The Rev. James Mosley, 100 West 27th Street, Austin

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ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION, AND SPORTS

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Mr. Ted Freedman, 2409 San Jacinto, Houston
Mrs. Cora Hicks, 1600 Fairplay Court, Austin
Mrs. B. C. Hill, 1700 Grantland Circle, Fort Worth
Dr. Julius Rivera, Texas Technological College, Lubbock

HOUSING

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Mr. Robert Childers, 3620 West 11th Street, Houston
Mr. Harold Keller, 403 E. Travis, San Antonio
Mrs. Marie McGuire, 400 Labor Street, San Antonio
Mr. A. Maceo Smith, Advisor, 2407 Thomas, Dallas

EMPLOYMENT

The Rev. Bob Breihan, Chairman, 2434 Guadalupe, Austin
Mr. A. Maceo Johnson, 12019 Schroeder, Dallas
Miss Lenice Larkin, 3012 Maple Avenue, Dallas
Mr. Julius Raden, Texas Fastener Corp., 114 Cole, Dallas
Mr. Fred Schmidt, 402 West 13th Street, Austin
Mr. A. Maceo Smith, 2407 Thomas, Dallas, Advisor

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## CHURCHES

**Meeting:** August 3, Fort Worth

**Members:** Dr. Harold Lunger (Chairman), the Rev. Edward Robertson, the Rev. Rhett James, the Rev. J. B. Fowler, Mrs. Cordye Hall.

**Outline of Plans:**

The commission will survey by questionnaire as many churches in Texas as possible: all those in the Texas Council of Churches, and possibly the the Southern Baptists, Church of Christ, Nazarene, Assembly of God, Unitarian, etc. Information will be sought also from Roman Catholics and Jews. Questionnaires will be sent from denominational offices with a covering letter from denominational executives.

Consulting questionnaires used in other similar studies, a tool was drafted. Harold Lunger, assisted by Rhett James, will refine the questionnaire, submit it to several sociologists for criticism, and draw up a final draft. Interviews will be conducted as a follow-up to the questionnaire. (The Steering Committee suggests that all minority groups be covered, including Asiatics and American Indians.)

1. Edward Robertson, assisted by J. B. Fowler, will work on securing the cooperation of denominational leaders in sending covering letters, addressing letters, etc.
2. J. B. Fowler will draft a questionnaire to be sent to denominational leaders to secure data on policies and practices in church camps, orphan homes, homes for the aged, and other such institutions; he will assume responsibility for this aspect of the commission's work.
3. Edward Robertson will secure information on desegregation in the various councils of churches, united church women, UCYM groups, etc. in Texas.
4. Harold Lunger will investigate the possibility of MA candidates in seminaries doing studies in this area in the coming year; which studies could be useful to the commission.
5. Church structure and polity and its relationship to race relations will be discussed in the report. Material will be gathered also on the question: "What efforts, if any, are the churches making to provide materials to shape opinion in race relations?"
6. A few integrated churches and churches in changing neighborhoods will be studied in some depth by interviews and by correspondence. (e.g.: St. James Episcopal in Houston; Augustana Lutheran in Houston; College Heights Community Church in Nederland, William Simpson, pastor; two churches in Dallas - write Doug Jackson about them.)

**Schedule:** Next Meeting: November 1, Fort Worth (Mrs. Hall will send reminder notices.)

Budget Needed: Around $1,000.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## SCHOOLS

Meeting: August 8, San Antonio

Members: Dr. Charles Burrows (Chairman), Mrs. Elaine Holcomb, Mrs. Warren Bessellieu, (Mr. Harold Thompson absent; Dr. C. T. Gifford, consultant, absent). (Mr. Vernon McDaniel appointed to commission after meeting of the commission)

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Statistics
   1. Map showing desegregated areas (Charles Burrows will subscribe to Southern School News).
   2. What the statistics mean: number in desegregated schools, character of desegregation; role of housing in desegregation.

B. Experiences in Desegregated Situations
   1. Report on Several Situations: Charles Burrows and Mrs. Bessellieu will visit and report on San Antonio, Hondo, Pleasanton; Mrs. Holcomb will visit and report on Dallas, Wichita Falls, Dublin; personal reports will be secured from Austin (Ed Kloppe), Houston, and others.
   2. Report on information secured by selected correspondents from school officials and teachers in desegregated districts. Information sheet compiled from draft made at meeting by Charles Burrows will indicate data desired and will be sent to a correspondent in every possible desegregated district. Mrs. Bessellieu and Charles Burrows will be responsible for this group; Mrs. Holcomb will send list of suggested correspondents. Anonymous questionnaires to be filled out by several teachers detailing their experiences and attitudes will be included.
   3. Comparison of various plans used.
   4. Possibly a section on some of the wild fears people have as compared to experiences in desegregated districts.

C. Segregated Districts: Report on information secured by correspondents from school officials and teachers in selected representative districts. Attempt will be made to have questionnaires on attitudes filled out by teachers in some segregated situations. Charles Burrows will draft information sheet and questionnaire; Mrs. Holcomb will be in charge of this group.

D. School Boards, Administrators, Teachers, PTA: What happens to the Negro teacher in desegregation? Charles Burrows will secure information; will go to Austin, meet with Mr. McDaniel and glean as much data from State Department of Education as possible.

E. Laws and Effect of Laws: Charles Burrows will secure this data; possibly a chart showing areas, dates of desegregation will be included.

F. The Negro Looks at School Desegregation: Harold Thompson will be asked to secure data and draft this section of the report.

Next Meeting: November 28, San Antonio
Budget Needed: $600.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Meeting: August 10, Fort Worth

Members: Dr. Jesse Wilson (Chairman), Dr. John King (Vice-Chairman), The Rev. Alan Miller, Dr. Glenn Routt, (Dr. Harry Munro absent).

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Data: Enrollment Trends: secured from published information and from questionnaire to be sent to all institutions. John King will send suggestions to Jesse Wilson who will draft a questionnaire and circulate it among members for suggestions.

B. Policies and Practices

1. Limitations and reasons for them; anticipated changes?
2. Secure self-study reports from TCU and other institutions; what do universities think they ought to be doing?
3. Possibilities for inclusive faculty?

C. Student Life and Attitudes

1. Practices in housing, eating facilities, recreational facilities, athletics, student government, religious organizations.
2. Alan Miller will survey various schools through student religious workers, compiling data and human interest stories and incidents.
3. If financial resources are available, Dr. Morton B. King, Jr., Chairman of Sociology Department at SMU, will direct a scientific study of student attitudes toward desegregation and a religiosity on several campuses (8 or so). A similar study was done at SMU in 1959-60. Harry Munro will work with him, it is hoped. John King and Harry Munro will survey attitudes and hopes on several Negro college campuses.

D. Extensive study of NTSC, Texas A & I, TCU: John King will take responsibility

E. Football at NTSC Compared to Southwest Texas Conference Schools.

Schedule: Next Meeting: December 21, Fort Worth (9:00 a.m.)

Budget Needed:

| | |
|---|---|
| $ 500.00 | |
| 1,200.00 | Special Study |
| $1,700.00 | Total |

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOTELS, MOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

Meeting: August 1, Austin

Members: Mr. Tom Reavley (Chairman), Dr. Joe Allen, Dr. Thomas Freeman, The Rev. Edwin Kloppe. (The Rev. James Moseley absent)

Tentative Outline:

A. Personal Frustration: Narrative of Negro family travelling in Texas, describing what they face with reference to hotels, motels, restaurants, and rest rooms. Thomas Freeman will write first draft of narrative.

B. Policy and Practices

1. Hotels and Motels
   a. Tom Reavley will personally contact various hotel managers to talk with them about policy.
   b. Joe Allen will survey practices in large cities and representative sample cities and towns.
   c. Conventions: list of organizations requiring desegregated facilities; some estimate of cost of segregation policy.

2. Restaurants and Sit-ins: Jim Moseley will study the sit-in movement assisted by Joe Allen (Dallas), Tom Freeman (Houston), Ed Kloppe (San Antonio and Austin). John Robertson and Roberto Escamilla will be asked to provide data on discrimination against Latin-Americans, especially in restaurants.

3. Moss Causey will be asked to survey policies and practices of the Y's in the state.

4. Ed Kloppe and Tom Freeman will draw up a list of incidents for possible use in the report. Glenn Capp of Baylor University will be contacted for information on his experiences in securing housing for Negro debaters. The difficulties encountered by Syracuse University in housing Negroes on its Cotton Bowl team will be secured. Joe Allen will make field trips to study in depth changes and incidents which occur between now and next summer.

C. Change and Lack of Change (Joe Allen and others)

1. Catalogue of Changes
2. Discussion of how changes were brought about; people's reactions to them, etc.

Schedule: Each member will get reports to chairman by December 1.
Next meeting: December 17, 10:30 a.m., Austin
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## PUBLIC FACILITIES

Meeting: August 15, Fort Worth

Members: The Rev. Paul Sims (Chairman), the Rev. L. L. Haynes, Mr. Sam Whitten, Mrs. Mary Ellen Goodman, the Rev. Leo Nieto (Rev.Charles Cox absent)

Outline of Plans:

The commission will survey hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, parks and swimming pools, and transit facilities. A questionnaire will be sent to all public libraries in the state. Information sheets listing data desired in other three areas will be sent to selected correspondents in 25-30 selected cities and towns. Follow-up interviewing will be done as indicated by information secured. The commission drafted a questionnaire for libraries, and information sheets in the other areas.

1. Hospitals, etc: Charles Cox is responsible.
   a. Data will be secured from state departments about state institutions: mental and TB hospitals, penal institutions, schools for deaf and blind, etc.
   b. Data on general hospital will be secured from information sheet and personal interviews.

2. Libraries: Sam Whitten will be responsible for questionnaire to librarians.

3. Parks, Playgrounds, and Swimming Pools: Mary Ellen Goodman responsible. Data secured from general information sheet and interviewing.

4. Transit Facilities: Paul Sims (East Texas including Dallas and Fort Worth); L. L. Haynes (Northwest Texas); Leo Nieto (Southwest Texas including Austin and San Antonio). Data secured about local buses, taxis, railroads, intrastate and interstate buses and airlines; waiting rooms and restaurants, etc.

5. Other Possibilities:
   a. Official but usually unknown policy of law enforcement officers e.g. Dallas police have been told not to enforce segregation in any way. Perhaps Houston also.
   b. Dramatize situation with respect to medical care: injured Negro child waiting for attention.
   c. Write to Texas Alcohol Commission and find out what facilities they have for Negro alcoholics. Check on AA chapters.

Schedule: Questionnaire and information sheets to correspondents will be sent out in September to be returned by October 31. Paul Sims' office will do clerical work.

Next Meeting: November 21, Fort Worth. Transit facilities group will meet in near future.

Budget Needed: $600.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION AND SPORTS

Meeting: August 12, Austin

Members: Dr. W. Astor Kirk (Chairman), Mr. Ted Freedman, Mrs. Virginia Hill, Dr. Julius Rivera (Mrs. Cora Hicks absent).

Outline of Plans:

Scope:
1. Movies and Drive-Ins
2. Cultural Entertainment (Symphonies, Operas, Concerts, Little Theatres)
3. Bowling Alleys
4. Organized Sports (Football, Basketball, Baseball, Softball)

Methodology:
1. Select about 25 communities (large cities, representative cities and towns) and secure individual and group correspondents to gather data. Information sheets to be sent to the correspondents indicating the information to be secured by them were drawn up for all four of the above areas. A list of communities was compiled with each member of the commission picking several for which they would be responsible.
2. Interviews as follow-up.

Fort Worth: Mrs. Hill will organize a committee of ten women and do a more extensive study of Fort Worth with reference to entertainment, recreation, and sports.

Other Possibilities:
1. State Fair of Texas: All-Negro Day, "Negro Appreciation Day" (a number of concessions are closed on this day!)
2. Pee-Wee League (Football); bad trouble in Dallas. (write Doug Jackson for information)
3. Football at NTSC as compared to Southwest Conference teams.

Schedule: Bill Kirk will finish drafts of all four information sheets and send them to members for criticism within a week. Correspondents should be selected by September 1 and if possible, approached personally or by correspondence. Information sheets will be sent to them by the last of September, to be returned by October 31.

Next Meeting: December 2, Austin

Budget Needed $500.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOUSING

Meeting: August 2, Austin

Members: William Parker (Chairman), Mrs. Marie McGuire, Harold Keller.
(Robert Childers and A. Maceo Smith, Advisor, absent)

Tentative Outline:

A. Legal Aspects: National and state laws; local ordinances and traditions relevant to minority groups. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile this data and write preliminary draft.

B. Political Aspects of Housing and Housing Legislation. Harold Keller will gather material on this subject.

C. Types of Housing by Race and Income.

D. The Situation With Respect to Housing Opportunities for Negroes and Latin-Americans: William Parker and Marie McGuire will be responsible for securing data. William Parker will gather data from the 1950 census and the 1960 census; Marie McGuire will correspond with housing authorities and FHA and will utilize a study of San Antonio and other cities preliminary to publication of census data. Relevant information will be gleaned from the chapter on San Antonio and Houston in Glazer and McEntire, Studies in Housing and Minority Groups, University of California Press, 1960.

E. Human and Economic Pitfalls. Robert Childers will be responsible for securing data on this subject. Each commission member will write in narrative form personal incidents known to him which might be useful, and send them to Robert Childers. This section will cover restrictive covenants, roadblocks by finance companies (get a word or two from loan officers of finance companies-i.e. Metropolitan).

Miscellaneous:

1. Dr. Evans, President of Prairie View College, and Dr. Bullock, sociologist at Texas Southern University, will be asked to serve as advisors to the commission along with Maceo Smith. Their advice and suggestions will be secured by William Parker.
2. William Parker will contact Mr. Steve Matthews of the Texas League of Municipalities and discuss the study with him.
3. William Parker will see that interviews are conducted in several representative smaller towns; that changing neighborhoods in two or three cities are studied in greater detail.
4. The Commission may incorporate a narrative of what a Negro and a Latin-American family face in housing in Texas.
5. Marie McGuire will survey other housing authorities and secure statistics on the question: "Based on race, what has been the comparative care and payment in housing?" The report may include discussion of two popular assumptions: that members of minority groups are not good financial risks; that all neighborhoods deteriorate when members of minority groups move in.
6. The report will include a bibliography of suggested readings.
7. Possibly a study of Hamilton Park, Dallas.

Schedule: Next meeting: December 5, probably in Houston.
Sub-Committee meetings will be arranged by William Parker before that time.
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## EMPLOYMENT

Meeting: August 5, Dallas

Members: Bob Breihan (Chairman), Julius Raden, Fred Schmidt (Morton B. King,Jr., Consultant, and Douglas Jackson, Chairman of Steering Committee were present also; Miss Lenice Larkin and A. Maceo Johnson were absent).

Outline of Plans:

1. Lenice Larkin and Julius Raden will work in the area of colleges:
   a. Securing data on what graduates of two Negro colleges are doing.
   b. Determining to what degree corporation scholarships etc. are available to Negroes and Latin-Americans, and to what degree industry representatives come to campuses to interview Negroes and Latin-Americans for employment.
   c. Securing statistics of the number of Negores preparing for teaching against the number of positions available.
   d. Securing information on migration of Negro graduates from Texas.
   e. If possible, secure data on what Negro graduates from UT and NTSC are doing.
   f. Personally interviewing Negroes and Latin-Americans to dramatize what they face in employment.
   g. They will contact Dr. Bullock and Dr. B. A. Turner of TSU, Dr. Kirk of Huston-Tillotson, Dr. Tolbert of TCU, Dr. Sanchez of UT and Mr. Orris Carter, AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Houston for assistance and information.
   h. Julius Raden will contact Mr. Ed Reed of General Tire Company in Dallas to enlist his help and secure data from the AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Dallas.
2. Fred Schmidt will secure data on the Negro position in the Texas Labor force from Texas Employment Commission; compile a list of cases of upgrading; compile material indicating the present situation in labor unions in the state; and catalogue employment practices in industries.
3. Maceo Johnson will be asked to provide any useful data from TEC; to determine to what jobs the agency is referring Negroes in Dallas and what the job opportunities are in Dallas; to run cards to show the number of Negro applicants for particular jobs and the number unemployed; contact NAACP and Urban League for data and cooperation; secure data on police and law enforcement officers.
4. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile data on Civil Service Practices(letter-carriers? postmasters? forestry gangs, etc.)
5. Doug Jackson will secure information on employment of Negro graduates from seminaries in Texas.
6. Bob Breihan will check on comparative quality of vocational training in schools (write L.L. Haynes in Fort Worth about it); will secure data on Convair in Fort Worth from L.L. Haynes; will see situation at Chance-Vaught is looked into (write Doug Jackson about it).

Possible Emphases:

1. Reasons for lack of qualifications and skills on part of Negroes and Latin-Ams.
2. Cataloguing of changes, of places where Negroes have been upgraded or hired; what led to changes, results, difficulties.
3. Impact of employment restrictions on the desire, self-esteem,etc. of Negro & Latin.
4. The loss resulting from current policy: critical need for technically trained persons; shortage in various jobs,e.g. nursing; cost to the state in taxes and purchasing power.

Schedule: Next Meeting: November 5, Austin Budget Needed: $500.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 West 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY - TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

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# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## CHURCHES

Meeting: August 3, Fort Worth

Members: Dr. Harold Lunger (Chairman), the Rev. Edward Robertson, the Rev. Rhett James, the Rev. J. B. Fowler, Mrs. Cordye Hall.

Outline of Plans:

The commission will survey by questionnaire as many churches in Texas as possible: all those in the Texas Council of Churches, and possibly the the Southern Baptists, Church of Christ, Nazarene, Assembly of God, Unitarian, etc. Information will be sought also from Roman Catholics and Jews. Questionnaires will be sent from denominational offices with a covering letter from denominational executives.

Consulting questionnaires used in other similar studies, a tool was drafted. Harold Lunger, assisted by Rhett James, will refine the questionnaire, submit it to several sociologists for criticism, and draw up a final draft. Interviews will be conducted as a follow-up to the questionnaire. (The Steering Committee suggests that all minority groups be covered, including Asiatics and American Indians.)

1. Edward Robertson, assisted by J. B. Fowler, will work on securing the cooperation of denominational leaders in sending covering letters, addressing letters, etc.

2. J. B. Fowler will draft a questionnaire to be sent to denominational leaders to secure data on policies and practices in church camps, orphan homes, homes for the aged, and other such institutions; he will assume responsibility for this aspect of the commission's work.

3. Edward Robertson will secure information on desegregation in the various councils of churches, united church women, UCYM groups, etc. in Texas.

4. Harold Lunger will investigate the possibility of MA candidates in seminaries doing studies in this area in the coming year; which studies could be useful to the commission.

5. Church structure and polity and its relationship to race relations will be discussed in the report. Material will be gathered also on the question: "What efforts, if any, are the churches making to provide materials to shape opinion in race relations?"

6. A few integrated churches and churches in changing neighborhoods will be studied in some depth by interviews and by correspondence. (e.g.: St. James Episcopal in Houston; Augustana Lutheran in Houston; College Heights Community Church in Nederland, William Simpson, pastor; two churches in Dallas - write Doug Jackson about them.)

Schedule: Next Meeting: November 1, Fort Worth (Mrs. Hall will send reminder notices.)

Budget Needed: Around $1,000.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## SCHOOLS

Meeting: August 8, San Antonio

Members: Dr. Charles Burrows (Chairman), Mrs. Elaine Holcomb, Mrs. Warren Bessellieu, (Mr. Harold Thompson absent; Dr. C. T. Gifford, consultant, absent). (Mr. Vernon McDaniel appointed to commission after meeting of the commission)

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Statistics
   1. Map showing desegregated areas (Charles Burrows will subscribe to Southern School News).
   2. What the statistics mean: number in desegregated schools, character of desegregation; role of housing in desegregation.

B. Experiences in Desegregated Situations
   1. Report on Several Situations: Charles Burrows and Mrs. Bessellieu will visit and report on San Antonio, Hondo, Pleasanton; Mrs. Holcomb will visit and report on Dallas, Wichita Falls, Dublin; personal reports will be secured from Austin (Ed Kloppe), Houston, and others.
   2. Report on information secured by selected correspondents from school officials and teachers in desegregated districts. Information sheet compiled from draft made at meeting by Charles Burrows will indicate data desired and will be sent to a correspondent in every possible desegregated district. Mrs. Bessellieu and Charles Burrows will be responsible for this group; Mrs. Holcomb will send list of suggested correspondents. Anonymous questionnaires to be filled out by several teachers detailing their experiences and attitudes will be included.
   3. Comparison of various plans used.
   4. Possibly a section on some of the wild fears people have as compared to experiences in desegregated districts.

C. Segregated Districts: Report on information secured by correspondents from school officials and teachers in selected representative districts. Attempt will be made to have questionnaires on attitudes filled out by teachers in some segregated situations. Charles Burrows will draft information sheet and questionnaire; Mrs. Holcomb will be in charge of this group.

D. School Boards, Administrators, Teachers, PTA: What happens to the Negro teacher in desegregation? Charles Burrows will secure information; will go to Austin, meet with Mr. McDaniel and glean as much data from State Department of Education as possible.

E. Laws and Effect of Laws: Charles Burrows will secure this data; possibly a chart showing areas, dates of desegregation will be included.

F. The Negro Looks at School Desegregation: Harold Thompson will be asked to secure data and draft this section of the report.

Next Meeting: November 28, San Antonio
Budget Needed: $600.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Meeting: August 10, Fort Worth

Members: Dr. Jesse Wilson (Chairman), Dr. John King (Vice-Chairman), The Rev. Alan Miller, Dr. Glenn Routt, (Dr. Harry Munro absent).

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Data: Enrollment Trends: secured from published information and from questionnaire to be sent to all institutions. John King will send suggestions to Jesse Wilson who will draft a questionnaire and circulate it among members for suggestions.

B. Policies and Practices

1. Limitations and reasons for them; anticipated changes?
2. Secure self-study reports from TCU and other institutions; what do universities think they ought to be doing?
3. Possibilities for inclusive faculty?

C. Student Life and Attitudes

1. Practices in housing, eating facilities, recreational facilities, athletics, student government, religious organizations.
2. Alan Miller will survey various schools through student religious workers, compiling data and human interest stories and incidents.
3. If financial resources are available, Dr. Morton B. King, Jr., Chairman of Sociology Department at SMU, will direct a scientific study of student attitudes toward desegregation and a religiosity on several campuses (8 or so). A similar study was done at SMU in 1959-60. Harry Munro will work with him, it is hoped. John King and Harry Munro will survey attitudes and hopes on several Negro college campuses.

D. Extensive study of NTSC, Texas A & I, TCU: John King will take responsibility.

E. Football at NTSC Compared to Southwest Texas Conference Schools.

Schedule: Next Meeting: December 21, Fort Worth (9:00 a.m.)

Budget Needed:

| | |
|---|---|
| $ 500.00 | |
| 1,200.00 | Special Study |
| $1,700.00 | Total |

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOTELS, MOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

**Meeting:** August 1, Austin

**Members:** Mr. Tom Reavley (Chairman), Dr. Joe Allen, Dr. Thomas Freeman, The Rev. Edwin Kloppe. (The Rev. James Moseley absent)

**Tentative Outline:**

A. Personal Frustration: Narrative of Negro family travelling in Texas, describing what they face with reference to hotels, motels, restaurants, and rest rooms. Thomas Freeman will write first draft of narrative.

B. Policy and Practices

1. Hotels and Motels
   a. Tom Reavley will personally contact various hotel managers to talk with them about policy.
   b. Joe Allen will survey practices in large cities and representative sample cities and towns.
   c. Conventions: list of organizations requiring desegregated facilities; some estimate of cost of segregation policy.
2. Restaurants and Sit-ins: Jim Moseley will study the sit-in movement assisted by Joe Allen (Dallas), Tom Freeman (Houston), Ed Kloppe (San Antonio and Austin). John Robertson and Roberto Escamilla will be asked to provide data on discrimination against Latin-Americans, especially in restaurants.
3. Moss Causey will be asked to survey policies and practices of the Y's in the state.
4. Ed Kloppe and Tom Freeman will draw up a list of incidents for possible use in the report. Glenn Capp of Baylor University will be contacted for information on his experiences in securing housing for Negro debaters. The difficulties encountered by Syracuse University in housing Negroes on its Cotton Bowl team will be secured. Joe Allen will make field trips to study in depth changes and incidents which occur between now and next summer.

C. Change and Lack of Change (Joe Allen and others)

1. Catalogue of Changes
2. Discussion of how changes were brought about; people's reactions to them, etc.

**Schedule:** Each member will get reports to chairman by December 1.
Next meeting: December 17, 10:30 a.m., Austin
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## PUBLIC FACILITIES

Meeting: August 15, Fort Worth

Members: The Rev. Paul Sims (Chairman), the Rev. L. L. Haynes, Mr. Sam Whitten, Mrs. Mary Ellen Goodman, the Rev. Leo Nieto (Rev.Charles Cox absent)

Outline of Plans:

The commission will survey hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, parks and swimming pools, and transit facilities. A questionnaire will be sent to all public libraries in the state. Information sheets listing data desired in other three areas will be sent to selected correspondents in 25-30 selected cities and towns. Follow-up interviewing will be done as indicated by information secured. The commission drafted a questionnaire for libraries, and information sheets in the other areas.

1. Hospitals, etc: Charles Cox is responsible.
   a. Data will be secured from state departments about state institutions: mental and TB hospitals, penal institutions, schools for deaf and blind, etc.
   b. Data on general hospital will be secured from information sheet and personal interviews.

2. Libraries: Sam Whitten will be responsible for questionnaire to librarians.

3. Parks, Playgrounds, and Swimming Pools: Mary Ellen Goodman responsible. Data secured from general information sheet and interviewing.

4. Transit Facilities: Paul Sims (East Texas including Dallas and Fort Worth); L. L. Haynes (Northwest Texas); Leo Nieto (Southwest Texas including Austin and San Antonio). Data secured about local buses, taxis, railroads, intrastate and interstate buses and airlines; waiting rooms and restaurants, etc.

5. Other Possibilities:
   a. Official but usually unknown policy of law enforcement officers e.g. Dallas police have been told not to enforce segregation in any way. Perhaps Houston also.
   b. Dramatize situation with respect to medical care: injured Negro child waiting for attention.
   c. Write to Texas Alcohol Commission and find out what facilities they have for Negro alcoholics. Check on AA chapters.

Schedule: Questionnaire and information sheets to correspondents will be sent out in September to be returned by October 31. Paul Sims' office will do clerical work.

Next Meeting: November 21, Fort Worth. Transit facilities group will meet in near future.

Budget Needed: $600.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION AND SPORTS

Meeting: August 12, Austin

Members: Dr. W. Astor Kirk (Chairman), Mr. Ted Freedman, Mrs. Virginia Hill, Dr. Julius Rivera (Mrs. Cora Hicks absent).

Outline of Plans:

Scope:
1. Movies and Drive-Ins
2. Cultural Entertainment (Symphonies, Operas, Concerts, Little Theatres)
3. Bowling Alleys
4. Organized Sports (Football, Basketball, Baseball, Softball)

Methodology:
1. Select about 25 communities (large cities, representative cities and towns) and secure individual and group correspondents to gather data. Information sheets to be sent to the correspondents indicating the information to be secured by them were drawn up for all four of the above areas. A list of communities was compiled with each member of the commission picking several for which they would be responsible.
2. Interviews as follow-up.

Fort Worth: Mrs. Hill will organize a committee of ten women and do a more extensive study of Fort Worth with reference to entertainment, recreation, and sports.

Other Possibilities:
1. State Fair of Texas: All-Negro Day, "Negro Appreciation Day" (a number of concessions are closed on this day!)
2. Pee-Wee League (Football); bad trouble in Dallas. (write Doug Jackson for information)
3. Football at NTSC as compared to Southwest Conference teams.

Schedule: Bill Kirk will finish drafts of all four information sheets and send them to members for criticism within a week. Correspondents should be selected by September 1 and if possible, approached personally or by correspondence. Information sheets will be sent to them by the last of September, to be returned by October 31.

Next Meeting: December 2, Austin

Budget Needed $500.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOUSING

Meeting: August 2, Austin

Members: William Parker (Chairman), Mrs. Marie McGuire, Harold Keller.
(Robert Childers and A. Maceo Smith, Advisor, absent)

Tentative Outline:

A. Legal Aspects: National and state laws; local ordinances and traditions relevant to minority groups. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile this data and write preliminary draft.

B. Political Aspects of Housing and Housing Legislation. Harold Keller will gather material on this subject.

C. Types of Housing by Race and Income.

D. The Situation With Respect to Housing Opportunities for Negroes and Latin-Americans: William Parker and Marie McGuire will be responsible for securing data. William Parker will gather data from the 1950 census and the 1960 census; Marie McGuire will correspond with housing authorities and FHA and will utilize a study of San Antonio and other cities preliminary to publication of census data. Relevant information will be gleaned from the chapter on San Antonio and Houston in Glazer and McEntire, Studies in Housing and Minority Groups, University of California Press, 1960.

E. Human and Economic Pitfalls. Robert Childers will be responsible for securing data on this subject. Each commission member will write in narrative form personal incidents known to him which might be useful, and send them to Robert Childers. This section will cover restrictive covenants, roadblocks by finance companies (get a word or two from loan officers of finance companies-i.e. Metropolitan).

Miscellaneous:

1. Dr. Evans, President of Prairie View College, and Dr. Bullock, sociologist at Texas Southern University, will be asked to serve as advisors to the commission along with Maceo Smith. Their advice and suggestions will be secured by William Parker.
2. William Parker will contact Mr. Steve Matthews of the Texas League of Municipalities and discuss the study with him.
3. William Parker will see that interviews are conducted in several representative smaller towns; that changing neighborhoods in two or three cities are studied in greater detail.
4. The Commission may incorporate a narrative of what a Negro and a Latin-American family face in housing in Texas.
5. Marie McGuire will survey other housing authorities and secure statistics on the question: "Based on race, what has been the comparative care and payment in housing?" The report may include discussion of two popular assumptions: that members of minority groups are not good financial risks; that all neighborhoods deteriorate when members of minority groups move in.
6. The report will include a bibliography of suggested readings.
7. Possibly a study of Hamilton Park, Dallas.

Schedule: Next meeting: December 5, probably in Houston.
Sub-Committee meetings will be arranged by William Parker before that time.
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## EMPLOYMENT

Meeting: August 5, Dallas

Members: Bob Breihan (Chairman), Julius Raden, Fred Schmidt (Morton B. King,Jr., Consultant, and Douglas Jackson, Chairman of Steering Committee were present also; Miss Lenice Larkin and A. Maceo Johnson were absent).

Outline of Plans:

1. Lenice Larkin and Julius Raden will work in the area of colleges:
   a. Securing data on what graduates of two Negro colleges are doing.
   b. Determining to what degree corporation scholarships etc. are available to Negroes and Latin-Americans, and to what degree industry representatives come to campuses to interview Negroes and Latin-Americans for employment.
   c. Securing statistics of the number of Negores preparing for teaching against the number of positions available.
   d. Securing information on migration of Negro graduates from Texas.
   e. If possible, secure data on what Negro graduates from UT and NTSC are doing.
   f. Personally interviewing Negroes and Latin-Americans to dramatize what they face in employment.
   g. They will contact Dr. Bullock and Dr. B. A. Turner of TSU, Dr. Kirk of Huston-Tillotson, Dr. Tolbert of TCU, Dr. Sanchez of UT and Mr. Orris Carter, AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Houston for assistance and information.
   h. Julius Raden will contact Mr. Ed Reed of General Tire Company in Dallas to enlist his help and secure data from the AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Dallas.
2. Fred Schmidt will secure data on the Negro position in the Texas Labor force from Texas Employment Commission; compile a list of cases of upgrading; compile material indicating the present situation in labor unions in the state; and catalogue employment practices in industries.
3. Maceo Johnson will be asked to provide any useful data from TEC; to determine to what jobs the agency is referring Negroes in Dallas and what the job opportunities are in Dallas; to run cards to show the number of Negro applicants for particular jobs and the number unemployed; contact NAACP and Urban League for data and cooperation; secure data on police and law enforcement officers.
4. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile data on Civil Service Practices(letter-carriers? postmasters? forestry gangs, etc.)
5. Doug Jackson will secure information on employment of Negro graduates from seminaries in Texas.
6. Bob Breihan will check on comparative quality of vocational training in schools (write L.L. Haynes in Fort Worth about it); will secure data on Convair in Fort Worth from L.L. Haynes; will see situation at Chance-Vaught is looked into (write Doug Jackson about it).

Possible Emphases:

1. Reasons for lack of qualifications and skills on part of Negroes and Latin-Ams.
2. Cataloguing of changes, of places where Negroes have been upgraded or hired; what led to changes, results, difficulties.
3. Impact of employment restrictions on the desire, self-esteem,etc. of Negro & Latin.
4. The loss resulting from current policy: critical need for technically trained persons; shortage in various jobs,e.g. nursing; cost to the state in taxes and purchasing power.

Schedule: Next Meeting: November 5, Austin Budget Needed: $500.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 West 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

HF
MA file

COPY

# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

October 20, 1960

Mr. Dana S. Creel
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

My dear Mr. Creel:

Last year sometime prior to the start of the "restaurant sit-ins" movement our Department of Cultural and Racial Relations attempted to access the progress in race relations in this state and area. As the group considered various areas such as education, hotels and restaurants, recreation facilities, and several others, it was realized that there was a woeful lack of data about what had been taking place.

Out of those discussions grew a plan to inaugurate a study process. Eight study commissions composed of some of the best scholars and progressive citizens of the state were formed. The Rev. Joe Earl Elmore of Earlham College was employed during the summer months to set up commissions and get the study process under way.

It is planned that each of the study commissions will come up with a report good enough for publication and that a statewide study conference can be held at the end of August 1961 for the purpose of receiving these reports.

As the commissions met and laid out their work, it was quite apparent that we had not anticipated the amount of research and the expense which would be involved in doing a first class job. Therefore, I am authorized to write to you to inquire whether it might be possible for us to receive a grant of $10,000. to see this job through in the way members of the study commissions believe it should be done.

This study program has received the attention and approval of staff members of the Southern Regional Council, including Dr. Leslie Dunbar, who attended one of our planning meetings, and Mr. Fleming. The Rev. Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches Dept. of Cultural and Racial Relations also has expressed deep interest in the validity of our procedures and the importance of this program.

I plan to be in New York next Thursday and Friday, October 27-28. I could come by your office for a brief conference if you feel it would be warranted. I shall call your office Thursday morning and check on this.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Hulon W. Black, president, Texas Council of Churches

blcc: Will Campbell
Leslie Dunbar
Joe E. Elmore
Douglas Jackson

# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

October 19, 1960

Mrs. Jane Lee J. Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

COPY

My dear Mrs. Eddy:

You will recall that in December 1959 you made a contribution of $2,000. to the Texas Council of Churches "with the hope that these funds will be used to carry forward the Council's fine work in this field (race relations) during the coming year."

Our Department of Cultural and Race Relations did consider how best to use these funds for the purpose for which they were granted. This was before the restaurant sit-in movement began and all of us had a feeling that we had been on dead center for some time and needed to give a push toward race relations progress.

When the group tried to access the progress that had been made in various areas, all the members became aware of a woeful lack of trustworthy information. It was decided that the best way to use the Currier funds would be in a study process to access progress in race relations, to publish reports, and to give them the widest possible circulation.

We employed Professor Joe Earl Elmore of Earlham College during the summer to set up study commissions and help lay out their work. The Rev. Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches and Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council sat in on some of the planning sessions.

As you will note from the enclosed list of commission members, we have obtained the services of some of the state's leading scholars and students of human relations. They have begun some really basic research in their respective areas.

We have discovered that a great deal more money is needed to complete this program as presently planned. Work of the study commissions must be financed, reports published and given wider circulation.

The steering committee has authorized me to make a request for an additional $10,000. to do this job as it needs to be done. Mr. Fleming, Dr. Dunbar, and the Rev. Mr. Campbell tell us they consider our study program a very significant piece of work in this particular field.

If Mr. and Mrs. Currier and other directors of the Foundation think this study process has merit and would like to consider an additional grant, it will be greatly appreciated.

I expect to be in New York next Thursday and Friday, October 27-28 and would be pleased to call at your office for a brief conference. Since I shall be leaving before I would have time for a reply, I shall telephone Thursday morning to ascertain if you feel such a conference warranted.

With deep appreciation, I am

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Hulon W. Black, president
Texas Council of Churches

blcc: The Rev. Will Campbell
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
The Rev. Joe E. Elmore
Dr. Douglas Jackson

November 1, 1960

Mr. Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Joe:

I thought you were on our mailing list. Certainly you are from this moment hence.

I heard from Harold Kilpatrick last week. He is, as you know, looking for foundation funds. I hope he is able to get enough from some source to enable the Texas study to fulfill its promise.

I look forward to coming to Earlham; either January 12 or February 7 will be all right and I leave it to you to chose which ever is more convenient for you. I would have a slight preference for February 7, as our Executive Committee will be meeting at some as yet undesignated date in mid-January, and there is, therefore, the outside possibility of a conflict. When you say, "if you can stay a day or day and a half we can arrange some other meetings," should I construe that as an inducement or a threat? At any rate, we'll have time to settle on arrangements.

Your convocation schedule for the first term looks very good.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: L-19, L-20

HF Jive OK?

FD

# Earlham College

RICHMOND INDIANA

October 27, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for your letter of September and the other material you have sent. I very much enjoy receiving the material personally apart from my connection with the Texas study. Indeed, how does one get on your mailing list? I'd like to receive such material; is there a fee?

Thanks, too, for your kind words about the plans in Texas. I am pleased that you think it encouraging. From what I hear, things are progressing fairly well in the study, but of course I do not know the details. We are hoping to get some more financial support.

I am writing, however, primarily to get a date firm for your coming to Earlham for a Convocation address. What about Thursday, January 12? or Tuesday, February 7? If neither of these dates is convenient, perhaps you could suggest a few Tuesday and Thursday dates.

Convocation is at 10:00 a.m. (E.S.T.); you will have about 35 - 40 minutes. We'd like you to speak on race relations from any angle you choose. As I mentioned, we can pay your expenses and an honorarium of $100. Plan to stay a day or day and a half if you can and we'll arrange some other meetings!

Sincerely yours,

Joe E. Elmore

Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee

JEE:gh
Enclosure

# CONVOCATIONS

## EARLHAM COLLEGE

### FIRST TERM, 1960

September 27 — Opening Convocation - Landrum Bolling

September 29 — D. Elton Trueblood
"The Vocation of a Student"

October 4 — Katherine Griffith McDonald, Soprano
*Convocation Artist Series*

October 6 — Robert I. Crane
*Non-Western Lecturer*

October 11 — May Day Convocation

October 13 — Henry A. Bowman
*Family Life Institute*

October 18 — Fred S. Keller

October 20 — Arthur Fletcher

October 25 — W. C. James Yen

October 27 — Nirmal Chaudhuri
"The Arab-Israeli Conflict"

November 1 — Report on Foreign Study

November 3 — Faculty Panel on the National Election

November 8 — Education Convocation

November 10 — Robert A. Scalapino
*Non-Western Lecturer*

November 15 — To Be Announced

November 17 — John H. Ferguson
*Seasongood Lecturer*

November 22 — Landrum R. Bolling

November 24 — Thanksgiving Holiday

November 29 — Lawrence Lerner
"Man in Society"

December 1 — Christmas Convocation

*There will be a period of silence at the beginning of each convocation.*

# *Who's Who* among Convocation Speakers

**LANDRUM R. BOLLING:**
President, Earlham College.

**HENRY A. BOWMAN:**
Sociologist, University of Texas; Author of **Marriage for Moderns.**

**NIRMAL CHAUDHURI:**
Indian Journalist and Lecturer.

**ROBERT I. CRANE:**
Director of South Asian Studies, University of Michigan.

**JOHN H. FERGUSON:**
Director of Institute of Public Administration, Pennsylvania State University.

**ARTHUR FLETCHER:**
Journalist, Expert on United Nations.

**FRED S. KELLER:**
Chairman, Department of Psychology, Columbia University.

**LAWRENCE LERNER:**
John Hay Whitney Visiting Professor, Earlham College.

**KATHERINE GRIFFITH McDONALD:**
Former member Earlham Music Faculty.

**ROBERT A. SCALAPINO:**
Professor of Political Science, University of California.

**D. ELTON TRUEBLOOD:**
Professor of Philosophy, Earlham College.

**W. C. JAMES YEN:**
American-Chinese Commission, Mass Education Movement.

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The purpose of the Convocations is to unite the entire college community at a level of common concern as the community is confronted with the greatest issus of our time, both religious and secular. The programs are arranged by a committee of instructors and students, including official representation of the Earlham Senate.

# Earlham College

RICHMOND INDIANA

November 4, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We are putting you down for February 7, in accordance with your "slight preference".

As for your length of stay, please take my statement as an inducement, or rather a hope - certainly not a threat. We will want to pick your mind as long as we can. I warn you, Earlham students will pump you as long as we let them! I do hope you can stay all of Tuesday at least. But feel free to arrange your schedule as necessary.

Cordially,

Joe

Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee

JEE:gh

December 5, 1960

Mr. Joe Earl Elmore
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Joe:

I have been mulling over what I shall talk about, and think I would like to speak on civil disobedience. I would do this against the Southern background of sit-ins, etc., but would also try to reach the theoretical issues. We have had already several essays, spurred by the sit-ins, at the definition of justifiable civil disobedience; one or two I have seen have been good, but leave me vaguely dissatisfied, and I'd like to try my hand. Inevitably, this will involve some critiquing of M. L. King's views on non-violence.

What do you think?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

# Earlham College

RICHMOND INDIANA

file

December 7, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

What you say about speaking on civil disobedience sounds excellent. It would be most appropriate for the Earlham Community and would be most stimulating I am sure.

I am excited about your visit.

Sincerely yours,

Joe E. Elmore

Joe E. Elmore

JEE:es

November 10, 1960

Mr. Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Earl:

I shall see you on February 7. I have not yet checked the transportation schedules but I do hope to stay with you a whole day. I am looking forward to the visit to Earlham with real pleasure.

I don't know what I'll talk about; probably try to get reflective about some of the broader, or deeper, implications of Southern change.

For your possible interest I am enclosing a copy of a paper I gave last August.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
"Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South"

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

*Churches:*
DR. HAROLD LUNGER

*Colleges and Universities:*
DR. JESSE R. WILSON

*Employment:*
THE REV. BOB BREIHAN

*Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:*
DR. W. ASTOR KIRK

*Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:*
MR. TOM REAVLEY

*Housing:*
MR. WILLIAM PARKER

*Public Facilities:*
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

December 29, 1960

Dear UCW President:

A very interesting Race Relations Progress Study is being conducted by eight specially selected study commissions under auspices of the Texas Council of Churches. As Christian Social Relations chairman of United Church Women of Texas, I was asked to serve on the Commission on Schools.

In connection with this assignment I am greatly in need of your help. Will you please answer the questions on pages one and two? Then, will you ask five of your public school teacher friends to answer the brief questionnaire on The Teacher and Desegregation In Public Schools? It is suggested that they return the questionnaires to you for you to mail with the ones you have answered.

Please note that none of the questionnaires need to be signed and that individual answers will be kept confidential. A stamped, addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Your cooperation will be deeply appreciated and my special gratitude for promptness!

Yours in His Service,

Mrs Warren Bessellieu

Mrs. Warren Bessellieu
Race Relations Progress Study
Commission on Schools

Page 1 (To be filled out by UCW presidents living in desegregated school districts)

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
(sponsored by Texas Council of Churches)

COMMISSION ON SCHOOLS

Report for the school year 1960-1961

Name of public school district with city where located_____

_____

1. Is this public school district desegregated? Yes_____ No_____

2. School year desegregation first began in this district?_____

3. Total number scholastics enrolled in this district: (a) total enrollment_____
   (b) White_____ (c) Negro_____

4. Total scholastics in mixed or integrated classes or grades.
   a) Total number white pupils in integrated classes_____
   b) Total number Negro pupils in integrated classes_____

5. Number of grades integrated:
   a) All 12 grades_____
   b) Indicate grades which are integrated:_____

6. Method of introducing desegregation:
   a) All 12 grades at one time_____
   b) Please indicate method used_____

7. How has desegregation taken place in this public school district:
   a) By pupil placement?_____
   b) By place or location of residence of pupil?_____
   c) Are white children required to pass by a school where Negro children attend to enter a school designated for white children? Yes_____ No_____
   d) Are Negro children required to pass by a school where white children attend to enter a school designated for Negro children? Yes_____ No_____

8. Please make a brief statement giving your personal evaluation of the progress and success of desegregation in this school district. Statement will be considered confidential.

 (To be filled out by UCW presidents living in segregated school districts)

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

(sponsored by Texas Council of Churches)

COMMISSION ON SCHOOLS

Report of the school year 1960 - 1961

Name of public school district with city where located _____

_____.

Please discuss the progress, if any, toward desegregation of the public schools made by your community as of the above date.

1. What is the present situation with respect to desegregation of public schools?

2. What discussions are now taking place?

3. What progress, if any, has been made in this area?

Note: Your comments will be kept confidential

Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th St., Austin 5, Texas

3. To be filled out by teachers in segregated school districts

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
(sponsored by Texas Council of Churches)

THE TEACHER AND DESEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Report for the school year 1960-61)

Name of public school district and city where located _____

_____

1. Do you know of any plans under consideration or in progress for desegregation in your public school district? Yes_____ No_____

2. If answer is yes in question 2 above, at what approximate date?_____

3. Have you ever taught classes with both white and Negro pupils?

Yes_____ No_____

4. If answer to question 4 was yes, do you have any personal objections to teaching integrated classes? Yes_____ No_____

5. If you have not taught integrated classes, would you be willing to do so?

Yes_____ No_____

6. Please indicate any advantages and/or disadvantages you see to integrated classrooms:

Please note: ALL ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTAL

Race Relations Progress Study, Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th St., Austin 5

4. To be filled out by teachers in desegregated school districts

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
(sponsored by Texas Council of Churches)

THE TEACHER AND DESEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Report for the school year 1960-1961

Name of public school district and city where located _____

_____

1. Is the public school district in which you teach desegregated? Yes_____ No____

2. Is the grade you teach integrated? Yes_____ No_____

3. Do you now teach or have you taught classes with both white and Negro students?
Yes_____ No_____

4. If answer to question 3 was yes, do you have any personal objections to teaching integrated classes? Yes_____ No_____

5. If you have not taught integrated classes, would you be willing to do so?
Yes_____ No_____

6. Please indicate any advantages and/or disadvantages you see to integrated classrooms:

7. What has happened to the Negro teachers in your public school district.

a) Are Negro teachers teaching integrated grades or classes? Yes_____ No_____

b) Have any Negro teachers been forced out of teaching by desegretation?
Yes_____ No_____

8. Is the P. T. A. in your school desegregated? Yes_____ No_____

Note: ALL ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL

Race Relations Progress Study, Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th, Austin 5, Texas

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

## Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

*Churches:*
DR. HAROLD LUNGER

*Colleges and Universities:*
DR. JESSE R. WILSON

*Employment:*
THE REV. BOB BREIHAN

*Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:*
DR. W. ASTOR KIRK

*Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:*
MR. TOM REAVLEY

*Housing:*
MR. WILLIAM PARKER

*Public Facilities:*
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

December 1960

Dear Librarian:

The 1960 Assembly of the Texas Council of Churches authorized a comprehensive study of the present situation in race relations in Texas. Eight commissions, each of which will make a written report, have been appointed to study various aspects of this vital question. These reports will become the basis of a state-wide conference to be held at Southern Methodist University, August 29-31, 1961.

Our Commission has been assigned the area of "Public Facilities" as our project. Public libraries are among the institutions with which we are concerned.

Would you please take a few minutes to answer the questions on the attached sheet and return it to us in the envelope which we have enclosed?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Sims

Paul A. Sims, chairman
Public Facilities Commission

PAS:wv

Commission Members:
The Rev. L. L. Haynes, Fort Worth
The Rev. Leo Nieto, Fort Worth
The Rev. Charles Cox, Austin
Mrs. Clark Goodman, Houston
Sam Whitten, Dallas

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1) Do you allow Negroes to check out books from your central library? Yes__ No__

2) Are Negroes allowed free access to all reference material in the central library? Yes__ No__

3) Are rest room facilities available to Negroes in your central library? Yes__ No__

If so, do you have separate facilities for White and Negro patrons? Yes__ No__

4) Do you have branch libraries? Yes__ No__

If so, do you have a branch especially designated as a Negro branch? Yes__ No__

If so, are Negroes allowed to use other branch libraries without restriction? Yes__ No__

5) If you do serve Negroes on a desegregated basis, in what year was this decision made? Year_____

6) Do you place any limitations on the use of the library by citizens of Mexican descent? Yes__ No__

If so, what are they?_____

_____

_____

7) Is there a Negro on your Library Board of Trustees? Yes__ No__

NAME OF LIBRARY _____

CITY _____

Please return questionnaire completed by December 20, 1960

Race Relations Progress Study
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

## Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

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MR. WILLIAM PARKER

*Public Facilities:*
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

December 1960

Dear Friend:

The 1960 Assembly of the Texas Council of Churches authorized a comprehensive study of the present situation in race relations in Texas. Eight commissions, each of which will make a written report, have been appointed to study various aspects of this vital question. These reports will become the basis of a statewide conference to be held at Southern Methodist University, August 29-31, 1961.

Our Commission has been assigned the area of "Public Facilities" as our project. The nature of present day tensions makes this information difficult to obtain without the use of 'community reporters'. This is especially true in three areas of our concern. These are namely: Transportation Facilities
Playgrounds and Swimming Pools
and Hospitals.

Can we count on you to take the enclosed forms and complete them for us? I am confident that you have sources of information available to you. Knowing your interest, your ability and fine spirit, we call upon you. We will be more than indebted to you for your part in this significant and historic venture.

Thanks in advance for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Paul Sims

Paul A. Sims, chairman
Public Facilities Commission

PAS:wv

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
of the Texas Council of Churches

COMMISSION ON PUBLIC FACILITIES - Playgrounds and Swimming Pools

COMMUNITY REPORTER PLEASE NOTE CAREFULLY:

1) Definition of "playground": for purposes of this survey, a playground is an area reserved for recreational use and having at least one or two pieces of equipment (a baseball backstop for example, or a swing). School playgrounds should not be counted.

2) Concerning sponsorship: as questions on the attached Information Sheets indicate, in this survey we are interested in playgrounds and pools both municipal (tax-supported) and non-municipal (supported by groups or organizations using their own funds).

3) Concerning sources of information: whenever possible please cite, for each item supplied on the Information Sheets, the source or sources of the information you have set down. Names are not necessary; the source can be identified by title, for example: "Mayor", "Member of City Council", "Commissioner of Parks", "Public Health Officer", "Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies." The source may be a publication, for example: "Y.M.C.A. Bulletin, June 1960." It may also be a citizen, who reports his own observation or experience, in which case you might cite as your source "an observer", or "a participant." Records of personal experience or observation, like factual accounts of significant events, are important material for this survey. Please try to include some material of this kind.

   In general, beware of second or third-hand reports and avoid hearsay. You will understand that this survey will have no value if it is not accurate, factual, and objective.

4) Concerning Information Sheet items which you can't supply; please do not leave any blanks. If a question is not applicable to your community, please write in "N.A." If you are unable to get information needed for a reliable answer to a question, please write in "N.R." (no response).

5) Concerning definition of "community": please keep in mind, when answering questions, the whole of your community (that is, the whole area within the legal boundaries of your town or city).

# PLAYGROUNDS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Name of Community:

Size of Community (1960 total population): _____

Percent Latin American _____ Percent Negro _____

Name of Community Reporter:

This form received (date): Completed (date):

1. How many playgrounds are there in your community (not counting school playgrounds)?

_____

2. How many of these playgrounds are open to and used by Negroes? _____
Please list playgrounds open to and used by Negroes, giving the location (by address, nearest street intersection, etc.) of each:

In the above list, are there any which are not tax-supported? Yes ___ No ___
If Yes: please write in, after the address, the name of the organization or group which provides the playground.

3. Are there any playgrounds not open to Latin Americans? Yes ____ No ____
If Yes: how many playgrounds are not open to Latin Americans? _____
Comment:

4. Are there any playgrounds open to and used by both Negroes and whites? Yes___No___
If Yes: a) what is the most common pattern of such use (that is, what are the rules or customs governing such use)? (Please check in list below)

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at the same time, and mingle freely

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at the same time, but keep a distance between them

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at different hours or on different days

_____ Other (please specify): _____

_____

Comment: (use back of page if necessary)

b) About how long ago, and under what circumstances, did this pattern of use by both Negroes and whites begin?

c) Since this pattern began, have there been arguments, fights, angry feelings, etc. between Negroes and whites? (That is, between Negroes and whites as such, not merely personality clashes) Yes ____ No ____

If Yes: These racial clashes have occurred (please check):

_____ Rarely

_____ Occasionally

_____ Frequently

Please describe in some detail the build-up, happenings, and outcome of one or two of these clashes (continue on back of sheet if needed)

5. Concerning playgrounds open to and used by Negroes (including those used by both Negroes and whites):

a) What pieces of equipment do these playgrounds usually have?

b) How does this equipment compare in quantity and quality with equipment on playgrounds used by whites only?

c) How crowded (usually) are the playgrounds open to and used by Negroes? (please check):

_____ Used by fewer than can be safely and comfortably accommodated

_____ Used by about the number that can be safely and comfortably accommodated

_____ Used by more than can be safely and comfortably accommodated

Comment: (cont'd on next sheet)

c) Comment, cont'd . . .

d) How does this compare with crowding on playgrounds open to and used by whites only? (Please check)

_____ Less crowding on playgrounds for whites only

_____ About the same degree of crowding on playgrounds for whites only

_____ More crowding on playgrounds for whites only

Comment:

e) Is there, on <u>any</u> of the playgrounds open to and used by Negroes, regularly scheduled adult supervision or planned program? Yes _____ No _____
<u>If Yes</u>: please describe briefly the kind of supervision or program usually provided, and what groups or agencies provide this service:

<u>If Yes</u>: is supervision or program provided for one ____, all ____, or some ____ of the playgrounds open to and used by Negroes?

f) Do playgrounds for whites only have significantly more or better supervision or program than playgrounds open to and used by Negroes? Yes ____ No ____
<u>If Yes</u>: please comment on nature of difference and on what is provided for whites:

6. Concerning needs for playgrounds in your community:

a) Is there a shortage of playgrounds in the community as a whole? Yes ___No___
If Yes: what racial, nationality, or socio-economic groups are most affected by the shortage?

If Yes: what are the major effects of the shortage?

b) Are efforts being made to improve or increase playgrounds in your community? Yes _____ No _____
If Yes: who is making these efforts, and on behalf of what particular racial, nationality or socio-economic groups?

7. Supplementary information or comment:

Please return to: RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

# SWIMMING POOLS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Name of Community:

Size of Community (1960 total population): _____

Percent Latin American _____ Percent Negro _____

Name of Community Reporter:

This form received (date): Completed (date):

1. How many municipal (tax-supported) public pools are there in your community? _____ (Note: do not count pools in public schools)

2. How many of these municipal pools are open to and used by Negroes? _____
   Please list municipal pools open to and used by Negroes, giving location (by address, nearest street intersection, etc.) of each:

3. How many non-municipal (not tax-rupported) public pools are there in your community? _____ (Note: do not count pools in private schools)

4. How many of these non-municipal pools are open to and used by Negroes? _____

   Please list non-municipal pools open to and used by Negroes, giving a) location (by address, nearest street intersection, etc.) of each, and b) name of group or organization which provides each:

5. Are there any pools (municipal or other) which are not open to Latin Americans?
   Yes _____ No _____ If Yes: how many pools are not open to Latin Americans? _____ Comment:

6. Are there any pools (municipal or other) open to and used by both Negroes and whites? Yes _____ No _____

If yes: a) How many municipal pools are open to and used by both Negroes and whites? _____

b) How many non-municipal pools are open to and used by both Negroes and whites? _____

If any: What groups or organizations provide these pools?

c) What is the most common pattern of use (that is, what are the rules or customs governing use) of pools by both Negroes and whites? (Please check in the list below)

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at the same time, and mingle freely

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at the same time, but keep a distance between them

_____ Negroes and whites use the facilities at different hours or on different days

_____ Other (please specity) _____

_____

Comment (on patterns of use by both Negroes and whites):

d) About how long ago, and under what circumstances, did this pattern of use by both Negroes and whites begin?

e) Since this pattern began, have there been arguments, fights, angry feelings, etc. between Negroes and whites? (That is, between Negroes and whites as such, not merely personality clashes)

Yes _____ No _____

If yes: These racial clashes have occurred (please check):

_____ Rarely

_____ Occasionally

_____ Frequently

Please describe in some detail the build-up, happenings, and outcome of one or two of these clashes ( use back of sheet):

7. Concerning pools (municipal or other) open to and used by Negroes (including those used by both Negroes and whites):

a) What facilities and equipment do these pools usually have?

b) How do these facilities and the equipment compare in quantity and quality with facilities and equipment for pools used by whites only?

c) How crowded (usually) are the pools open to and used by Negroes? (Please check)

_____ Used by fewer than can be safely and comfortably accommodated

_____ Used by about the number that can be safely and comfortably accommodated

_____ Used by more than can be safely and comfortably accommodated

Comment:

d) How does this compare with crowding in pools open to and used by whites only? (Please check)

_____ Less crowding in pools for whites only

_____ About the same degree of crowding in pools for whites only

_____ More crowding in pools for whites only

Comment:

e) Is there, for any of the pools open to and used by Negroes, regularly scheduled adult supervision or planned program to ensure safety, health, or constructive activities (for example: supervision to ensure cleanliness in entering and using pool, life guard, swimming instruction, supervised games or races, etc.)? Yes _____ No _____

If Yes: please describe briefly the kind of supervision or program usually provided, and what groups or agencies provide this service:

e) cont'd . . .
If Yes: is supervision or program provided for one _____, all _____, or some _____ of the pools open to and used by Negroes?

f) Do pools for whites only have significantly more or better supervision or program than pools open to and used by Negroes? Yes _____ No _____
If Yes: please comment on nature of difference and on what is provided for whites:

8. Concerning needs for pools in your community:
a) Is there a shortage of pools in the community as a whole? Yes ____ No ____
If Yes: what racial, nationality, or socio-economic groups are most affected by the shortage?

If Yes: what are the major effects of the shortage?

b) Are efforts being made to improve or increase swimming pools in your community? Yes ____ No ____ If Yes: who is making these efforts, and on behalf of what particular racial, nationality, or socio-economic groups?

9. Supplementary information or comment:

Please return to: RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

#FV(760)
FD

# Earlham College

RICHMOND INDIANA

January 5, 1961

Civil Rights

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Enclosed is a schedule of our Convocations for Term II. We are looking forward to your appearance February 7.

We would like to have biographical data for use in publicity, along with a title, as soon as it is convenient. I think I told you that our Convocations are at 10:00 a.m. (C.D.T. or E. S. T.); you will have about 35 or 40 minutes.

We can make further arrangements closer to the date, but let me say again we can pick you up at the airports in Cincinnati or Dayton.

I am fearful of what will happen to the Texas study. Some of the commissions are doing some good work, as it appears from this distance, but Harold Kilpatrick has no time to give the study direction. Do you have any suggestions as to where we can get some money?

Cordial best wishes for your work in the New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Joe

Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee

JEE:gh
Enclosure

January 17, 1961

Mr. Joe E. Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Joe:

Let's just call it "Civil Disobedience."

Biographical data enclosed.

I have talked with Harold about funds for the Texas study, and I guess neither he nor I has any suggestion. Mr. Kilpatrick did write some time ago to the Taconic Foundation and to one other, which one I have forgotten, and we were hoping he might have some success there. There isn't much I can do this distance from Texas, but if you can think of any help I can supply in coordination, let me know. You say that some of the Commissions are doing good work. This was my best hope for the study. If a few of the fields get covered well, I think that will be an achievement you can be proud of.

Best wishes and I'll see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: biographical data, LWD

February 9, 1961

Mr. Joe Elmore, Chairman
Convocation Committee
Earlham College
Richmond, ~~Virginia~~ Ind.

Dear Joe:

I enjoyed the visit thoroughly and hope that it worked out well for you. Not the least enjoyable part of the visit was meeting your wife and family.

Will you please give Peter Kline this address: A. E. Cox, Delta Foundation, 933 Chambliss Road, Memphis 16, Tenn.

The expenses were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Airline bus, Atlanta | $1.35 |
| Air, Atlanta to Cincinatti | 37.37 |
| Train, Cincinatti to Atlanta | 31.71 |
| Breakfast | 1.55 |
| | $71.98 |

About the Texas study. Would you want, after checking with Kilpatrick and Jackson, to give me in a letter the following:

1. An indication of the minimum necessary to do, in order to give reasonable assurance that the studies begun last Summer will be completed; a plan for doing this; and an approximate cost.

2. Approximate cost for the general meeting planned for this Summer and a word as to why you think it desirable.

3. A brief statement about publication plans, and estimated costs.

4. An indication of the funds and other resources typing, telephone, etc.) now in sight.

I don't know what, if any, help we can muster, and if any at all I am sure it will be modest. But there is always a chance, and so some figures and plans--geared to lean hopes--would be useful. One specific thing that you might ask Kilpatrick and Jackson to think about and comment on is whether we could help effectively and efficiently with memeographing and mailing, in connection with the final reports or with correspondence now.

On the train coming back from Indiana, I read a survey of Missouri just released by the state Commission on Human Rights; it struck me as a pretty fair job, and I have asked the Commission to send you a copy. It may give you some ideas.

Best regards,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

EARLHAM COLLEGE
RICHMOND, INDIANA

THE PRESIDENT

February 15, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A check has been forwarded to you in the amount of $175.00. If you have not received it, it ought to be there soon. Many people have expressed to me their appreciation of your address. The faculty were especially pleased. Many thanks for coming to us.

I shall follow your advice on the Texas study and you'll hear from us soon.

Hope all works out well there in the office. Best regards along with thanks.

Cordially,

Joe

Joe E. Elmore
Assistant to the President

JEE:nr

EARLHAM COLLEGE
RICHMOND, INDIANA

THE PRESIDENT

April 7, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Sincere congratulations! I had often wondered what had occurred since you were here and mentioned what was "in the air." I am personally pleased for you and extend best wishes for a successful and rewarding tenure of leadership.

Harold Kilpatrick has been swamped with all sorts of matters (I get the impression the John Birch Society is occupying most of his time) and has not, I discover, got to you the data on the Texas study. I talked to him by phone yesterday and he promised me he would drop everything and get it to you very soon.

He tells me all of the Commissions have been working except the housing group. He said the churches group got good response from their survey questionnaire and that the TCU Sociology Department is now processing the data. He reported that John King had told him the Colleges and Universities data was about ready to be written up. We could not go into detail over the telephone, of course, so I cannot personally vouch for what is in hand down there. But Harold's reports indicated much better work than I had anticipated.

Many thanks for your help. Of course, I am quite hopeful that you can help us on this matter.

All good wishes in your new work.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joe E. Elmore

P.S. Thanks for the copy of your address given here. Would you have any objection to its being mimeographed in what we call "The Earlham Review"? The editor would like to include it.

JEE:nr

April 11, 1961

Mr. Joe E. Elmore
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Dear Joe:

Many thanks for your letter of April 7. I am especially glad to have your good wishes.

The news you report from Texas is encouraging. I'll be interested in seeing Harold Kilpatrick's reports when they arrive.

I am pleased that the Earlham Review would like to reproduce my talk. It certainly belongs to Earlham to do with as you wish. A friend has said that he is busying himself trying to get it published, but your use should not prejudice his mistaken but well intentioned efforts in any way.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 14, 1961

MEMO TO MEMBERS OF THE RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY COMMISSIONS

Most of you know what your own commission has been doing during the past three or four months but this memorandum is to bring all up to date on the other commissions. First, a word about staff. All of us have missed the enthusiasm and drive with which Joe Earl Elmore started us off last summer. As was feared, the regular TCC staff has been so swamped with ongoing and special program activities (Annual Assembly, the Legislature, John Birch Society, "Operation Abolition") that the commissions have had to function largely under their own power. The Council office has duplicated or had printed and has done the mailing for most of the questionnaires and stands ready to perform clerical tasks for all the commissions.

A quick summary of the commissions follows:

CHURCHES: A four-page printed questionnaire was mailed to all TCC constituent churches. About 800 have been executed and returned to date. The sociology department of Texas Christian University is processing them. We have been gratified by the care with which the church questionnaires have been answered.

SCHOOLS: Two sets of questionnaires are being used. One goes to school officials. The other has been sent to selected persons for interviews to determine basis community attitudes. Mrs. Holcomb processing one set of questionnaire; Mrs. Bessellieu and Dr. Burrows the other.

COLLEGES and UNIVERSITIES: Sufficient replies from public, church-related, and private colleges have been received upon which to base a good report. Second requests are going to all institutions not responding to the first letter and questionnaire.

HOTELS, MOTELS, and RESTAURANTS: This commission necessarily must depend upon interviews, personal reports, and news media. A fine narrative giving actual experiences encountered by a cultured Negro family traveling around the state of Texas has been written and is in the hands of the chairman.

PUBLIC FACILITIES: Comprehensive questionnaires for interviews have been prepared and distributed. No report as to how well the interviews completed represent geographical distribution. Short questionnaire to be mailed to all members of Texas Municipal League.

ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION, and SPORTS: Reporters appointed for all major cities in the state. Reports from five of these in hands of chairman.

HOUSING: Questionnaire to municipalities yet to be sent. Delay occasioned by difficulty in devising questionnaire that is meaningful but not so complicated that it will not be executed by the city official receiving it. Admittedly the key segregation factor. We are delighted that commission member Marie Maguire of San Antonio has been appointed administrator of the United States Housing Authority by President Kennedy.

EMPLOYMENT: Committee assignments made for interviews. Most departments of the state government (50-60) have been interviewed to date. Private employers of a number of industries to be included.

FINANCING TO COMPLETE THE STUDY AND PUBLICATION OF REPORTS still is not assured but we are hopeful that it soon will be. Meanwhile, let no commission chairman or member hesitate to request authorization for mailings or necessary travel to gather data. Such expenses will be paid out of TCC general operating funds until specific Study funds are available. It is also hoped and planned that Joe Elmore can be with us again this summer to help us complete the study and publication process and prepare for the statewide study conference to be held at Southern Methodist University August 29-31, 1961.

Texas Council of Churches
Harold Kilpatrick, Executive Secretary

/cp

April 18, 1961

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for the copy of the letter and attached material which you sent to Dr. Dunbar. I am encouraged by the report; it appears that a creditable study could come of this even yet. It is good to know that all of the commissions except Housing have been at work. Perhaps we can still do something in that area also.

At any rate, thanks for your strong support of the study. I hope Dr. Dunbar can assist us in securing some funds.

All good wishes to you and everyone in the TCC office.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joe E. Elmore
Assistant to the President

JEE:nr

Make Feeler

May 1, 1961

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
504 West Twenty-fourth Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

Several of us here have examined carefully the enclosures sent with your letter of April 14. You have done an impressive job, and there is every indication that the study commissions will produce a valuable set of reports.

It is too bad that you have been turned down by the foundations. It looks as though you may, as you put it, have to "proceed in some fashion regardless."

In a modest way, we would like to make it a bit easier for you. Because of what has been accomplished already, and the worth of the study itself - yielding, as it promises, not only information but the self-education of a number of very good people and the prospect for meaningful action after the study itself is completed - we are willing to make a contribution of $1,200; this would represent the amount projected for Joe Elmore's salary this summer. We selected this item from your budget because it is

almost the lowest and represents best what we are able to contribute; and because the money would come from our research budget and the director's salary seems the most appropriate in that connection.

If acceptable, we assume that some reasonable number of copies of the reports might be given us for distribution.

There is another matter that you might want to exchange ideas on. Right now we have a special interest in employment issues, and are planning some publications of our own. These probably will include a couple of case studies of southern cities. Would there be any reason to explore the possibility of bringing out your Employment study under a double imprint; i.e., yours and ours? If so, and the material fitted our interests, we might handle and pay for the mimeographing or printing costs.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
cc: Reverend Joe Elmore

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
*President, United Church Women of Texas*

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*President, United Christian Youth Movement of Texas*
*Secretary*: THE REV. ROBERT D. MATHENY (*Jacksonville*)
*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)

# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK
*Office Manager and Youth Work Advisor:*
MRS. WANDA VAUGHN
*Dir. Dept. of Religion and Public Education:*
C. T. GIFFORD, Ph. D.
*State CROP Exec. Dir.:*
MR. G. JAMES HUSTON
*Dir. Migrant Ministry:*
MISS BETTY WHITAKER
*Migrant Ministry Staff:*
MISS KAY MANAGBANAG
MR. JOHN C. ROBERTSON

April 14, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

A recent note from Joe Elmore bears the good news that you have become executive director of the Southern Regional Council. Genuine congratulations and good wishes! All of us are fortunate that you were available for such a strategic post.

Doubtless you have wondered whether our Race Relations Progress Study has been making any progress because of dead silence from this direction. My staff and I have been utterly swamped for months. We were glad to see 1960 depart, with its Air Force Manual and communism-in-the-Protestant-churches upheaval. We became so weary of writing letters and mailing out thousands of pieces of material. Oh, we had some John Birch activity under surveillance then, but when John Birch and 'Operation Abolition' became a conflagration this year, we wished for 1960. However, public ridicule of JBS is now taking care of that situation apparently.

As you may or may not know, the Curriers turned us down for a request for an additional grant to enable us to finish our Study. I talked to Rockefeller Brothers. They were cordial but said that our program did not quite fit into their objectives.

Most of our study commissions have continued their work and some of them doubtless could produce rather creditable reports now. Enclosed are samples of questionnaires the various commissions are using. Also enclosed is a recent memo to study commission members.

I believe that $5,000 would see us through adequately. The attached break-down includes all principal items except an item for Elmore's travel which would likely round it out to $5,000. Does SRC have any funds that could be used for this purpose or do you know any other source that could be interested? I can raise funds in Texas for some programs but this Study is not one of them.

We are going to proceed in some fashion regardless. However, if you could help us underwriting for the complete program, I am sure that much better results can be obtained.

Sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive secretary

cc: Rev. Joe Earl Elmore
Dr. Douglas Jackson
President Black

May 26, 1961

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

Enclosed is our check for $1,200, representing a contribution to the Texas Council of Churches to be used to meet a portion of the expenses of the Council's Race Relations Progress Study. We note your letter of tax exemption, dated December 7, 1954.

At your convenience would you please acknowledge receipt of this contribution.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

Enclosure:
Check #3174, $1,200.

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
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*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)

# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

*Executive Secretary:*
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*Office Manager and Youth Work Advisor:*
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*State CROP Exec. Dir.:*
MR. G. JAMES HUSTON
*Dir. Migrant Ministry:*
MISS BETTY WHITAKER
*Migrant Ministry Staff:*
MISS KAY MANAGBANAG
MR. JOHN C. ROBERTSON

June 1, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Anthony:

Receipt of the Southern Regional Council check for twelve-hundred dollars is acknowledged with grateful thanks. This appropriation is going to mean the difference between limited accomplishment and what promises to be rather fulfilled completion of our Race Relations Progress Study.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

HCK:cp

cc: Mr. Hulon W. Black
Mr. Malcolm Gregory
Dr. Douglas Jackson
Rev. Joe Elmore

May 26, 1961

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

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At your convenience would you please acknowledge receipt of this contribution.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

Enclosure:
Check #3174, $1,200.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1022A EST MAY 25 61 AH074

DA082 D AUA124 PD AUSTIN TEX 25 855A CST

DR LESLIE DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 201 5 SORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

TEXAS COUNCIL GRANTED TAX EXEMPTION DECEMBER 54. DOCUMENT FOLLOWS

HARMLD KILPATRICK TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
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# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

*Executive Secretary:*
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MISS BETTY WHITAKER
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MISS KAY MANAGBANAG
MR. JOHN C. ROBERTSON

May 25, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is copy of the tax exempt information which you requested by telegram this morning. Let us know if you need additional information.

Sincerely,

Wanda

(Mrs) Wanda Vaughn
Office Manager

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
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# Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

Night ltr sent May 24: Please confirm that Tex. Council of Churches is Tax Exempt. L.W.D

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK
*Office Manager and Youth Work Advisor:*
MRS. WANDA VAUGHN
*Dir. Dept. of Religion and Public Education:*
C. T. GIFFORD, Ph. D.
*State CROP Exec. Dir.:*
MR. G. JAMES HUSTON
*Dir. Migrant Ministry:*
MISS BETTY WHITAKER
*Migrant Ministry Staff:*
MISS KAY MANAGBANAG
MR. JOHN C. ROBERTSON

May 15, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are so grateful for your interest and encouragement in the satisfactory completion of our Race Relations Progress Study. We accept with gratitude your offer to make a contribution of $1,200 to pay Joe Elmore's salary this summer.

This is a very significant item in our budget need. Now if we can get the cost of publishing the reports underwritten, I have no doubt but that we can get enough together to underwrite the study conference.

We shall keep you informed with respect to developments and let you have the benefit of preliminary reports as they are compiled. I am confident we will have a lot of interesting data when it is all compiled.

We hope you will save the last three days of August for the statewide study conference at Southern Methodist University in Dallas.

Dr. Douglas Jackson is planning to call a meeting of the Steering Committee soon to complete arrangements for the conference.

With gratitude and genuine good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

HK:wv
Dictated by Mr. Kilpatrick but typed and signed in his absence from the city.

cc: Hulon Black
Joe Elmore
Douglas Jackson

Tax file

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

Austin, Texas

#496
DIR:A:O:AUS:G-2:115

December 7, 1954

Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Gentlemen:

It is the opinion of this office, based upon the evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for

religious purposes.

Accordingly, you are not required to file income tax returns unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized, or your method of operation. Any such changes should be reported immediately to the District Director of Internal Revenue, Austin, Texas, in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

It will not be necessary for you to file the annual return of information, Form 990-A, generally required of organizations exempt under section 501(c)(3) of the 1954 Code, as you come within the specific exceptions contained in section 6033 of the 1954 Code.

Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in computing their taxable income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 170 of the 1954 Code (and, where applicable, by sections 23(o)(2) and (q)(2) of the 1939 Code).

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers to or for your use are deductible in computing the value of the taxable estate of a decedent for Federal estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 2055 and 2106 of the 1954 Code (and, where applicable, by sections 812(d) and 861(a)(3) of the 1939 Code). Gifts of property to or for your use are deductible in computing taxable gifts for Federal gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by section 2522 of the 1954 Code (and, where applicable, by sections 1004(a)(2)(B) and 1004(b)(2) and (3) of the 1939 Code).

In the event you have not filed a waiver of exemption certificate in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Federal Insurance Contributions Act, no liability is incurred by you for the taxes imposed by such Act. Tax liability is not incurred by you under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. Any question relating to the filing of a waiver of exemption certificate should be taken up with the District Director of Internal Revenue, Austin, Texas.

Your attention is called to the provisions of section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 under which your exemption will be revoked if any substantial part of your activities consists of carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, or if you participate in or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

Very truly yours,

R. L. Phinney

R. L. Phinney
District Director

July 11, 1961

Mr. Joe Earl Elmore
Texas Council of Churches
504 West Twenty-Fourth Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Joe:

February is such a long time off that I will agree to anything.

I would suggest that you simply write to McGill. I think you will have to offer him travel expenses plus an modest honorarium. Let me know a few days ahead of time when you plan to write and I will drop him a note telling him that your invitation is coming. McGill gets an enormous number of invitations these days and he has a hard time accepting as many, even, as he would like.

I think we can let the question about the use of your employment study drop. We have gone ahead with plans for a four city report on employment opportunities and limitations. The four cities will be Atlanta, Chattanooga, Miami, and Houston. The Houston study will be co-sponsored by the Houston Councillon Human Relations. Jim Noland is the man we are presently working with. Bob Breihan may want to know about this and to keep in touch with Noland.

Best wishes, and I am glad you are on the job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

*Chairman, Steering Committee:* DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON
*Director:* THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE
*Executive Secretary:* MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

## Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN
*Churches:* DR. HAROLD LUNGER
*Colleges and Universities:* DR. JESSE R. WILSON
*Employment:* THE REV. BOB BREIHAN
*Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:* DR. W. ASTOR KIRK
*Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:* MR. TOM REAVLEY
*Housing:* MR. WILLIAM PARKER
*Public Facilities:* THE REV. PAUL SIMS
*Schools:* DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

July 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I came to work this week to push the study through to completion. The data are not in this office so it is difficult to evaluate what we have in hand. However, I gather that some of the commissions have the basis for a good report, and I am hopeful that we can put together a creditable publication which will be of some usefulness in the state.

We are having a Steering Committee in Dallas tomorrow to chart our course and plan for the conference. The conference will be in Dallas at S.M.U. on August 29-30-31. I very much hope you can arrange to come. Will has it on his calendar, of course. My guess is that it will be relatively small, but that shouldn't prevent us from gaining from it what we want, which is to publicize the reports, determine upon a plan of further action, and strengthen the race relations department of the state council.

You mentioned in one of ,your letters, I notice, the possibility of our working together on a study of employment. I cannot discover that anyone answered you. We are of course interested in cooperating in any way we can. What do you have in mind? Bob Breihan tells me the employment group here has not done too much, but it is a good group of knowledgeable people and they can put together a decent report. If you will let me know what kind of cooperative venture you have in mind, I will get on it right away. Time is slipping by.

May I thank you again for your assistance to us. I hope that what we come up with will justify yourconfidence. Warmest personal regards. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joe Earl Elmore

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# Race Relations Progress Study

## Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

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*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

July 7, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The Steering Committee decided yesterday to postpone the conference of our study until February. It will probably be February 13-14-15, 1962 at S.M.U. in Dallas, but we must wait final confirmation of those dates from S.M.U.

The committee felt, wisely I think, that there just wasn't enough time to arrange for a conference the last of August. Moreover, as I had argued last summer, they had selected poor dates in that they were just before the Labor Day weekend and during many people's vacation period. Also, this will give us more time to whip these commission reports into shape and to find some money to make them better. Hence I believe the decision was a good one.

The committee decided to invite Jim Robinson and Ralph McGill to speak. Both of them ought to command press space and get us a good notice. The primary goal of the conference is to call attention to the conference reports and to help us get them distributed more easily. Also, of course, recommendations for follow-up will come out of the gathering, and I hope some better structure and leadership for the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations for the Council. We will probably have around 150; we want to keep it relatively small.

The committee asked me to ask you two things. First, will you speak to the group on the closing day, and, among other things, give some summary of the reports and the conference? Of course, the thing isn't worked out in detail yet, but this is generally what they had in mind. Second, can you help us get McGill? How should we go about it? Should we go ahead and write, and could you call him and put in a good word for us? I would appreciate your suggestions and your help very much.

I am to work this summer to arrange for the conference, but more importantly to help these commissions get their reports in shape and plan definitely what more they will do. I hope to have it as foolproof as I can make it before I leave, so there is definite knowledge of the nature of the reports, an outline, and much of them written.

(over)

I shall let you know when the conference date is definite. Meantime, I would appreciate your suggestions concerning McGill.

Many thanks - and cordially best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Joe

P.S. Doug Jackson tells me the power structure in Dallas has quietly decided that the schools will be integrated in September, and at the same time the hotels and many of the restaurants - in case you didn't know.

File Religious

August 17, 1961

Mr. Joe Earl Elmore
Race Relations Progress Study
Texas Council of Churches
504 West Twenty-Fourth Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Joe:

Enclosed are some clips regarding Virginia Seashore State Park. I think you would do well to read also the court opinions which you can find by walking across the street to the law library.

The District Court gave its decision July 7, 1955 (1 Race Relations Law Report 171); this was affirmed by the Fourth Circuit, April 9, 1956 (1 RRLR 530); the Supreme Court denied certiorari, October 8, 1956 (noted RRLR 1024).

In lieu of McGill for your assembly, Benjamin Mays would be first rate; so, too, would be our president, James McBride Dabbs; Stephen Wright, of Fisk, would be good. In regard to your querie about the Earlham Antioch meeting, Lillian Smith does still accept speaking engagements. I suppose Ashely Montagu is the best known anthropologist writing. There is also Dollard, of Yale, who wrote Cast and Class in a Southern Town; Joshua Fishman, of Yeshiva University, might be a possibility. Mary Ellen Goodman is an anthropologist, and might be able to give you a good suggestion regarding younger people.

As for me, I am not sure, though I would like to come back to Earlham. I have committed myself, either to come or to send someone else, to Indiana University some time between November and March and if your affair coincides, that would be nice.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Dunbar

Executive Director

LD:mbb
Enc.

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

(4)

# Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

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THE REV. PAUL SIMS
*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

August 11, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Would you please ask one of your staff to send me what information your files have on the court cases involving segregation of Virginia Seashore State Park? As far as I can tell from what information I have (which is a little blurb on p. 13 of "New South", November, 1956), the case must have been in 1955 or 56.

As you probably know, Texas has a segregation law concerning its state parks, passed in 1950. A copy is enclosed. We want to see what can be done about it, and would find information about the Virginia litigation most helpful.

The work here is proceeding slowly. I am confident that we shall have 5 or 6 good reports unless the bottom drops out again when I leave. I am apprehensive about 3 of the groups. As for the conference, Jim Robinson is in Africa and wehave not heard from McGill yet either. I am working here through next Friday, the 18th, and then must hustle back to Earlham.

Incidentally, Landrum Bolling (President of Earlham) and I have planned tentatively to have a modest race relations Institute at Earlham next spring, perhaps in cooperation with Antioch. I corresponded a bit with Will about it in the early part of the summer, but the matter has been put aside during the summer. If we work it out, would you available to visit us again? Is Lillian Smith still effective and does she continue to go out on speaking junkets? What anthropologist would you recommend? (Landrum is anxious to include an anthropologist or social scientist who would speak on race prejudice as a human phenomenon.) I will appreciate your suggestions and comments.

All good wishes, and thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Earl Elmore

Joe Earl Elmore

*Chairman, Steering Committee:*
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

*Director:*
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

*Executive Secretary:*
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

Religious

# Race Relations Progress Study

## Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

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THE REV. PAUL SIMS
*Schools:*
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

August 18, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The dates of Feb. 13-14-15 conflict with a big Latin American conference to be held in Santa Fe, and we are tentatively changing to Feb. 20-22, one week later. We are waiting upon confirmation from S.M.U., but we already have tentative clearance. Notices will be sent out when the dates are confirmed.

McGill said he had a conflicting appointment but seemed interested. I have written him back asking if he could come the next week. We shall keep our fingers crossed.

The Housing report seems to have fallen into place in the last few days, so I am feeling much better about the entire study. I am leaving with the feeling that the chances are good that all of the reports will be creditable, and some of them quite good.

It was good talking to you the other day. I have not mentioned to Harold what you told me about money, but shall keep it in mind. I am embarrassed that the churches cannot find money for a venture like this, and must rely on SRC. But we thank you for your help.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Joe Elmore

JHC
TRC
MW
PAC
MHB file

# TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

November 28, 1961

The Rev. Bob Breihan
Methodist Student Center
2434 Guadalupe Street
Austin 5, Texas

My dear Bob:

Enclosed is a copy of a very attractive report which we received this morning from the Southern Regional Council. This is being turned over to you as chairman of the Commission on Housing of our Race Relations Progress Study.

It now appears certain that the last week in March or the first week in April will be selected for our study conference. We are clearing the dates finally at our Board meeting next Tuesday.

With appreciation for your service in this study, I am

Sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

HCK:cp
cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

(Dictated by Mr. Kilpatrick, but typed and signed in his absence from the city.)

# THE NEGRO AMERICAN A READING LIST

A bibliography, "The Negro American -- A Reading List", was prepared in 1957 by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. It was intended solely for leaders and students of Negro history, for them to read and to determine for themselves whether or not they wished to make use of the books on the list, just as a library makes available its reading material without comment. Approximately 3,000 copies were printed and distributed, on request, over a three year period, with no effort by the department to promote use of the bibliography. It is now out of print, and there are no plans to re-issue the bibliography.

The first paragraph of the introduction states:

> "The Supreme Court's May, 1954, school decision calls for fundamental change in the educational pattern of a large part of the country, as well as for re-examination of racial attitudes nationally. Where desegregation is planned or started, there are adjustment problems for both colored and white. Where resistance is strong, there is need for special effort and understanding."

The list of 260 books is classified under headings of Negro history, biography, poetry, religion and the church, etc. In addition, the entire list is broken down into sections recommended for primary, intermediate, junior high, senior high, and adult readers.

It has been charged that the book "Without Magnolias," by Bucklin Moon, which is included in the reading list, has been declared obscene and banned from the mails by the Post Office Department. However, no book on the list has ever been held to be obscene by any duly constituted and competent agency, public or private.

In a colloquy on the floor of the House of Representatives between Congressman Jackson and Congresswoman Green, the following letter was introduced into the record. (Ref. Congressional Record, April 20, 1960, p. 7845)

> "Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. 'If the gentleman will yield further, I have the following letter from the Post Office Department, dated April 18, 1960:
>
> 'Dear Congresswoman Green: Confirming the telephonic conversation between Mr. Harrison, of your office, and Mr. Farr, of this office this date, please be advised that our records do not indicate that the Post Office Department has had occasion to rule upon the mailability of the following book: "Without Magnolias,' by Bucklin Moon.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> LEO G. KNOLL
> Acting General Counsel'."

Another charge is frequently made against the Negro poet, Langston Hughes. Several of his books are recommended reading, because Hughes is a considerable Negro poet. In the early 1930's he wrote a poem called "Goodbye Christ." However, this particular poem is not included in any of the recommended books, nor has it ever been in print in this country since 1932, until various publications attacking the Council reprinted it in full and out of context, in their efforts to discredit the reading list.

According to a newspaper report, some years ago Mr. Hughes was asked to testify at a hearing in Washington before Senator McCarthy's committee, after one of his books had been withdrawn from a U.S. library overseas. Mr. Hughes was given clearance and the book was returned to the library shelves.

NCCCUSA:Off.Inf. 4/25/61

Reproduced by: Texas Council of Churches, 1400 Guadalupe, Austin 1, Texas 10/9/61

Religious Pendency

December 22, 1961

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
1400 Guadalupe Street
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

April 24 to 26 is a good date as far as I am concerned.

We are happy that things have gone along as well as they have with the study and are looking forward to reading the results with great interest.

Best wishes for the season.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
*President, United Church Women of Texas*

*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MR. JOSEF J. BARTON (*Taylor*)
*President, United Christian Youth Movement of Texas*
*Secretary*: THE REV. ROBERT D. MATHENY (*Jacksonville*)
*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)
*Executive Secretary*: MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

December 15, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

At last it appears that we have come up with a relatively conflict-free date for our Race Relations Study Conference. Approved by our steering committee and the TCC General Board are the dates April 24-26, 1962, at Southern Methodist University, Dallas. The February dates we had chosen turned up entirely too many conflicting meetings within the state.

Now our first concern is that the April dates will fit into your schedule and permit you to particpate in the conference.

As Joe Elmore may have reported to you earlier, it appears that we are going to have several excellent reports from the commissions. Right after the holidays we shall start holding meetings of the commissions to check on what has been done and what yet needs to be done. I note that we have lost three commission members to Washington. Mrs. Marie McGuire became Commissioner of the United States Housing Authority, Dr. W. Astor Kirk went to Howard University, and Fred Schmidt is going to Washington as administrative assistant to Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez.

Perhaps Joe Elmore or Douglas Jackson have told you what role they expect you to play in the statewide study conference. If not, doubtless you will receive word after the next meeting of the steering committee of which Dr. Jackson is chairman.

We appreciate greatly the periodical mailings of material we receive from your office. These will be quite helpful in the compilation of commission reports.

With deep appreciation for your encouragement and support and with best wishes for a Blessed Christmas Season, I am

Sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
HK:wv
cc: Hulon W. Black
Douglas Jackson
Joe Elmore

# CONVOCATIONS

## EARLHAM COLLEGE

### TERM II, 1961

January 5 — Report on Foreign Study in France

January 10 — H. J. Muller
"The Human Future"

January 12 — Report on Foreign Study in Italy.

January 17 — William J. Biehl
Career Day

January 19 — Julliard String Quartet

January 24 — Landrum Bolling

January 26 — Joseph D. Elder
Non-Western Lecturer

January 31 — Edward Farley

February 2 — Henry Margenau

February 7 — Leslie Dunbar

February 9 — Ruth Useem
Family Relations Lecturer

February 14 — Campus Chest

February 16 — Paul Engle

February 21 — A Faith to Live By
Four Earlham Seniors

February 23 — William T. deBary
Non-Western Lecturer

February 28 — Chalmers Coe

March 2 — Fritz Eichenberg

March 7 — Beauford Norris

March 9 — The State of American Culture
Faculty Panel:
Leonard Holvik, Arthur Little, Warren Staebler

*There will be a period of silence at the beginning of each convocation.*

# Who's Who among Convocation Speakers

**WILLIAM J. BIEHL**
Chairman of the Board, George Fry & Associates Management Consulting Firm

**LANDRUM BOLLING**
President of Earlham College

**CHALMERS COE**
Pastor, First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio

**WILLIAM T. deBARY**
Professor of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University

**LESLIE DUNBAR**
Director of Research, Southern Regional Council

**FRITZ EICHENBERG**
Professor of Art, Pratt Institute.

**JOSEPH D. ELDER**
Instructor, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Oberlin College

**PAUL ENGLE**
Poet, Author, Director of the Program in Creative Writing, State University of Iowa

**EDWARD FARLEY**
Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Religion, DePauw University

**LEONARD HOLVIK**
Professor of Music, Earlham College

**ARTHUR LITTLE**
Associate Professor of Speech, Earlham College

**HENRY MARGENAU**
Eugene Higgins Professor of Physics and Natural Philosophy, Yale University

**H. J. MULLER**
Nobel Prize Winner, Professor of Zoology, Indiana University

**BEAUFORD A. NORRIS**
President, Christian Theological Seminary, Butler University

**WARREN STAEBLER**
Professor of English, Earlham College

**RUTH HILL USEEM**
Research Consultant, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University

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The purpose of the Convocations is to unite the entire college community at a level of common concern as the community is confronted with the greatest issues of our time, both religious and secular. The programs are arranged by a committee of instructors and students, including an official representation of the Earlham Senate.

I ~~M~~
PRV 62
MMB-file

# TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

January 16, 1962

To all Chairmen for the Race Relations Progress Study:

Dear Friends:

You have been notified that dates for the Statewide Race Relations Progress Study Conference have been set for April 24-26, 1962 at Southern Methodist University, Dallas. Details of meeting places and housing will be sent as soon as we have received such information from Dallas.

Doubtless most of the study commissions have accumulated most of the data they set out to gather. Perhaps it would be quite helpful to the Steering Committee as well as to the commission chairmen themselves if each would write a brief precis of his report. This would be a short preview of the commission's report, highlighting the types of data that have been gathered and some of the primary findings. Since this precis should not be longer than one page, the barest highlights of the commission's work should be mentioned.

If you will send this precis to me, I shall be glad to reproduce it and mail to members of your commission, to members of the Steering Committee and to Joe Elmore. May we set a deadline of February/for this precis. Then, if the reports are to be reproduced in time for the study conference, they should be in this office by March 15th.

In view of the fact that we have no staff person to work on this program at the present time, I shall plan to give it priority in my own schedule. Therefore, will the chairman of each commission feel free to call upon me to help round up any data that is lacking, follow through on questionnaires, or do anything else to expedite the winding up of the commission's work.

As most of you know, we have some very interesting and informative reports. Some of it may seem like old stuff to those of you who have been keeping up with developments. But remember, most of the people of Texas and members of our churches have not the faintest idea of much of the data your commissions have gathered.

Be sure to let me know promptly if you need any assistance, clerical or technical, in the preparation of precis and report.

Gratefully,

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary

cc: Dr. Douglas Jackson, Dr. Leslie Dunbar
The Rev. Joe Elmore

January 26, 1962

The Rev. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches — file
1400 Guadalupe Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

Thank you for informing us about the Baker Hotel in Dallas. This is good news and you are to be commended for following it up.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb

**PHONE GR 6-4384**

**COSMOPOLITAN BUSINESS EQUIPMENT**

• 503 SAN JACINTO • AUSTIN

ALMOST EVERYTHING FOR THE OFFICE BUT THE PERSONNEL

OFFICE SUPPLIES • FURNITURE • PRINTING

Dr. Dunbar, for your information. This is an interesting new development.

Harold Kilpatrick

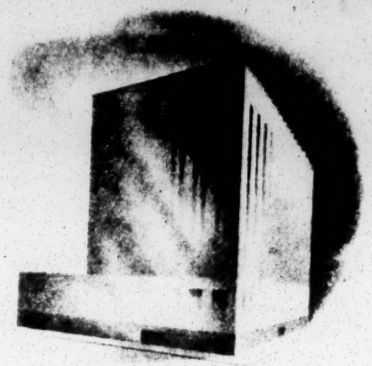
~~FYI~~

PR ✓

return to D

***Our Purpose: to help the office SAVE wasted time, wasted labor, and WASTED EXPENSE DOLLARS***

# The Baker Hotel



DALLAS, TEXAS

**Name of Organization** Texas Council of Churches

**President's Name** Mr. Hulon W. Black

**Address &** 1010 Lavaca Street - Austin 1, Texas

**Phone No.** GReenwood 7-1535

**Executive Secretary's Name** Mr. Harold Kilpatrick

**Address &** 1400 Guadalupe Street - Austin 1, Texas

**Phone No.** GReenwood 8-9869

**Local Contact's Name** Dr. Luther Holcomb

**Address &** Rio Grande National Bldg.

**Phone No.** RIverside 8-5235

**Estimated Attendance** 250

**Number of days Meeting** 2

**Month of Meeting** March

**No. of Exhibitors** none

**Where Meeting This Year** Corpus Christi

**Number Negro Delegates** About 25

**TRACE DATE** Dec. 28, 1961

For good reason we are very partial to Affiliated National Hotels. Because Texas hotels heretofore would not accommodate all of our Assembly members, we have never designated a hotel headquarters and have held all our sessions in churches.

Judinging from the next to last line above, it will now be possible to designate the Baker as headquarters the next time we meet in Dallas. It will be a great pleasure to do so either in 1963 or 1964.

Harold Kilpatrick

AFFILIATED NATIONAL HOTELS

fyi

March 21, 1962

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches — file
1400 Guadalupe Street
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

As you have requested, I am sending to you the enclosed glossy print of Mr. Dunbar along with a brief biographical sketch. I'm sorry that we cannot send three copies of the print but our supply is limited to the one which is enclosed. Therefore, when you have made use of it, would you be good enough to return it to us?

With best wishes for a successful conference,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA - Leslie W. Dunbar

Born in Lewisburg, West Virginia; grew up in Baltimore, Md.
Ph.D. in Political Science from Cornell University
Taught at Emory University 1948-51
Taught at Mt. Holyoke College 1955-59
Guggenheim Fellow 1954-55
Worked for Atomic Energy Commission 1951-54 (Aiken, S.C.)
Director Research, Southern Regional Council, Feb. 1959
Director, Southern Regional Council, April 1961

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
*President, United Church Women of Texas*

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*President, United Christian Youth Movement of Texas*
*Secretary*: THE REV. ROBERT D. MATHENY (*Jacksonville*)
*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)
*Executive Secretary*: MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

# TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

March 15, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Dunber:

The Race Relations Study Conference program finally has been completed. A letter from Dr. Douglas Jackson announces the acceptance of Howard Griffin as speaker Wednesday evening, April 25, following a dinner in the ballroom of the SMU Student Union. He has been completing a manuscript for another book and has been virtually incommunicado.

See short paper Note

We do not seem to have a photograph of you available and wish to use one on the printed program. Will you please see that we have at least one, preferably three, by return mail? Biographical sketches also will be appreciated.

I believe that the Steering Committee wants to use you as consultant and resource during the entire conference and to give the closing address summarizing findings and insights, orienting the group and the churches from which they come. This will be Thursday morning. — April 26, 1962

Now that our General Assembly is behind us, I shall concentrate on rounding up the commission reports and otherwise give this program the attention that it will need.

I am scheduled to be in Dallas Monday and will discuss housing matters further with Dr. Jackson. He has notified us that the University can house 24 women and 69 men in undergraduate facilities and has reserved the theological school facilities for Negroes. In connection with housing, I am glad to report that all of our Negro delegates to the Assembly stayed in unsegregated hotels and motels, the first time that Corpus Christi hotels had practiced non-discrimination.

Gratefully,

Harold Kilpatrick

Harold Kilpatrick
Executive secretary

cc:
Dr. Douglas Jackson, chairman
The Rev. Joe Earl Elmore

# Fact Sheet

## RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY CONFERENCE

Southern Methodist University, Dallas - April 24-26, 1962

Auspices Department of Cultural and Racial Relations, Texas Council of Churches

(Note: The 1959 General Assembly authorized the Department of Cultural and Racial Relations to undertake a study of developments in the Texas race relations field, noting progress and lack of it in eight study areas: Churches; Schools; Colleges and Universities; Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants; Public Facilities; Entertainment, Recreation, and Sports; Housing; and Employment.

Much research has gone into several of the reports of the Study Commissions. Their findings will be presented to the statewide Study Conference.)

**WHO IS INVITED?** Members of denominational Boards of Christian Social Concerns, Christian Social Relations, or whatever called.

Those serving on community human relations councils

All members of the RRPS Commissions

Christian or Race Relations chairmen of councils of churches, councils of United Church Women, youth councils, or ministers associations

**WHAT IS THE TIME SCHEDULE?** Registration and room assignment begin at 3 p.m. Tuesday, April 24. The first conference session will be a service of worship in Perkins Chapel at 7:30 p.m. followed by an address by the Rev. Will Campbell of Nashville, Tennessee.

The conference closes Thursday morning before the lunch hour.

**WHAT ARE THE COSTS?** The total cost to those staying in SMU dormitories will be $14.25, including room, four meals, literature, and registration. For those staying off campus, deduct the cost of SMU room accommodations--$6. Those staying on campus may have to share rooms because a limited number of accommodations are available.

Those wishing to stay at nearby hotels or motels will find the following convenient to the campus: Lawn Hotel(3718 Lemmon Ave.); Loma Alto Hotel (4518 Lemmon Ave.; Dallasite Motor Hotel(4126 N. Central Expressway); Holiday Inn(4070 N. Central Expressway).

Please send advance registrations and requests for SMU campus accommodations to Mrs. Wanda Vaughn at the TCC office(1400 Guadalupe, Austin 1, Texas). Those wishing off-campus accommodations will make their own reservations.

**THE PROGRAM:** Although there will be several nationally known speakers and program leaders, much of the conference time schedule will be devoted to small study groups to which will be assigned the several study reports for analysis and recommendations to the churches for study and appropriate action. The final session Thursday morning will be open to delegates only.

April 2, 1962

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
1400 Guadalupe Street
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

I have delayed responding to your letter of March 15 in hopes that my schedule would clear a bit and that I could say I would be at the conference during its entire period. I know now that I cannot be. I certainly can be there April 26 but will have to let you know later as to how much, if any, of the 24th and 25th I can be on hand.

I am very sorry about this, but these are very crowded days for the Council as you may have gathered from the newspapers. Please send me a program as soon as you have one and I shall be back in touch with you very soon.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 18, 1962

Mr. Harold Kilpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

I shall arrive in Dallas early on the morning of Thursday, April 26. I am sorry that I cannot get out sooner. My problem is that I simply have to be in Atlanta the evening of April 25.

Looking forward to seeing you then.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK
*Executive Secretary*

April 4, 1962

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

We, too, regret your inability to be with us throughout the Apr. 24-26 conference. As you see by the enclosed program, we have you down for the climactic message on the 26th.

The Commission reports are slow coming in. I suspect that the chairmen are frantically trying to pull everything together.

Sincerely,

Harold Kilpatrick

TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — 504 WEST TWENTY-FOURTH STREET — AUSTIN 5, TEXAS

# *Study Conference On Race Relations Progress In Texas*

---

**APRIL 24-26, 1962**

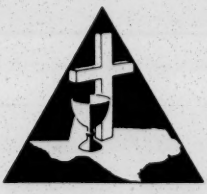
**SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY**

**DALLAS, TEXAS**

***auspices***

**DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS**

**TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES**



Since the spring of 1960 eight study commissions set up by the Texas Council of Churches have been gathering information on changes that have been made in racial and cultural relations and present conditions in the following areas of concern:

- Churches
- Schools
- Colleges and Universities
- Hotels, motels, and restaurants
- Public facilities
- Entertainment, recreation, and sports
- Housing
- Employment

### *WHAT IS THIS CONVOCATION?*

It is a study conference which will receive reports of the eight study commissions, discuss them, and make plans for transmitting data and findings to appropriate church meetings and organizations.

### *WHEN AND WHERE?*

Registration and room assignments begin at 3 p.m. Tuesday, April 24 in Selecman Hall. First session in Perkins Chapel at 7:30 p.m. The convocation closes before noon Thursday.

### *WHO MAY PARTICIPATE?*

Members of denominational boards and committees on Christian relations, denominational representatives and staff members, representatives of local councils of churches, United Church Women, local youth councils, ministers associations, campus Christian and student Y.M.C.A. & Y.W.C.A. leaders.

### *WHAT IS THE COST?*

Total cost for room, meals (four), registration, and materials will be $14.25. Those staying off campus may deduct the cost of SMU dormitory accommodations amounting to $6.

### *HOW TO REGISTER . . .*

Pre-convocation registrations are requested in order that adequate facilities be available. Send the registration form on back page of this folder to Mrs. R. B. Vaughn, TCC office, 1400 Guadalupe Street, Austin. Those planning to stay off campus must make own room reservations.

**Rev. Joe Earl Elmore has served as director of the Race Relations Progress Study during the summer of 1960 and 1961. His services were made possible by grants from the Taconic Foundation and the Southern Regional Council.**

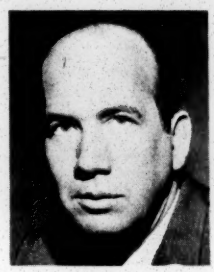
***Rev. Joe Earl Elmore***

## *Program*

*Tuesday, April* 24
3:00 p.m., Registration and Room Assignments begin
7:30 p.m., Opening Worship, Perkins Chapel
Dr. H. Grady Hardin
Address: Rev. Will Campbell, Nashville, Tenn.

*Wednesday, April* 25
Selecman Hall Auditorium
8:15 a.m., Morning Worship
Rev. Wesley Sims
9-11 a.m., Commission Reports
Study Groups
10:15 a.m., Coffee Break
11:00 a.m., Address and Symposium
12:15 p.m., Luncheon, Ballroom, Student Union
2-14 p.m., Study Groups
6:00 p.m., Dinner, Ballroom, Student Union
Address:
John Howard Griffin
Author "Black Like Me"

*Thursday, April* 26
8:30 a.m., Morning Worship
Rev. Roberto Escamilla
9:00 a.m., Reports of Study Groups
Led by Rev. Joe Earl Elmore
10:30 a.m., Coffee Break
10:45 a.m., Recommendations to the Churches (Delegates only), Dr. Douglas Jackson, presiding
11:15 a.m., Summary Address, Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Atlanta, Ga., Southern Regional Council
12 noon, Adjournment



***Rev. Will Campbell***

***Rev. Wesley Sims***

***John Howard Griffin***

***Dr. Leslie Dunbar***

*Dr. Douglas Jackson, Perkins School of Theology, has served as Chairman of the Conference Steering Committee.*

## STUDY CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS IN TEXAS

*auspices*

**TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES**
**SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY, DALLAS**
**APRIL 24-26, 1962**

***Pre-Convocation Registration***

Name ..... Denomination .....

Address: Street or Box ..... City .....

Work Group Preferences: 1st Choice ..... 2nd Choice .....

Housing:

.....Desire SMU Dormitory Facilities

.....Will stay off campus

.....Entire fee for registration, housing, meals, etc. enclosed ($14.25 on campus; $8.25 off campus)

.....Will pay on arrival

Prefer to share room with:

.....

Mail to Texas Council of Churches, 1400 Guadalupe Street, Austin 1, Texas.

*President*: MR. HULON W. BLACK (*Austin*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. D. L. LANDRUM (*Beaumont*)
*Vice President*: THE REV. I. B. LOUD (*Dallas*)
*Ex Officio Vice Pres.*: MRS. M. J. GERHARDT (*San Antonio*)
*President, United Church Women of Texas*

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*President, United Christian Youth Movement of Texas*
*Secretary*: THE REV. ROBERT D. MATHENY (*Jacksonville*)
*Treasurer*: MR. MALCOLM GREGORY (*Austin*)
*Executive Secretary*: MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

PRV
METV
JMV
MJ-file

# TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1400 GUADALUPE STREET • AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

April 27, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Coundl
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

Your address closing our recent study conference certainly spoke to our hearts as concerned southern churchmen. It was a message that all of us needed and was a fitting climax to the program.

All of us were disappointed by the small attendance and by the failure of some of the study commissions to come up with adequate reports. However, I think all of us gained valuable insights regarding the entire subject of the conference. Certainly we were lead to see the danger of cockiness because of a token desegregation. We learned that the integration process has hardly begun. We learned of the spiritual debilitation inherent in the segregation pattern. We became aware that general apathy had already set in as a result of token desegregation.

The last statement leads me to tell you that this office staff has never promoted anything as hard as we did this study conference. We tried to communicate with church judicatories, interchurch organizations, the Christian relations committees of the denominations, campus studen organizations, members of our own department of Cultural & Community Relations, all of those who had in any way been related to the study commissions, and to about 6,200 general constituents.

Even so, we think that we have a responsibility to do the best possible editorial job on all the materials we have, including recommendations of the work groups and will plan to distribute these just as widely as possible. Copies of the reports and recommendations will be sent to you as soon as they can be duplicated.

With deep appreciation for your steadfast interest and encouragement in the project and for your personal contribution to what I consider to be quite a successful study conference, I am

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold Kilpatrick, executive secretary
cc: Dr. D. L. Landrum, president, TCC; Dr. Douglas Jackson
The Rev. Wm. Jablonowski, Jr., Dr. John H. Adams
The Rev. Will Campbell

Sample of questionnaire being
used by "community reporters"
in Transportation Facilities Study.
Omitted from previous mailing

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
of the Texas Council of Churches

COMMISSION ON PUBLIC FACILITIES - Transportation Facilities

Name of Community: _____

Size of Community (1960 total population) _____

Name of Community Reporter: _____

TERMINALS

Name of Terminal _____ (bus, train, air)

Operated by Whom _____

Municipal? (tax-supported?) _____ Non-municipal? _____

1. Are there signs displayed designating "white" and/or "Colored"?

Yes___ No___

At waiting rooms? Yes___ No___

At rest rooms? Yes___ No___

At drinking fountains Yes___ No___

At lunch counters? Yes___ No___

2. If there are no signs, please check the following:

A. There is free access (no limitation) to the public use of

| | To Whites | To Negroes | To Mexicans |
|---|---|---|---|
| Waiting Rooms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Ticket Counter | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Locker Storage | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Rest Rooms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Telephones | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Lunch Counters | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Comment: _____

B. Services are provided for:

| | Whites only | Negroes separated | To Mexicans |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hair cuts | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Shoe Shines | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Recreation | _____ | _____ | _____ |

3. If there are separate facilities for Whites and Colored, please evaluate the relative condition of the following:

Waiting Rooms White_____ Colored_____

Lunch Facilities White_____ Colored_____

Rest Rooms White_____ Colored_____

(Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor, Totally inadequate, None)

4. If there are separate facilities, please evaluate the upkeep, cleanliness and service provided.

Waiting Rooms White_____ Colored_____

Lunch Facilities White_____ Colored_____

Rest Rooms White_____ Colored_____

Comment: _____

_____

(use back of page if necessary)

TRANSPORTATION

Taxi and Cabs

1. Are there separate cabs for whites and Negroes? Yes__ No__

2. If yes, may whites ride in Negro cabs? Yes___ No__

3. May Negroes ride in White cabs? Yes__ No__

4. Is there a separation policy officially understood between the major cab companies? Yes __ No__

5. Does your community require a franchise of all cabs? Yes__ No__

Buses Leaving and Entering Your Community

1. Negroes who sit at the rear do so because of: (Check those that are applicable)

a. Their choice _____
b. Company policy _____
c. Operator's insistance_____
d. Negroes are maneuvered into being the last to board the bus and thus front seats are usually filled by others_____
e. Other (list) _____

2. Please give your source of Information for the above _____

City Buses

1. Are there signs displayed designating " white" and/ or "Colored"? Yes___ No___

2. Do Negroes generally sit at the rear of the bus? Yes__ No__

   If yes, Is this required

   by law? _____. by the bus company?_____

   by custom?_____ by the Operator?_____

3. If Negroes are allowed to be seated any place, when did this policy begin? (Approximate year) _____

4. Are there separate entrances and exits? Yes___ No___

5. Please estimate percentage of Negro patrons _____

6. Please estimate percentage of Negro operators _____

7. Name of Bus Company _____

8. Operated by whom? _____

9. Municipal? (tax-supported? ) _____ Non-municipal_____

TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
504 WEST TWENTY-FOURTH STREET — AUSTIN 5, TEXAS

**PROPOSED MINIMUM BUDGET TO COMPLETE**

Race Relations Progregs Study

For the work of the Eight Study Commissions:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Churches | $ 300.00 | |
| Schools | 150.00 | |
| Colleges & universities | 100.00 | |
| Hotels,motels,restaurants | 150.00 | |
| Public Facilities | 200.00 | |
| Entertainment,sports | 150.00 | |
| Housing | 250.00 | |
| Employment | 200.00 | |
| Total study commissions | | $ 1,500.00 |
| Publication of Reports @ $200 each | | 1,600.00 |
| Statewide Study Conference Expense (Aug.29-31,1961, Southern Methodist Univ.) | | 400.00 |
| Salary of Project Director(eight weeks) | | 1,200.00 |
| Total Budget | | $ 4,700.00 |

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

Department of Cultural and Racial Relations
Texas Council of Churches

The 1960 Assembly authorized the Department of Cultural and Racial Relations to undertake a comprehensive study of the present situation in race relations in Texas. Accordingly, eight commissions are being organized to study specific areas of race relations and to publish their findings preparatory to a statewide study conference to be held in August, 1961.

The eight commissions will assess the present situation in the following areas:

- Churches and Parochial Schools
- Public Schools
- Colleges and Universities
- Employment (including Labor Unions)
- Entertainment, Recreation, and Sports (Theatres, Skating Rinks, Bowling Alleys, Sports Stadia and Arenas, Music Halls)
- Public Facilities (Parks, Libraries, Playgrounds, Beaches)
- Hotels, Motels, Restaurants
- Housing (Public & Private)

Each commission will be composed of five members, carefully chosen from the state's religious leaders. It is expected that the commissions will meet to outline and schedule their work in July and August of 1960. The study process will continue until the summer of 1961 when the commissions will meet to assemble their findings and write their reports. It is hoped that the reports will be published in time for dissemination before they are presented to the conference in August, and that they will be read widely in churches throughout Texas.

The statewide conference is scheduled for August 29-30-31, 1961. All constituent denominations will be invited to participate along with representatives of several non-member communions. On the basis of commission reports, the conference will assess the present situation and study avenues of further action in race relations.

Professor Joe Earl Elmore of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, a Texan and a member of the Southwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Church, has joined the Texas Council staff for several weeks this summer to organize and inaugurate the study.

The Steering Committee
Dept. of Cultural and Racial Relations
Dr. Douglas Jackson, Chairman (Dallas)
Mrs. Warren Bessellieu, Secretary, (San Antonio)
Mr. Robert Childers (Houston)
The Rev. Rhett James (Dallas)
The Rev. L. L. Haynes (Ft.Worth)
Dr. Harry C. Munro (Hawkins)
Mr. Harold Kilpatrick (Austin)

TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

RACE RELATIONS STUDY

The Department of Cultural and Racial Relations at its meeting during the Midland Assembly authorized that a thorough study be made of "where we are in race relations in Texas" involving eight principal areas of concern as follows:

Churches and parochial schools
Public Schools
Colleges and Universities (public, church-related, private)
Employment (including labor unions)
Public facilities (parks, playgrounds, libraries, swimming pools, etc.)
Hotels, motels, and restaurants
Entertainment (theatres, music halls, sports stadia and arenas, bowling alleys, etc.)
Housing (private and public)

It is planned to set up study commissions in the various categories listed above. These commissions will be asked to complete their studies and have reports ready for publication on or before June 1, 1961. A statewide study conference will be convened August 29-30, 1961, to receive and study the commission reports. It is anticipated that those participating in the Study Conference will take the reports back to their own church bodies and interchurch organizations and initiate regional and local study processes.

The Race Relations Study was approved by the General Board and Assembly in March. Funds to finance the project were appropriated from a foundation grant made primarily for the general purpose. A steering committee headed by Dr. Douglas Jackson of Perkins School of Theology was elected by the Department. The Rev. Joe Earl Elmore, professor at Earlham College and a member of the Southwest Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, has been employed to assist the study commissions to delineate their tasks and discover resources. He will be available during the months of July and August. It is also expected that the Rev. Will Campbell of Nashville, Tennessee, director of The Southern Project for the N.C.C. Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations, will be available for occasional consultation.

All denominational judicatories within the Texas Council of Churches and several non-member church bodies will be asked to send delegates to the Study Conference in August, 1961. Councils of churches, councils of United Church Women, and ministers associations also will be invited to send representatives. Location of the Conference will be announced at an early date.

* * * *

# LOCAL CHURCH PRACTICES — A SURVEY

## Texas Council of Churches

## Race Relations Progress Study

Please fill out this questionnaire and return as soon as possible in the enclosed envelope to "Local Church Practice," Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th St., Austin, Texas. DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME. No names of churches or ministers will ever be used in connection with your answers.

**NOTE:** PLEASE READ THE **ENTIRE** QUESTION AND ITS ANSWER CHOICES **BEFORE** CHECKING YOUR CHOICE. If you are serving more than one church, the accuracy of this survey will be greatly increased if you fill out a SEPARATE questionnaire for EACH of the churches you serve. If you feel that none of the classifications given adequately fits your particular church situation, please check the one that comes NEAREST. The categories given are for purposes of tabulation only. No value judgment is intended and none should be inferred from them. What we want are FACTS about the situation in Texas churches.

---

**A. Please indicate the numerical size of your church's membership. (Check One)**

1. 1-99 ____
2. 100-299 ____
3. 300-599 ____
4. 600-899 ____
5. 900-1199 ____
6. over 1199 ____

**B. Name the county in which your church is located** _____.

**C. Give approximate PERCENTAGE of your members in each of the following occupational groups:**

1. Executive or professional ____%
2. Middle Class (white collar) ____%
3. Workers (skilled, unskilled) ____%

**D. Give approximate PERCENTAGE of members in each of the following categories of educational attainment:**

1. Professional and graduate training ____%
2. College only (1-4 years) ____%
3. High school only (1-4 years) ____%
4. Elementary school only (1-8 years) ____%
5. No formal schooling ____%

**E. Check the term that most NEARLY applies to your church and its IMMEDIATE geographical neighborhood. (Check only one)**

1. Urban residential ____
2. Urban commercial ____
3. Urban industrial ____
4. Urban downtown ____
5. Suburban ____
6. Rural ____
7. Small town (2500 to 10,000) ____
8. Large town (10,000 to 25,000) ____

**F. Estimate the PERCENTAGE of each of the following racial and ethnic groups within a one-mile radius of your church. Check ONE for EACH group.**

| | None | 10% or less | 11-30% | 31-50% | over 50% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglo-American | | | | | |
| 2. Latin-American | | | | | |
| 3. Negro | | | | | |
| 4. Other non-white* | | | | | |

*Includes Indian-American, Oriental, and others.

**G. If the population of the neighborhood is changing, please indicate by a check in the appropriate column those groups that are (a) increasing; (b) decreasing. If either of these movements is taking place at what you consider a VERY RAPID rate, make a double check.**

| | Increasing | Decreasing |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglo-American | | |
| 2. Latin-American | | |
| 3. Negro | | |
| 4. Other non-white | | |

**H. What racial group predominates numerically in the MEMBERSHIP of your church? (Check only one)**

1. Anglo-American ——
2. Latin-American ——
3. Negro ——
4. Other non-white ——

**I. How many DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS from these groups ATTEND the following activities?**

| | Worship Service | Church School | Youth Meetings |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglo-American | | | |
| 2. Latin-American | | | |
| 3. Negro | | | |
| 4. Other non-white | | | |

**J. If your church sponsors scout troops or other THROUGH-THE-WEEK ACTIVITIES of a community nature in which members of minority groups participate, please indicate character of these activities on the appropriate line or lines; also the number of individuals from the particular group who are involved.**

1. Anglo-American _____
2. Latin-American _____
3. Negro _____
4. Other non-white _____

**K. How many individuals of the various groups actually hold MEMBERSHIP in your congregation?**

1. Anglo-American ——
2. Latin-American ——
3. Negro ——
4. Other non-white ——

**L. Of the following organizations, officers and boards of the local church indicate in the appropriate square the NUMBER of individuals from the DIFFERENT GROUPS who are involved?**

| | Women's or Men's Groups | Choir | Governing Boards | Church School Teachers | Youth Sponsors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglo-American | | | | | |
| 2. Latin-American | | | | | |
| 3. Negro | | | | | |
| 4. Other non-white | | | | | |

**M. Indicate with a check those institutions or services in your COMMUNITY which are open on a NON-SEGREGATED BASIS to the different racial and ethnic groups.**

| | Public Transportation | Public Recreational Facilities | Dep't Store Lunch Counters | Hotels, Restaurants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anglo-American | | | | |
| 2. Latin-American | | | | |
| 3. Negro | | | | |
| 4. Other non-white | | | | |

**N. College Neighborhood?**

1. Is your church located within a mile of a college or university?
   Yes —— No ——

2. If so, is the college or university integrated?
   Yes —— No ——

3. Check the type of college:
   Tax-supported ——, church-related ——, other private ——.

**O. Denominational Policies**

1. To what denomination does your church belong?
   _____

2. Does your denomination have a policy in support of an inclusive church membership?
   Yes —— No ——

3. Does your congregation accept and adhere to this policy?
   Yes —— No ——

**P. Congregational Policies**

1. Has your local congregation established any policy of its own regarding admission of worshippers or members of other racial and ethnic groups?
   Yes —— No ——

2. Does it permit such admission, or rule it out?
   Permit ——, Rule it out ——.

3. If the policy applied only to particular groups, indicate which.
   Anglo-American ——, Latin-American ——, Negro ——, Other non-white ——.

4. Is the policy just an informal understanding or matter of official action ?
   Informal ——, Official ——.

5. When was it established?
   Date _____

6. How widely is it known—only to minister and policy-making body, to most of the membership, or to the community at large?
   Minister and policy-making group only ——
   Most of the membership ——
   Community at large ——

**Q. Where persons not of the dominant racial or ethnic group in the congregation have been ACCEPTED, how does the minister assess the effect upon the life of the church? (Check one)**

Strengthened and deepened it ——
Remained about the same ——

**R. Where persons not of the dominant racial or ethnic group in the congregation were NOT accepted, how does the minister assess the effect upon the life of the church? (Check one)**

Strengthened and deepened it ——
Remained about the same ——

**S. In cases where persons not of the dominant racial or ethnic group of the church have been ACCEPTED into membership, has there been any effect upon the SIZE of church membership traceable to this factor alone?**

1. Yes ——, No ——, Uncertain ——.
2. Check the following response which best describes this effect, and give estimates of the number of members lost or gained, if any:

| | Check | No. Estimated |
|---|---|---|
| More or less permanent loss of membership | | |
| Temporary loss, later restored | | |
| Gain in membership | | |
| No effect due to this factor | | |
| Does not apply | | |

**T. Please make any other remarks that you feel might be helpful in this survey.**

**Return Promptly to:**
**Race Relations Progress Study**
**Texas Council of Churches**
**504 W. 24th St.**
**Austin 5. Texas**

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
of the Texas Council of Churches

COMMISSION ON COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
Dr. Jesse R. Wilson, chmn. - Dr. John T. King, vice-chairman

Name of Institution: _____

Name and title of official answering this questionnaire: _____

_____

INSTRUCTIONS: Please place "X" in parentheses before each applicable statement.

1. This institution:

( ) Does admit qualified Negro students.

( ) Does not admit qualified Negro students.

NOTE: Institutions admitting Negro students please check all applicable statements. Institutions not admitting Negro students skip 2 through 6. Please answer Sections 7 and 8.

2. Negro students are admitted to:

( ) All educational programs of the institution.

( ) Graduate and professional programs only. (Please list these programs below.)

_____

_____

_____

3. Negro students were first admitted to this institution in the year _____.

4. In the current academic year (1960-61) there are a total of _____ Negro students. (Please estimate in case exact number is not available.)

(see next page)

5. At this institution Negro students are permitted to participate in the following activities:

( ) Intramural athletics only

( ) Intercollegiate athletics (Please list such activities below.)

_____

_____

( ) No athletic events

( ) Social activities (Please list.) _____

_____

( ) No school social activities

SECTION NO. 7 TO BE ANSWERED BY INSTITUTIONS NOT ADMITTING NEGRO STUDENTS.

7. This institution:

( ) Plans to admit Negro students in the near future.

( ) Has no plan to admit Negro students in the near future.

SECTION NO. 8 TO BE ANSWERED BY ALL INSTITUTIONS.

8. This institution:

( ) Does consider professionally qualified Negroes as eligible for appointment to its faculty.

( ) Does not consider the way open at present for election of qualified Negroes to its faculty.

( ) Has _____ Negroes on the faculty at this time.
(number)

Comments: _____

_____

_____

Please return to: RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY
Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

COMMISSION ON ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION AND SPORTS

Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West 24th Street

Austin 5, Texas

## Questionnaire No. 1

A. Which of the following activities were conducted in your community during the past 12 months? PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

1. Symphony Yes No
2. Opera Yes No
3. Concert Yes No
4. Art Exhibit Yes No
5. Little Theater Yes No
6. Other (please list) _____

_____

B. SYMPHONY: If your answer to question A(1) above was "yes" please answer the following questions:

1. Name of the sponsoring organization or group _____.
2. Name and address of person in charge _____.
3. Is the sponsoring organization or group private or public (i.e., connected with the city or county department of parks and recreation in your community? _____.
4. Were tickets sold through subscription? Yes ___ No ___
5. Were tickets sold through commercial sources? Yes___ No ___
6. Was attendance open to all people in the community? Yes___ No ___
7. Approximately how many people attended? _____
8. Were Negroes in attendance? Yes___ No ___

   (a) If Negroes attended, approximately how many were there _____

   (b) If Negroes attended, were they assigned special seats reserved for members of the Negro race? Yes___ No ___

C. OPERA: If your answer to question A(2) above was "yes," please answer the following questions:

1. Name of the sponsoring organization or group _____.

2. Name and address of person in charge _____

3. Is the sponsoring organization or group private of public (i.e., connected with the city or county department of parks and recreation in your community? _____

4. Were tickets sold through subscription? Yes ___ No ___

5. Were tickets sold through commercial sources? Yes ___ No ___

6. Was attendance open to all people in the community? Yes ___ No ___

7. Approximately how many people attended? _____

8. Were Negroes in attendance? Yes ___ No ___

   (a) If Negroes attended, approximately how many were there? _____

   (b) If Negroes attended, were they assigned special seats reserved for members of the Negro race? Yes ___ No ___

D. CONCERT: If your answer to question A(3) above was "yes," please answer the following questions:

1. Name of the sponsoring organization or group _____

2. Name and address of person in charge _____

3. Is the sponsoring organization or group private or public (i.e., connected with the city or county department of parks and recreation in your community? _____

4. Were tickets sold through subscription? Yes ___ No ___

5. Were tickets sold through commercial sources? Yes ___ No ___

6. Was attendance open to all people in the community? Yes ___ No ___

7. Approximately how many people attended? _____

8. Were Negroes in attendance? Yes ___ No ___

   (a) If Negroes attended, approximately how many were there? _____

   (b) If Negroes attended, were they assigned special seats reserved for members of the Negro race? Yes ___ No ___

COMMISSION ON ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION AND SPORTS

Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Questionnaire No. 3

(Survey of Sports)

1. Please check which of the following organized sports exist in your community. (Do not include those sponsored exclusively by the public schools or by a college or university).

   (a) Football ___ (b) Basketball ___ (c) Baseball ___ (d) Softball ___

2. In which of the following sports is there a junior league or little league team in your community?

   (a) Football ___ (b) Basketball ___ (c) Baseball ___ (d) Softball ___

3. Are Negroes members of teams in any of the sports checked in question No. 1 above?

   Yes _____ No _____

   (a) Are Negroes members of teams in any of the sports checked in question No. 2 above? Yes _____ No _____

4. Are Latin Americans members of temes in any of the sports in your community?

   Yes _____ No _____

5. Are Negro spectators admitted to parks and stadia in your community in which any sports events occur? Yes _____ No _____

6. If Negroes are admitted to parks and stadia in your community in which any sports events occur, are they required to sit in seats or sections reserved for members of the Negro race? Yes _____ No _____

7. Do whites attend sports events in your community sponsored by Negroes? Yes ___ No _____.

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY - TEXAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

COMMISSION MEMBERS

CHURCHES

Dr. Harold Lunger, Chairman, T. C. U., Fort Worth
The Rev. J. B. Fowler, Box 334, Vega
Mrs. Cordye Hall, 5835 Ellsworth, Dallas
The Rev. H. Rhett James, 2700 Hibernia, Dallas
The Rev. Edward Robertson, 4007 Lullwood, Austin

SCHOOLS

Dr. C. M. Burrows, Chairman, 124 Normandy, San Antonio
Mrs. Warren Bessellieu, 1527 W. Lullwood, San Antonio
Mrs. Luther Holcomb, 6732 Lakeshore Drive, Dallas 14
Mr. Vernon McDaniel, Box 6146, Austin
Mr. Harold Thompson, Bishop College, Marshall

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Jesse R. Wilson, Chairman, Wells
Dr. John T. King, Vice Chairman, 2400 Givens Avenue, Austin
The Rev. Alan Miller, 1302 West Oak Street, Denton
Dr. Harry Munro, Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins
Dr. Glenn Routt, T. C. U., Fort Worth

HOTELS, MOTELS, AND RESTAURANTS

Mr. Tom Reavley, Chairman, Brown Building, Austin
Dr. Joe Allen, Perkins School of Theology, S. M. U., Dallas
Dr. Thomas Freeman, Texas Southern University, 3200 Cleburne, Houston
The Rev. Edwin Kloppe, 2103 Oldham, Austin
The Rev. James Mosley, 100 West 27th Street, Austin

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Rev. Paul Sims, Chairman, 2909 Lubbock, Fort Worth
The Rev. Charles Cox, 810 East 32nd Street, Austin
Mrs. Mary Ellen Goodman, 12511 Old Oaks Drive, Houston 24
The Rev. L. L. Haynes, 522 Missouri, Fort Worth
The Rev. Leo Nieto, 2137 N. Commerce, Fort Worth
Mr. Sam Whitten, 1954 Commerce Street, Dallas

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Mr. Robert Childers, 3620 West 11th Street, Houston
Mr. Harold Keller, 403 E. Travis, San Antonio
Mrs. Marie McGuire, 400 Labor Street, San Antonio
Mr. A. Maceo Smith, Advisor, 2407 Thomas, Dallas

EMPLOYMENT

The Rev. Bob Breihan, Chairman, 2434 Guadalupe, Austin
Mr. A. Maceo Johnson, 12019 Schroeder, Dallas
Miss Lenice Larkin, 3012 Maple Avenue, Dallas
Mr. Julius Raden, Texas Fastener Corp., 114 Cole, Dallas
Mr. Fred Schmidt, 402 West 13th Street, Austin
Mr. A. Maceo Smith, 2407 Thomas, Dallas, Advisor

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## CHURCHES

Meeting: August 3, Fort Worth

Members: Dr. Harold Lunger (Chairman), the Rev. Edward Robertson, the Rev. Rhett James, the Rev. J. B. Fowler, Mrs. Cordye Hall.

Outline of Plans:

The commission will survey by questionnaire as many churches in Texas as possible: all those in the Texas Council of Churches, and possibly the the Southern Baptists, Church of Christ, Nazarene, Assembly of God, Unitarian, etc. Information will be sought also from Roman Catholics and Jews. Questionnaires will be sent from denominational offices with a covering letter from denominational executives.

Consulting questionnaires used in other similar studies, a tool was drafted. Harold Lunger, assisted by Rhett James, will refine the questionnaire, submit it to several sociologists for criticism, and draw up a final draft. Interviews will be conducted as a follow-up to the questionnaire. (The Steering Committee suggests that all minority groups be covered, including Asiatics and American Indians.)

1. Edward Robertson, assisted by J. B. Fowler, will work on securing the cooperation of denominational leaders in sending covering letters, addressing letters, etc.

2. J. B. Fowler will draft a questionnaire to be sent to denominational leaders to secure data on policies and practices in church camps, orphan homes, homes for the aged, and other such institutions; he will assume responsibility for this aspect of the commission's work.

3. Edward Robertson will secure information on desegregation in the various councils of churches, united church women, UCYM groups, etc. in Texas.

4. Harold Lunger will investigate the possibility of MA candidates in seminaries doing studies in this area in the coming year; which studies could be useful to the commission.

5. Church structure and polity and its relationship to race relations will be discussed in the report. Material will be gathered also on the question: "What efforts, if any, are the churches making to provide materials to shape opinion in race relations?"

6. A few integrated churches and churches in changing neighborhoods will be studied in some depth by interviews and by correspondence. (e.g.: St. James Episcopal in Houston; Augustana Lutheran in Houston; College Heights Community Church in Nederland, William Simpson, pastor; two churches in Dallas - write Doug Jackson about them.)

Schedule: Next Meeting: November 1, Fort Worth (Mrs. Hall will send reminder notices.)

Budget Needed: Around $1,000.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## SCHOOLS

Meeting: August 8, San Antonio

Members: Dr. Charles Burrows (Chairman), Mrs. Elaine Holcomb, Mrs. Warren Bessellieu, (Mr. Harold Thompson absent; Dr. C. T. Gifford, consultant, absent). (Mr. Vernon McDaniel appointed to commission after meeting of the commission)

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Statistics
   1. Map showing desegregated areas (Charles Burrows will subscribe to Southern School News).
   2. What the statistics mean: number in desegregated schools, character of desegregation; role of housing in desegregation.

B. Experiences in Desegregated Situations
   1. Report on Several Situations: Charles Burrows and Mrs. Bessellieu will visit and report on San Antonio, Hondo, Pleasanton; Mrs. Holcomb will visit and report on Dallas, Wichita Falls, Dublin; personal reports will be secured from Austin (Ed Kloppe), Houston, and others.
   2. Report on information secured by selected correspondents from school officials and teachers in desegregated districts. Information sheet compiled from draft made at meeting by Charles Burrows will indicate data desired and will be sent to a correspondent in every possible desegregated district. Mrs. Bessellieu and Charles Burrows will be responsible for this group; Mrs. Holcomb will send list of suggested correspondents. Anonymous questionnaires to be filled out by several teachers detailing their experiences and attitudes will be included.
   3. Comparison of various plans used.
   4. Possibly a section on some of the wild fears people have as compared to experiences in desegregated districts.

C. Segregated Districts: Report on information secured by correspondents from school officials and teachers in selected representative districts. Attempt will be made to have questionnaires on attitudes filled out by teachers in some segregated situations. Charles Burrows will draft information sheet and questionnaire; Mrs. Holcomb will be in charge of this group.

D. School Boards, Administrators, Teachers, PTA: What happens to the Negro teacher in desegregation? Charles Burrows will secure information; will go to Austin, meet with Mr. McDaniel and glean as much data from State Department of Education as possible.

E. Laws and Effect of Laws: Charles Burrows will secure this data; possibly a chart showing areas, dates of desegregation will be included.

F. The Negro Looks at School Desegregation: Harold Thompson will be asked to secure data and draft this section of the report.

Next Meeting: November 28, San Antonio
Budget Needed: $600.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 W. 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Meeting: August 10, Fort Worth

Members: Dr. Jesse Wilson (Chairman), Dr. John King (Vice-Chairman), The Rev. Alan Miller, Dr. Glenn Routt, (Dr. Harry Munro absent).

Tentative Outline:

A. Basic Data: Enrollment Trends: secured from published information and from questionnaire to be sent to all institutions. John King will send suggestions to Jesse Wilson who will draft a questionnaire and circulate it among members for suggestions.

B. Policies and Practices

1. Limitations and reasons for them; anticipated changes?
2. Secure self-study reports from TCU and other institutions; what do universities think they ought to be doing?
3. Possibilities for inclusive faculty?

C. Student Life and Attitudes

1. Practices in housing, eating facilities, recreational facilities, athletics, student government, religious organizations.
2. Alan Miller will survey various schools through student religious workers, compiling data and human interest stories and incidents.
3. If financial resources are available, Dr. Morton B. King, Jr., Chairman of Sociology Department at SMU, will direct a scientific study of student attitudes toward desegregation and a religiosity on several campuses (8 or so). A similar study was done at SMU in 1959-60. Harry Munro will work with him, it is hoped. John King and Harry Munro will survey attitudes and hopes on several Negro college campuses.

D. Extensive study of NTSC, Texas A & I, TCU: John King will take responsibility.

E. Football at NTSC Compared to Southwest Texas Conference Schools.

Schedule: Next Meeting: December 21, Fort Worth (9:00 a.m.)

Budget Needed: $ 500.00
1,200.00 Special Study
$1,700.00 Total

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOTELS, MOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

Meeting: August 1, Austin

Members: Mr. Tom Reavley (Chairman), Dr. Joe Allen, Dr. Thomas Freeman, The Rev. Edwin Kloppe. (The Rev. James Moseley absent)

Tentative Outline:

A. Personal Frustration: Narrative of Negro family travelling in Texas, describing what they face with reference to hotels, motels, restaurants, and rest rooms. Thomas Freeman will write first draft of narrative.

B. Policy and Practices

1. Hotels and Motels
   a. Tom Reavley will personally contact various hotel managers to talk with them about policy.
   b. Joe Allen will survey practices in large cities and representative sample cities and towns.
   c. Conventions: list of organizations requiring desegregated facilities; some estimate of cost of segregation policy.

2. Restaurants and Sit-ins: Jim Moseley will study the sit-in movement assisted by Joe Allen (Dallas), Tom Freeman (Houston), Ed Kloppe (San Antonio and Austin). John Robertson and Roberto Escamilla will be asked to provide data on discrimination against Latin-Americans, especially in restaurants.

3. Moss Causey will be asked to survey policies and practices of the Y's in the state.

4. Ed Kloppe and Tom Freeman will draw up a list of incidents for possible use in the report. Glenn Capp of Baylor University will be contacted for information on his experiences in securing housing for Negro debaters. The difficulties encountered by Syracuse University in housing Negroes on its Cotton Bowl team will be secured. Joe Allen will make field trips to study in depth changes and incidents which occur between now and next summer.

C. Change and Lack of Change (Joe Allen and others)

1. Catalogue of Changes
2. Discussion of how changes were brought about; people's reactions to them, etc.

Schedule: Each member will get reports to chairman by December 1.
Next meeting: December 17, 10:30 a.m., Austin
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## PUBLIC FACILITIES

Meeting: August 15, Fort Worth

Members: The Rev. Paul Sims (Chairman), the Rev. L. L. Haynes, Mr. Sam Whitten, Mrs. Mary Ellen Goodman, the Rev. Leo Nieto (Rev.Charles Cox absent)

Outline of Plans:

The commission will survey hospitals, libraries, playgrounds, parks and swimming pools, and transit facilities. A questionnaire will be sent to all public libraries in the state. Information sheets listing data desired in other three areas will be sent to selected correspondents in 25-30 selected cities and towns. Follow-up interviewing will be done as indicated by information secured. The commission drafted a questionnaire for libraries, and information sheets in the other areas.

1. Hospitals, etc: Charles Cox is responsible.
   a. Data will be secured from state departments about state institutions: mental and TB hospitals, penal institutions, schools for deaf and blind, etc.
   b. Data on general hospital will be secured from information sheet and personal interviews.

2. Libraries: Sam Whitten will be responsible for questionnaire to librarians.

3. Parks, Playgrounds, and Swimming Pools: Mary Ellen Goodman responsible. Data secured from general information sheet and interviewing.

4. Transit Facilities: Paul Sims (East Texas including Dallas and Fort Worth); L. L. Haynes (Northwest Texas); Leo Nieto (Southwest Texas including Austin and San Antonio). Data secured about local buses, taxis, railroads, intrastate and interstate buses and airlines; waiting rooms and restaurants, etc.

5. Other Possibilities:
   a. Official but usually unknown policy of law enforcement officers e.g. Dallas police have been told not to enforce segregation in any way. Perhaps Houston also.
   b. Dramatize situation with respect to medical care: injured Negro child waiting for attention.
   c. Write to Texas Alcohol Commission and find out what facilities they have for Negro alcoholics. Check on AA chapters.

Schedule: Questionnaire and information sheets to correspondents will be sent out in September to be returned by October 31. Paul Sims' office will do clerical work.

Next Meeting: November 21, Fort Worth. Transit facilities group will meet in near future.

Budget Needed: $600.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## ENTERTAINMENT, RECREATION AND SPORTS

Meeting: August 12, Austin

Members: Dr. W. Astor Kirk (Chairman), Mr. Ted Freedman, Mrs. Virginia Hill, Dr. Julius Rivera (Mrs. Cora Hicks absent).

Outline of Plans:

Scope:
1. Movies and Drive-Ins
2. Cultural Entertainment (Symphonies, Operas, Concerts, Little Theatres)
3. Bowling Alleys
4. Organized Sports (Football, Basketball, Baseball, Softball)

Methodology:
1. Select about 25 communities (large cities, representative cities and towns) and secure individual and group correspondents to gather data. Information sheets to be sent to the correspondents indicating the information to be secured by them were drawn up for all four of the above areas. A list of communities was compiled with each member of the commission picking several for which they would be responsible.
2. Interviews as follow-up.

Fort Worth: Mrs. Hill will organize a committee of ten women and do a more extensive study of Fort Worth with reference to entertainment, recreation, and sports.

Other Possibilities:
1. State Fair of Texas: All-Negro Day, "Negro Appreciation Day" (a number of concessions are closed on this day!)
2. Pee-Wee League (Football); bad trouble in Dallas. (write Doug Jackson for information)
3. Football at NTSC as compared to Southwest Conference teams.

Schedule: Bill Kirk will finish drafts of all four information sheets and send them to members for criticism within a week. Correspondents should be selected by September 1 and if possible, approached personally or by correspondence. Information sheets will be sent to them by the last of September, to be returned by October 31.

Next Meeting: December 2, Austin

Budget Needed $500.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## HOUSING

Meeting: August 2, Austin

Members: William Parker (Chairman), Mrs. Marie McGuire, Harold Keller.
(Robert Childers and A. Maceo Smith, Advisor, absent)

Tentative Outline:

A. Legal Aspects: National and state laws; local ordinances and traditions relevant to minority groups. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile this data and write preliminary draft.

B. Political Aspects of Housing and Housing Legislation. Harold Keller will gather material on this subject.

C. Types of Housing by Race and Income.

D. The Situation With Respect to Housing Opportunities for Negroes and Latin-Americans: William Parker and Marie McGuire will be responsible for securing data. William Parker will gather data from the 1950 census and the 1960 census; Marie McGuire will correspond with housing authorities and FHA and will utilize a study of San Antonio and other cities preliminary to publication of census data. Relevant information will be gleaned from the chapter on San Antonio and Houston in Glazer and McEntire, Studies in Housing and Minority Groups, University of California Press, 1960.

E. Human and Economic Pitfalls. Robert Childers will be responsible for securing data on this subject. Each commission member will write in narrative form personal incidents known to him which might be useful, and send them to Robert Childers. This section will cover restrictive covenants, roadblocks by finance companies (get a word or two from loan officers of finance companies-i.e. Metropolitan).

Miscellaneous:

1. Dr. Evans, President of Prairie View College, and Dr. Bullock, sociologist at Texas Southern University, will be asked to serve as advisors to the commission along with Maceo Smith. Their advice and suggestions will be secured by William Parker.
2. William Parker will contact Mr. Steve Matthews of the Texas League of Municipalities and discuss the study with him.
3. William Parker will see that interviews are conducted in several representative smaller towns; that changing neighborhoods in two or three cities are studied in greater detail.
4. The Commission may incorporate a narrative of what a Negro and a Latin-American family face in housing in Texas.
5. Marie McGuire will survey other housing authorities and secure statistics on the question: "Based on race, what has been the comparative care and payment in housing?" The report may include discussion of two popular assumptions: that members of minority groups are not good financial risks; that all neighborhoods deteriorate when members of minority groups move in.
6. The report will include a bibliography of suggested readings.
7. Possibly a study of Hamilton Park, Dallas.

Schedule: Next meeting: December 5, probably in Houston.
Sub-Committee meetings will be arranged by William Parker before that time.
Budget Needed: $400.00

# RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS STUDY

## EMPLOYMENT

Meeting: August 5, Dallas

Members: Bob Breihan (Chairman), Julius Raden, Fred Schmidt (Morton B. King,Jr., Consultant, and Douglas Jackson, Chairman of Steering Committee were present also; Miss Lenice Larkin and A. Maceo Johnson were absent).

Outline of Plans:

1. Lenice Larkin and Julius Raden will work in the area of colleges:
   a. Securing data on what graduates of two Negro colleges are doing.
   b. Determining to what degree corporation scholarships etc. are available to Negroes and Latin-Americans, and to what degree industry representatives come to campuses to interview Negroes and Latin-Americans for employment.
   c. Securing statistics of the number of Negores preparing for teaching against the number of positions available.
   d. Securing information on migration of Negro graduates from Texas.
   e. If possible, secure data on what Negro graduates from UT and NTSC are doing.
   f. Personally interviewing Negroes and Latin-Americans to dramatize what they face in employment.
   g. They will contact Dr. Bullock and Dr. B. A. Turner of TSU, Dr. Kirk of Huston-Tillotson, Dr. Tolbert of TCU, Dr. Sanchez of UT and Mr. Orris Carter, AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Houston for assistance and information.
   h. Julius Raden will contact Mr. Ed Reed of General Tire Company in Dallas to enlist his help and secure data from the AFSC Employment on Merit Program in Dallas.
2. Fred Schmidt will secure data on the Negro position in the Texas Labor force from Texas Employment Commission; compile a list of cases of upgrading; compile material indicating the present situation in labor unions in the state; and catalogue employment practices in industries.
3. Maceo Johnson will be asked to provide any useful data from TEC; to determine to what jobs the agency is referring Negroes in Dallas and what the job opportunities are in Dallas; to run cards to show the number of Negro applicants for particular jobs and the number unemployed; contact NAACP and Urban League for data and cooperation; secure data on police and law enforcement officers.
4. Maceo Smith will be asked to compile data on Civil Service Practices(letter-carriers? postmasters? forestry gangs, etc.)
5. Doug Jackson will secure information on employment of Negro graduates from seminaries in Texas.
6. Bob Breihan will check on comparative quality of vocational training in schools (write L.L. Haynes in Fort Worth about it); will secure data on Convair in Fort Worth from L.L. Haynes; will see situation at Chance-Vaught is looked into (write Doug Jackson about it).

Possible Emphases:

1. Reasons for lack of qualifications and skills on part of Negroes and Latin-Ams.
2. Cataloguing of changes, of places where Negroes have been upgraded or hired; what led to changes, results, difficulties.
3. Impact of employment restrictions on the desire, self-esteem,etc. of Negro & Latin.
4. The loss resulting from current policy: critical need for technically trained persons; shortage in various jobs,e.g. nursing; cost to the state in taxes and purchasing power.

Schedule: Next Meeting: November 5, Austin Budget Needed: $500.00

Texas Council of Churches, 504 West 24th Street, Austin 5, Texas 8-18-60

HFV
PRV
MA-file

# GUIDELINES FOR COMMISSIONS

## Race Relations Progress Study - Texas Council of Churches

A. NATURE OF THE STUDY

1. Our aim is to produce a plain, factual study of the areas chosen. The reports are not expected to be exhaustive, 'scientific', or coldly sociological. Neither personnel nor funds are available for exhaustive studies. Furthermore, the reports are to be prepared for widespread, popular consideration and must be scrupulously honest as to methodology and content.

The commissions will uncover as many facts as can be managed and included in interpretative reports. Special effort should be made to go behind stark data and into the personal dimension of race relations progress in our state.

2. We shall attempt to have the reports read widely throughout the state to communicate information, stimulate discussion and awareness, and initiate action. The conference, to be held in Dallas at S.M.U. August 29, 30, 31, 1961, will be for the primary purpose of receiving and calling attention to the reports, and taking any action the delegates choose.

3. The study is to be inclusive of the entire state and the present situation with respect to both Negroes and Latin-Americans as minority groups.

B. WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS

1. Most important is the fact that each commission will have to move forward on its own initiative. Due to lack of availability of financial resources and continued staff direction, the Council is depending upon commission chairmen and members to carry the study through with almost no prodding or follow-up. The quality of the study is literally in your hands!

2. Each commission must narrow and define its objectives specifically. It is suggested that each commission decide what kind of report it anticipates producing, and begin to outline that report in its initial meeting. The scope of its work should be determined in detail, with assignments then made to obtain the information needed.

3. It is expected that persons outside the commission will be enlisted for assistance as necessary.

4. Determine what published data and what resources are available. Standardize any questionnaire that is used and any interviews conducted. Double-check data that are used and always indicate their source. Keep in mind that people are generally shockingly unaware of the situations facing individuals of minority groups in Texas - the contradictions, the lack of everyday opportunities, the progress that has been made without great difficulty - and that such ignorance increases fears as well as complacency.

5. Limited funds are available to cover expenses of the commission's work. Stationery with an appropriate letterhead will be available to commission members.

C. SCHEDULE OF THE STUDY

1. It is expected that each commission will set a date (around Christmas) for its next meeting, and that specific assignments will be made to be completed by that date. At the second meeting, the commission will have an idea of where it stands in its work. Perhaps the scope of the study can be broadened and extended at that time, with further work chosen, to be completed by spring or early summer, when reports can be drafted. It is better to define a scope that is manageable and can be done thoroughly, and then can be extended, than to extend the work too far and do a sloppy job.

2. Scripts of reports should be in the hands of the Council office for final editing, coordinating, and printing no later than July 1, 1961.

July 16, 1955

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Exec. Dir.
Com. on soc. action
Union of am. Heb. Congregations
838 5th Avenue
N.Y. 21

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

I promised to send you what I could pin down on the places where semi-official citizens' committees, bi-racial in character, are appearing to advise school boards.

In North Carolina, Governor Hodges has publicly endorsed the idea of communities appointing interracial committees to find local solutions. It is known that the Moore County Board of Education (that is in the Sand Hills, containing Southern Pines, Aberdeen, and Carthage) has set up a sixteen member bi-racial study commission to formulate a desegregation plan.

Oak Ridge, Tennessee is expected to desegregate in its high school in September, 1955. I have worked with a bi-racial committee there, and know that one has been pursuing the matter for about three years.

Houston, Texas, has a bi-racial advisory school committee, recently organized. Twenty members presently, and intends to increase its membership to twenty-five -- ten Negro and fifteen white.

In Florida, State School Superintendent, Thomas D. Bailey, has advised local school boards to name bi-racial committees to study integration.

In Arkansas, State Education Commissioner, Arch Ford, has announced that "professional state forces" will help local school boards and other officials who want to work out compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

Danville, Kentucky, and Fayette County, Kentucky, (containing Lexington) have appointed bi-racial school advisory committees.

I know that in Louisville, Kentucky, an informal citizens' committee is preparing a plan for early desegregation in some areas of Jefferson County which surrounds Louisville.

I believe that a citizens' committee has been at work in Annapolis, Maryland for some time, though I think it is unofficial.

In any case, my guess is that these appearances of this device are enough to begin a pattern.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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I. Cyril Gordon
Executive Secretary:
Albert Vorspan
Director:
Rabbi Robert J. Lapman

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Rabbi Jonathan Sussman
Cincinnati, Ohio
Rabbi Alexander M. Wiseman
Chicago, Ill.

# Commission on Social Action

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200
3017

SEP 8 1955

September 7, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your kind letter of July 16th to which I have not been able to reply before this because of a series of out of town trips.

We can make good use of the information contained in your letter.

I hope you will find it possible to drop in to our office again some time soon. It is always pleasant and extremely helpful to discuss current developments with you.

With every kind wish,

Sincerely,

Albert Vorspan

Albert Vorspan
Executive Secretary

AV:vrm

Mr. Albert Vorspan,
Executive Secretary,
Commission on Social Action,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
838 Fifth Avenue,
New York 21, N. Y.

December 19th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Vorspan,

Here are copies of the letters I sent to Dudley Ward, for the Methodists, and Malcolm Calhoun, for the Presbyterians in the U.S.A. They will explain more formally than my 'phone call what we have in mind.

John Hope is now getting together his string of people, and in any present pinch could supply competent people now. We pay Hope $35.00 a day plus his travel for those days on which he serves as consultant to us, and I suppose that John Hope will be using that same figure for the others who assist him. Some of the people will be white and some Negro.

If you can use this machinery it is wide open to you. John Hope can be reached by mail at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., and his office telephone in Nashville is 42-3396.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

P.S. In a pinch John Hope's ultimate boss is Weidenfeld, at the Congregational Church's headquarters, down there on Fourth Avenue.

c.cs. John Hope,
C.H. Parrish. Fred Keith.

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*Director:*
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*Executive Secretary:*
ALBERT VORSPAN
*Assistant to Director*
MISS MIRIAM WOLFE

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# *Commission on Social Action*

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200

March 30, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 31 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I will be arriving in Atlanta at about 1:30 P.M. April 3 and I will telephone you right away so that we can get together that afternoon. I recall that you told me you would not be around the next day.

See you soon. Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan
Executive Secretary

av/sc

May 22, 1956

Dictated May 21

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Executive Director
Commission on Social Action
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

We all thought your memo of April 24th a most perceiving and statesmanlike document.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Chairman:*
I. CYRUS GORDON
COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
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*Assistant to Director*
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# *Commission on Social Action*

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200

RECEIVED MAY 3 1 1956

May 28, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your kind and gracious comment about my memo.

Why the formality? Just because I write long memoranda doesn't mean that you have to call me Mr. Vorspan.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Al

av/vm

Albert Vorspan

June 15, 1956

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Commission on Social Action
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Albert:

I have asked our Secretary-Treasurer to buy a copy of your book. And if she does I will read it and learn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 8, 1957

February 8, 1957

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Commission on Social Action
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Vorspan:

Thank you for sending us the names of Rabbis Baumgard and Gerber as likely participants in meetings of Southern staff members of the CCD agencies.

An initial meeting has already taken place, but the group expressed the wish to be reconvened in the late spring or early summer. At that time we shall certainly assure invitations to persons you suggest.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
AIR MAIL

*Chairman:*
A. CYRUS GORDON
COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
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# *Commission on Social Action*

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838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

January 31, 1957

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

In connection with your plan to convene Southern staff members of the various organizations which comprise the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, may I suggest that you invite Rabbi Herbert Baumgard (6251 S.W. 62 Place, South Miami, Florida) and Rabbi Israel Gerber (1202 Tacoma Avenue, Dothan, Alabama).

As I mentioned to you in an earlier letter, Rabbi Gerber is the Director of the Southeast Region of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Rabbi Baumgard is the Director of the Southern Florida Federation of the Union. Rabbi Baumgard is deeply interested in the segregation problem and I know that he will be pleased to extend every possible cooperation.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Al

av/vm

Albert Vorspan

C.C. - Rabbi Baumgard

May 14, 1959

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Al:

I appreciate the invitation to participate in the next General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and am happy to be able to accept. Clearly, this will be an important occasion, so I will welcome whatever background and guidance you may care to give me between now and November.

Incidentally, you should know that Fred Routh is leaving us shortly to become director of the Michigan FEPC. This is a heavy loss for us, but it means important advancement and opportunity for Fred.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Suspend to Nov. 1

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • PHONE REGENT 7-8200 • CABLE ADDRESS: UNIONUAHC

# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Patron of HEBREW UNION COLLEGE — JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

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May 7, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is my great pleasure to invite you to participate in the 45th General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which will take place at Miami Beach, Florida, November 14 to 19, 1959. As you know, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is the national parent body of 563 Reform synagogues. Over 2,000 delegates, representing congregations from all parts of the United States, will explore the new frontiers and challenges with which the contemporary era confronts a living religion.

Wednesday, November 18 will be devoted to an inquiry into "NEW FRONTIERS IN THE SOCIAL ORDER." One of the most significant seminars will deal with: "Achieving Human Equality." It is our hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation to be one of three discussants at this major seminar. As you know, our synagogue leaders, particularly in the South, are deeply vexed by this issue and an increasing number are looking for specific and practical guidance on what they can do, working in religious groups, to advance equality in their own communities.

I think it would be tremendously valuable for you, as director of the Southern Regional Council, to contribute the benefits of your experience and wisdom. Knowing the kind of schedule you maintain, I hope that, if you find it impossible to attend, Fred Routh might be available.

Plan to attend the FORTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY • MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA • NOVEMBER 14-19, 1959 • UAHC – NFTS – NATS

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS — NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH — NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE SECRETARIES

Each discussant will be asked to present a paper of 20 minutes and thereafter to participate freely in the discussion period.

We will, of course, send you further particulars as soon as we hear from you.

With many thanks and looking forward to an early response, I am

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan
Director
Commission on Social Action

ck on these dates

# Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Central Conference of American Rabbis • National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods • National Federation of Temple Youth

## Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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ALBERT VORSPAN

June 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Delighted that you have accepted our invitation to participate in the Biennial Convention of the UAHC. Please be assured that we will send you all the background material that you will need well in advance of the Convention.

Incidentally, Marion Wright was a show-stopper at the NCRAC Plenum. Magnificent!

Sorry to learn that Fred has left the SRC, but, at the same time, it is good to know that he is still in the same field of work.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan
Director

/s

October 27, 1959

Mr. Louis A. Chase
Chairman
Union Biennial Program Committee
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Chase:

I appreciated your letter of several weeks ago sending me the program for the forthcoming biennial convention. I have now had further information from Al Vorspan on the workshop session scheduled for the morning of November 18.

My plans are to arrive in Miami on Eastern Flight #111, at 8:45 P. M., November 17. Your kindness in making me a hotel reservation for that night will be appreciated.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

*Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism*

Central Conference of American Rabbis • National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
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RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN
ALBERT VORSPAN

RECEIVED SEP 30 1959

September 25, 1959

Mr Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council UHAC
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Within the next few days, you will be receiving detailed information about the workshop session in which you will be participating at the beinnial convention in Miami on November 18. We are looking forward with great anticipation to this workshop as one of the highlights of the convention.

Would you please let me know when you plan to arrive in Miami so that we can make the necessary hotel arrangements for you? Please let us know also when you will be leaving Miami and whether or not you want our assistance in making transportation arrangements. Attached is a preliminary copy of the program. As you see, your workshop will be held Wednesday, at 9:30 a.m. at the Fontainebleau Hotel and will conclude at about noon.

Syllabi and other pertinent information will be going out to you shortly. With every kind wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Louis A. Chase

Louis A. Chase, Chairman
Union Biennial Program Committee

LAC:mk
Enclosure

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DR. ERNEST SOLOMON *Highland Park, Ill.*
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ROGER WOLF *Cambridge, Mass.*

# exploring new Frontiers

# for Reform Judaism

Plan to Attend

45th General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Miami Beach • November 14-19, 1959

# Explore
# New Frontiers for Reform Judaism

## PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

## Saturday

November 14, 1959

UAHC ADULT STUDY RETREAT: *TORAH AND COMMANDMENTS IN LIBERAL JUDAISM*

*Kallah Program*

| | |
|---|---|
| 10:30 A.M. First Session | "The Mitzvos Demanded of a Reform Jew" |
| 2:30 P.M. Second Session | "How Does the Reform Jew Fulfill the Mitzvah of Sabbath Observance?" |
| Late Afternoon | Afternoon Services, followed by Havdalah |
| 8:30 P.M. Third Session | "How Does the Reform Jew Observe the Mitzvah of Sanctifying Family Life?" |
| 6:00 P.M. | Board of Trustees Dinner Meeting |

## Sunday

November 15, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:15 A.M. | Worship Service |
| 9:30 A.M. to 12 Noon | THE CORE OF THE CONGREGATION—WORKSHOPS FOR LARGE AND SMALL CONGREGATIONS<br>Adult Education Committee<br>Finance Committee<br>Ritual Committee<br>Youth Activities Committee<br>Religious School Committee<br>Social Action Committee<br>House Committee and Temple Facilities |
| 2:00 P.M. | Business Session |
| 8:00 P.M. | UAHC—NFTS Joint Evening Meeting<br>Creative Worship Service<br>State of Our Union—Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations |
| 10:00 P.M. | Reception to Delegates—Sponsored by South Florida Council UAHC |

## Monday

November 16, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00 A.M. | Combined Campaign Breakfast |
| 9:15 A.M. | Worship Service |
| 9:30 A.M. | Seminars—NEW FRONTIERS WITHIN OURSELVES—RETHINKING OUR BASIC THEOLOGICAL BELIEFS IN THE NEW AGE<br>1. Do We Need New Concepts of God?<br>2. Is Sin Noted, Punished and Forgiven?<br>3. Why Do the Innocent Sometimes Suffer, the Wicked Often Prosper?<br>4. What Is the Purpose of Our Life?<br>5. Are Morals Absolute?<br>6. Are the Jews Still the Chosen People? |
| 12:15 P.M. | Combined Campaign Luncheon |
| 2:00 P.M. | Business Session<br>Including special report: Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion |
| 8:00 P.M. | UAHC-NFTS Joint Evening Program<br>Workshop Dramatization by NFTY—What Youth Demand of the Congregation They Will Inherit<br>Response by: A Father, a Mother, a Rabbi |

## Tuesday

November 17, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00 A.M. | Combined Campaign Regional Breakfast |
| 9:15 A.M. | Worship Service |
| 9:30 A.M. to 12 Noon | Workshops—NEW FRONTIERS IN CONGREGATIONAL LIFE<br>1. What Concepts Shall We Impart to Our Children?<br>2. What Shall Be the Content of Our Youth Education?<br>3. What Is the Lifelong Curriculum of the Adult Jew?<br>4. What Are the Personal Demands of Social Justice?<br>5. For What Do We Pray to God? How? When?<br>6. How Does the Congregation Treat Its Staff and Its Members? |
| 12:15 P.M. | Combined Campaign Luncheon |
| 2:00 P.M. | Business Session<br>Including special topic: Who Is a Reform Jew? |
| 8:00 P.M. | UAHC-NFTS Joint Evening Program<br>Creative Worship Service<br>Panel: Religion and Our Emerging Society |

## Wednesday

November 18, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 8:00 A.M. | Combined Campaign Regional Breakfast |
| 9:15 A.M. | Worship Service |
| 9:30 A.M. to 12 Noon | Seminars—NEW FRONTIERS IN THE SOCIAL ORDER<br>1. Working for World Peace; Morality in International Affairs<br>2. The State of Israel and the American Jew<br>3. Science Remakes Our Lives<br>4. Interreligious Tensions Among American Groups (Protestant, Catholic and Jew)<br>5. The Achievement of Human Equality<br>6. Earning Our Livelihood Ethically |
| 12:15 P.M. | Luncheon—New Board of Trustees of the Union |
| 2:00 P.M. | Concluding Business Session |
| 7:00 P.M. | UAHC-NFTS Joint Banquet<br>"Winning the World for Prophetic Judaism" |

## Thursday

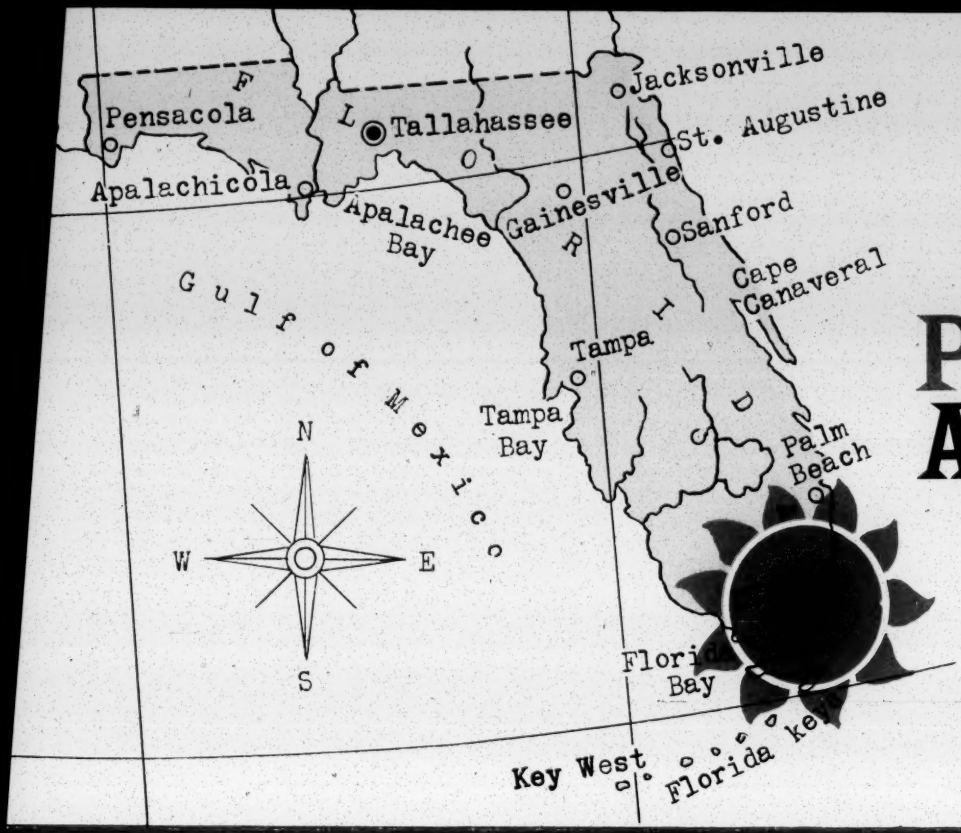
November 19, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:00 A.M. | Breakfast: Congregational Presidents |
| 9:30 A.M. | Leadership Seminars<br>1. Social Action Leaders<br>2. Religious Education Leaders |
| 12:15 P.M. | Luncheon: Rabbis |
| 2:00 P.M. | Leadership Seminars (continued) |

**Inquire at the Temple Office for Information**



(*Please Post*)




# PLAN TO ATTEND

## as a delegate...

**45th**

***General Assembly***

***of the***

***Union of American***

***Hebrew Congregations***

***Miami Beach,***

***November 14-19, 1959***

October 27, 1959

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Al:

Thanks for your further letter about the session on November 18. I will try to say something meaningfully about what the churches and synagogues are doing, and perhaps suggest one or two ways in which their role can be strengthened.

I will arrive in Miami the evening of November 17 and have written Mr. Chase asking that he reserve a hotel room for me that night.

One outdated glossy - the only copy available at the moment - and a brief biographical data sheet are enclosed.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Miami.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

*Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism*

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RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN
ALBERT VORSPAN

October 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, UAHC
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Attached please find a copy of the syllabus which has been prepared for your workshop on ACHIEVING HUMAN EQUALITY.

We have asked Rabbi Charles Mintz to serve as coordinator for your workshop and to meet with you and the other panelists sometime before your session to review last minute details of procedure before the workshop. Please let us know when you will be arriving in Miami and at what hotel you will be stopping.

You will be asked to speak for 15 to 20 minutes and of course to participate in the open discussion and exchange after the formal presentations.

Participants in your workshop are:

Chairman: Mr. Irving Jay Fain, Temple Beth El, Pawtucket, Rhode Island
Invocation: Rabbi J. Marshall Taxay, Temple Beth El, Daytona Beach, Florida
Discussants: Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Temple Sinai, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Herbert Wey, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida
Resource Leader: Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Congregation B'nai Israel, Hattiesburg, Miss.
Recorder: Rabbi Malcolm Stern, Ohef Sholom Temple, Norfolk, Virginia

If you have any further questions about the program, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Cordially,

Al

Albert Vorspan
Director

AV:md
encl.

P.S. Focus on what churches and synagogues are doing — through SRC and otherwise. OK?

P.P.S. Will you send two glossies and a bio?

45th General Assembly, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Miami Beach, Florida

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1959

WORKSHOP SYLLABUS
"ACHIEVING HUMAN EQUALITY"

Prepared by
Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Congregation B'nai Israel
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Judaism is committed to the principle of the equality of all men under God. Not alone is this our noblest religious tradition, but it is the very cornerstone of our American heritage.

Motivated therefore by our Jewish background and teaching we are touched by the woes and sufferings of all victims of injustice and exploitation. We are inspired by Israel's God, the God of all humanity.

We consult the Hebrew Bible for strength and encouragement. In Leviticus (25:10)--"Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof"; in Malachi (2:10) "Have we not all one Father?"; in Isaiah (14:25) "Blessed be Egypt my people. Assyria the work of my hands, Israel my inheritance"; or Amos (9:7) "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel," saith the Lord. Rabbi Ben Azzai selects as a favorite and fundamental verse in the Torah--"This is the Book of the Generation of Man," and commenting on the text in Leviticus (19:18) "Love thy neighbor as thyself," Rabbi Akiba explains, "Every human being is beloved by God, since he is a creature of God and made in God's image." We note well the Midrash that "Adam was created from the dust gathered from the far corners of the earth and that even the Torah was vouchsafed to the world in seventy languages" lest at any time in the future one man, one people, one race, one nation might claim to be superior to another.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, like every other religious institution in America, has declared itself in support of the U.S. Supreme Court decision on racial segregation. In 1955 the 43rd Biennial Assembly stated:

> "Having consistently opposed every form of discrimination because of our fundamental belief in the equality of all men under God, we rejoice in the unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We regard this decision as a major chapter in the history of the growth of true equality under the law.

As proponents of Judaism, which first enunciated the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to make this decision of the highest court in the land meaningful in our respective communities.

We therefore urge our congregants and congregations in all sections of the country to join with forward-looking racial, religious, and civic groups in the community in using their influence to secure acceptance and implementation of the desegregation decisions in every community in our land."

In 1957 the 44th General Assembly declared:

"We recognize that racial segregation is not a problem which applies to one section of the country only, but that it presents a moral challenge to every community in America with varying forms and intensity. One of its serious and widespread expressions is in residential housing. In the North, as well as in the South, the continuing pattern of segregation in private housing threatens to invalidate much of the progress which has been made in civil rights in recent years and, also, to impair the spiritual values of religion and democracy alike. We therefore commend those Christian denominations which have recently met this challenge with boldness and courage by calling upon their members to open housing on a non-discriminatory, and non-segregated basis. By their action these church groups have pointed to the path of religious duty.

In this spirit, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations herewith pledges its support to the principle of equal housing opportunities for all and urges the members of its constituent congregations to follow non-segregated practices in the selling, buying, and leasing of residential housing. By such action, we will contribute significantly to the strengthening of democracy, to the moral health of our communities, and to the realization of the prophetic principles of our faith."

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is segregation a religious question or simply a social and political problem? Why?

2. In what ways is it useful for the UAHC, or any religious group, to speak out on these questions of racial equality?

3. What are Christian religious groups doing to advance the goal of equality? In what ways are Jewish groups cooperating or failing to cooperate?

4. What are the prospects for inter-racial cooperation in the South? What organizational bridges are there? What others are needed?

5. What can synagogues do to sensitize their members to the moral implications of these problems and to make aware of Jewish teachings in this regard?

6. Can and should synagogues in the South undertake social action in this matter?

7. What are the pulls and pressures--economic, political, social--upon rabbis and laymen who take positions on these issues?

8. What are the particular ways in which the Jew in the North is involved in the changing racial picture.

9. Should a synagogue in the North undertake, through social action, to eliminate segregation in housing? If so, how? If not, why not?

10. Is there a danger of increased anti-Semitism if Jewish groups play important roles in the anti-segregation struggle? If there is such a risk, what follows from that?

11. How can the Commission on Social Action and the Union's Department of Social Action be most helpful to synagogue in these issues?

12. What specific programs and techniques have been tried and found successful by synagogues and/or churches in taking social action aimed at achieving a fuller measure of equality for all citizens?

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via air mail

October 30, 1959

Mr. Gunther Lawrence
Director of Public Information
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Gunther:

In response to your recent request of workshop participants, I am sending in desperation the enclosed. I suspect I have company in not having yet had a chance to write out a speech. In lieu of one, I've pulled the enclosed "excerpts" out of thin aid and will promise to say them, if necessary, along with other remarks.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

Excerpts from proposed presentation at Workshop on "New Frontiers in the Social Order" by: Harold C. Fleming, Atlanta, Georgia.

A national newspaper article, borrowing a phrase from the Southern Regional Council, describes the recent period in the South as one of "creeping realism." The phrase is apt.

During the past year there have been significant shifts in the posture of some Southern leadership. Grudging and minimal though they may be, these changes clearly reflect a more realistic trend in the region.

.....

The past year has been a time of slow but steady advance for the legal principle of desegregation. This has called for emphasis at a variety of points -- moral, economic, educational, and governmental.

Southerners need reassurance that desegregation can be constructive and workable; we need to see more clearly that the price tags on defiance are prohibitively large and as certain as death; we need more familiarity with the techniques that have produced the best results in other communities; we need to discard the myths and stereotypes of the past that inhibit clear thinking and the logical weighing of alternatives.

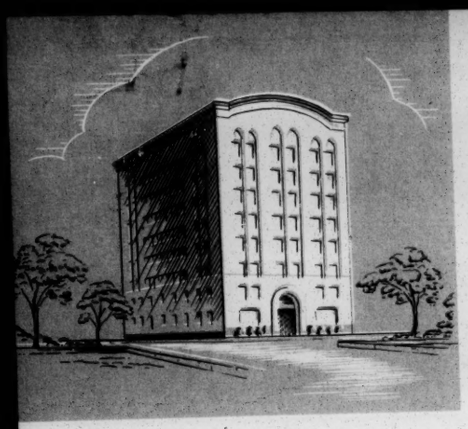
Above all, we need to become more conscious of the effect of our public policies on human beings. Legal and social abstractions have dominated the race relations debate too long;

we need to be thinking about people, in moral terms, and also in terms of the practical well-being of our society.

We are approaching the time when the "hard core" states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and perhaps even Mississippi, will face legal requirements to begin school desegregation. These showdowns in the heartland of segregation may well produce some of the bitterest reactions yet seen in the South's tortured transition.

Yet, for most of the Southern states, segregation is no longer an absolute to be defended at all costs against the slightest encroachment. The problems of outright lawlessness and massive resistance are gradually being replaced by less dramatic, but more complex problems. The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- that is, to satisfy the bare letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit.

For the religious leadership and institutions of the South, all these factors point toward a greater rather than lessened challenge. As the law advances in its outward forms, it becomes more urgent to advance the inward spirit, the recognition of the importance of the individual human being, the simple quality of kindliness. In short, now more than ever is the time to give vitality to the basic principles of the major faiths which Americans and Southerners profess.



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## BIENNIAL PARTICIPANTS

AS THE PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AT THE 45th BIENNIAL CONVENTION, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT I RECEIVE YOUR COOPERATION IN RECEIVING EXCERPTS OF YOUR ADDRESS TO BE DELIVERED AT A WORKSHOP AT OUR CONVENTION.

WE ARE ANXIOUS TO ACCOMMODATE ALL SPEAKERS BY SENDING OUT REGIONAL AND NATIONAL STORIES. HOWEVER, THIS CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH OUR EXTREMELY LIMITED STAFF, IF COPY IS RECEIVED AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. I WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE IT IF YOU COULD SET YOURSELF A DEADLINE OF NOVEMBER 1st, TO SEND ME EITHER A COMPLETE TEXT OR EXCERPTS FOR THE PRESS.

PLEASE INCLUDE ON TOP, YOUR NAME, NAME OF WORKSHOP AND THE CITY YOU ARE FROM

I KNOW THAT WITH YOUR ASSISTANCE, WE WILL BE ABLE TO SUCCESSFULLY EXPEDITE THE NEWS OF YOUR SPEECH. THANK YOU FOR YOUR INTEREST.

Cordially yours,

Gunther Lawrence

Gunther Lawrence
Director Public Information

Plan to attend the FORTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY • MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA • NOVEMBER 14-19, 1959 • UAHC – NFTS – NATS

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE SECRETARIES

*Memo* FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

HCF:

Excerpts from Directors Report for excerpts from your speech to Am. Hebrew Congregations -

Think they are adequate.

In fact, the thoughts in these seem to me to make a very sound basis for a speech that should be worthwhile and easier to write than some themes which might seem appropriate.

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President
838 Fifth Avenue · New York 21, N. Y. · Regent 7-8200

November 23, 1959

Dear Friend:

On behalf of our entire Program Committee, I want to express our heartfelt thanks to you for your substantial contribution to the effectiveness and success of our recent Biennial Assembly. From all sides we have had the most favorable comments upon the program as a whole as well as on the assignment which you so graciously accepted and so ably carried out.

One of the major sources of inspiration we derive from our General Assemblies is the stimulation of meeting and hearing our lay leaders and rabbis from all parts of the world and the free and frank exchange of viewpoints that ensues. The enthusiasm which takes busy people such as yourself away from your many other vital interests is the real basis of the dynamism of our Reform Jewish movement. We are deeply grateful to you for your unfailing and effective cooperation which appreciably enhanced the significance of this great convocation.

With repeated thanks and all good wishes to you and yours, I am

Sincerely,

Maurice N. Eisendrath

Maurice N. Eisendrath

November 30, 1959

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Al:

With some embarrassment, this is to ask whether I am expected to submit an expense account in connection with my part in the Miami convention. In looking over the correspondence, I find nothing on the subject.

Whatever the circumstances may be, I enjoyed my brief exposure to the convention. Congratulations to you and your colleagues on a highly successful meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 9, 1959
December 9, 1959

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action of
Reform Judaism
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
N ew York, New York

Dear Al:

Thanks for your kind letter of December 3. Our workshop was, indeed, a trifle warm in spots. The next time you and I are together, we'll have to have a post mortem.

I am enclosing a statement of my expenses for the one-day stand.

Most cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

STATEMENT OF EXPENSES
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
Miami, Florida - November 17-18, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| Airplane fare (Atlanta-Miami-Atlanta) ..... | $ 94.05 |
| Taxis & limousines | 10.75 |
| Hotel | 14.42 |
| Tips | 1.65 |
| TOTAL | $120.87 |

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

12/9/59

*Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism*

Central Conference of American Rabbis • National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods • National Federation of Temple Youth

*Union of American Hebrew Congregations*

*Patron of* HEBREW UNION COLLEGE — JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

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*Chairman*
I. CYRUS GORDON

*Directors*
RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN
ALBERT VORSPAN

December 3, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many, many thanks for your participation in our convention and I only wish I had been able to join your workshop which I understand was rather hot.

Please do not be at all embarrassed. By all means send us in a statement of your expenses.

Again, my warm appreciation for your contribution to the success of the biennial.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

U

Albert Vorspan
Director

AV:mk

# Social Action in Review

VOL. VII, No. 2 | PUBLISHED BY THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS | DECEMBER, 1959 - JANUARY, 1960

MAX WEINRIB, vice-president of the Progress Development Corporation, a firm that is building an integrated housing project at Deerfield, Ill., inspects vandalism committed on the framework of a model home.

## *Deerfield Fights Battle for Integrated Housing*

CHICAGO: The village of Deerfield, a suburb on this city's North Shore, is attracting nationwide attention as the scene of a struggle for integrated housing. As we go to press, a U.S. Court has just issued a temporary order restraining the village from unlawful interference with construction at a proposed bi-racial housing development. Further court action will be in the offing.

The case erupted into public view last November, as two model homes – part of a 51-home project in the $30,000 price range – were going up. The builder is the Progress Development Corporation, a subsidiary of Modern Community Developers, Inc., an organization nationally known for building solely integrated housing. Max Weinrib, a builder of Chicago, heads the construction at Deerfield in his capacity as executive vice-president of P.D.C. Dr. Arthur G. Falls, senior surgeon at Chicago Provident Hospital and a Negro, is chairman of the Progress Board.

### Vandalism

Progress acquired land and the necessary building permits and enjoyed good relations with Deerfield authorities until it became generally known that the firm planned to sell about a dozen of its 51 houses to Negroes. In mid-November village officials began posting violation notices on the incompleted models, workers were ordered off the job, and an incident of vandalism was reported.

Simultaneously, Deerfield citizens favoring the project were subjected to severe harassment. Elizabeth Dilling, the notorious hate-monger, visited the town to distribute fear-sheets. Numerous meetings were held between the builders and village officials. Six local ministers called for acceptance of integrated housing. Two organizations were formed: the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights, favoring the project; and the North Shore Residents Association, opposing.

### Referendum Held

The village park board in a closed meeting voted to hold another referendum on a bond issue. Two others had been rejected by citizens earlier in the year. The new referendum called for a $550,000 bond issue, the proceeds of which would be used largely to condemn the land on which the project is being built. On December 21, residents voted 2,635 to 1,208 in favor of the issue. On the following day, P.D.C. and its parent body, the Modern Community Developers, took the case to Federal Court, charging that members of the village board, the village park district and two citizens' associations fighting the project, had violated the 14th Amendment of the Constitution and the Federal Civil Rights Act. On December 22, the Federal Court issued the temporary restraining order mentioned previously.

This continuing struggle for integrated housing has brought to the fore a deeply gratifying source of decency and strength. Some 150 Deerfielders who banded together to fight for human rights organized a precinct organization to get out the vote and to distribute constructive literature. Circumstances made

*(Continued on page 4)*

## Teachers Air Church-State Issues at Toledo Institute

TOLEDO, OHIO: Nearly 1,000 teachers and public school officials packed to overflowing an unusual Institute for Educators held at the Collingwood Avenue Temple here last month. The Institute, sponsored by the temple in cooperation with the Jewish Community Council, dramatized the implications of pressing Church-State issues for Americans of all faiths. Leo Pfeffer, author of *Creeds in Competition,* and one of the nation's leading experts in Church-State affairs, analyzed the problem of religion and public education and was given a rousing ovation.

### Genesis of an Idea

The idea originated in conversations between Rabbi Stephen Schafer and the superintendent of schools in Washington Township. The official commented, in the course of discussing sectarian practices in the public schools, that teachers were largely unaware of the legalities and complexities involved.

Accordingly, the Institute was set up, and invitations were sent to educators in Toledo and the surrounding suburbs. Some 960 of these were served dinner by 100 volunteers at the synagogue and all remained to hear Mr. Pfeffer and to participate in a frank question-and-answer session.

### Spontaneous Applause

Mr. Pfeffer's hard-hitting talk touched on controversial topics such as holiday observances, released time, prayer in the classroom, Bible reading, baccalaureate programs and moral and spiritual values. Despite the touchiness of the subject matter, the audience gave him an ovation. At one point he received a burst of spontaneous applause: schools nowadays, he said, spend five or six weeks to prepare for the celebration of Christmas in the public schools. He commented that if children were paying tuition for hours of education received, the schools would have to refund payment for this waste of time.

### Institute Aftermath

Results of this Institute have been overwhelmingly gratifying. The temple has received dozens of letters of commendation.

According to Rabbis Schafer and Leon Feuer of the temple, the Institute has not resolved all Church-State problems in Toledo, but it has unquestionably injected the light of clarity and understanding into what is too often a darkly emotional community issue.

## UAHC To Launch New Social Action Center in Capital

WASHINGTON, D.C.: A social action center for Reform Judaism will rise here in the national capital. The decision to create this urgently-needed center was made at the recent Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in response to the plea of UAHC President, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, who appealed for swift action to establish this "too long postponed" project.

Kivie Kaplan

The new social action center, the first such center ever to be established by any American Jewish religious group, has been made possible by a generous gift from Emily and Kivie Kaplan of Boston. Mr. Kaplan is a member of the National Commission on Social Action.

### Purpose of Center

The center will express the voice of Reform Judaism on major legislative issues as mandated by the Union's biennial assemblies. Under the supervision of the UAHC's Social Action Department, it will seek close cooperative ties with civic, human relations, and other religious organizations in Washington. Among its facilities will be conference rooms, a social justice library, and an audio-visual and film service. The center will serve as an informational resource to the Commission on Social Action, congregations, rabbis, social action committees, and the entire Jewish community.

The establishment of the center was hailed by Biennial delegates and by distinguished guest participants. Congressman Abraham Multer, Brooklyn, N.Y., saluted the UAHC for this far-seeing project. He was joined in this by Dr. Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation, who pledged close cooperation on the part of his organization.

## Biennial Acts on Major Issues

The recent 45th General Assembly of the UAHC faced up to the major social challenges of a changing era. Bold decisions, based on the moral passion of Reform Judaism, marked the business sessions. Among the significant actions were these:

The delegates protested against the use, officially or unofficially, of the power of the state to prevent child adoption across religious lines. Terming such use of state power "a violation of separation of Church and State," the Union became the first Jewish religious body to declare its position on this thorny issue. Earlier, the American Jewish Congress had taken a similar position.

•

After sharp debate, the Assembly declared that "the use of gambling as a means of raising funds for the synagogue and the practice of gambling on synagogue premises is not compatible with proper synagogue standards."

•

Turning to the race issue, the Assembly urged "appropriate legislation by national, state and local government to assure equality of opportunity in housing for all persons regardless of race, religion, or national ancestry." Reform Jews were appealed to in the resolution to "welcome persons as neighbors irrespective of race or religion."

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The UAHC also expressed its "dismay" at the introduction of religious prejudice into American political campaigns and declared: "We oppose all religious tests for office, and deem the suggestion that the profession of any religious belief or disbelief should automatically disqualify a person from holding any office, to be fundamentally at variance with our democratic principles."

•

Responding to the eloquent pleas of President Eisendrath that religious groups confront

*(Continued on page 4)*

## Getting Back on Course

As Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath emphasized in his recent testimony before the Federal Communications Commission (*see page* 4), the corruption in TV is only one symptom of a moral malaise that seems to be affecting much of our national life. In too many areas of our society, we have prostituted the doctrine, "Love they neighbor as thyself," into the commandment, "*Caveat emptor* – let the buyer beware." Implicit in this attitude is the assumption, "My neighbor is a dope."

What can we – as individuals and as congregations – do to strengthen our sense of moral direction? One way is to re-study the ethical teachings of Judaism – teachings that undergird the structure of our American civilization. As an aid in this process, the Commission on Social Action has just revised its provocative syllabus, "Judaism and My Work," a pilot project aimed at stimulating some healthy thinking on ethical questions in our daily life. Copies of the syllabus and a leader's guide for conducting seminars may be obtained from the Commission. Those congregations that have already used this material commend it as a refreshing refresher course as well as a stimulating exploration into a most sensitive field.

## Remnants of McCarthyism

The American people, sooner or later, catches up with its demagogues. There is too much good sense in the American public to sustain a Senator McCarthy too long. So mccarthyism is dead, a relic of a bad time in American life, a sour memory. Or is it?

In New York City, the Board of Education has finally capitulated to repeated rulings of the State Commissioner of Education and the highest courts of the state, all of whom have condemned the Board's dogged crusade to compel teachers to become informers under penalty of dismissal. Ex-Communist teachers who informed on others were retained as teachers, wrapped in the sheltering arms of the Board of Education. Five teachers – each of whom testified freely about his former communist affiliations but refused, out of conscience, to inform upon others–had been suspended without pay for four years, exposed to public calumny, and harassed by the Board of Education.

Compelled by the courts, the Board has now dropped its charges and has reinstated two of the teachers. Three others, however, have now been notified that they must stand departmental trial for having falsely denied Communist membership in job applications. While false statements are indefensible, there can be no doubt that this new action is motivated by vengeance. Ex-communist teachers, who did inform, made identical false statements, but the Board appears to be indifferent to this. It is clear that the Board has decided to oust these three teachers because they insisted upon their right not to be made into informers. Such meanness is unworthy of America's greatest city.

But New York has no monopoly on repressions of civil liberties. In New Hampshire, Dr. Willard Uphaus, a Christian pacifist, has been sent to jail for contempt of court because of his refusal to furnish the names of guests of World Fellowship, at summer conferences in Conway, New Hampshire. The Attorney General of New Hampshire insisted that these names were necessary to his investigation of subversion in that state. Uphaus, a 69-year-old minister, refused out of conscience to bring others "into public scorn." Is America so weak that we must destroy dissenters? Willard Uphaus is a pacifist and civil libertarian, and his views may be muddle-headed. But if our society is not big enough and free enough to permit Dr. Uphaus to express the truth as he sees it, without violating his conscience, then the subversive doctrine of mccarthyism has penetrated deeper than we feared.

A. V.


**Social Action in Review**

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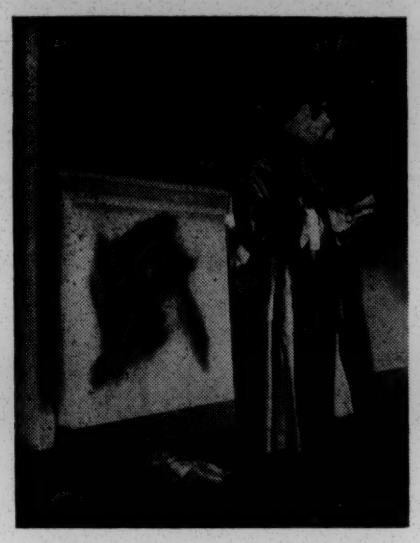

SWASTIKA DEFACES TEMPLE: Patrolman makes report on desecration of Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and 65 Street, New York City. (N. Y. Times photo.)

## CRACKPOTS OR CONSPIRACY?

**As we go to press, reports of anti-Jewish vandalism pour in from many parts of the world, including our own country. It is too early to assess these episodes but the following truths stand out:**

**Germany continues to be the breeding ground for anti-Semitism. West Germany must take stern and fundamental social measures to educate the German people away from racist fanaticism and to compel the youth to face up to the realities of Hitler and Nazism.**

**Some Jewish leaders have charged that an international conspiracy is behind the outrages. Perhaps. It is more likely that the U.S. incidents are backwash and the work of cranks and hoodlums responding to the sick contagion of the Cologne desecration.**

**These incidents in this country should not be exaggerated nor should Jewish organizations exploit them by hysteria. At the same time, calm and careful vigilance is in order. The American people of all faiths share our indignation and concern.**

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# *Highlights of Social Action Workshops at UAHC Biennial*

*Excerpts from some of the significant Social Action Workshops held at the recent UAHC 45th General Assembly, Miami Beach, Fla. Additional excerpts from other workshops will appear in subsequent issues.*

### *Achieving Human Equality*

CHAIRMAN: IRVING JAY FAIN, *Providence, R.I.* DISCUSSANTS: Dr. Herbert Wey, Univ. of Miami; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Arnold Aronson, NCRAC. RESOURCE LEADER: Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss. RECORDER: Rabbi Harold Waintrup, Abington, Pa.

"Develop a good desegregation plan; make sure you have the support of your law-enforcement officers, and when the plan is once announced and put into action, don't give in or back up on any single part. To do so usually means total collapse." This advice to Southern communities was offered by Dr. Wey, recognized authority on desegregation problems. Based on experience gained from a recent study of Southern school districts, the following points were presented as "essential" to planners of school desegregation in the South: (1) All segments of the community, including the low-income group, must be carefully educated. (2) Teachers must set aside their prejudices and be prepared to teach all children fairly. (3) Churches and synagogues must help to shape a moral public opinion. (4) Public officials, especially law-enforcement officers, must be firm.

Terming "religious forces" as the "potentially greatest single influence" for positive social change in the South, Mr. Fleming explained that thus far, only clergymen and laymen acting solely as individuals have provided the necessary "thrust of religious conviction." As community institutions, most churches and synagogues have been "paralyzed" or at times even forced to take negative roles.

Recent surveys, he said, do not indicate any rise in anti-Semitism in the South, except in crisis areas, and there has been "little or no correlation of anti-Semitism with actual Jewish behavior." If these findings are true, he added, "this would suggest that the first order of business for those concerned with anti-Semitism is the resolution of crisis – acceptance of at least gradual desegregation."

Mr. Aronson, turning to the situation in the North, asserted that whereas Southern whites don't care how close a Negro gets but only how high he goes, Northerners don't seem to care how high a Negro reaches, but do care how close he gets. Thus, housing is to the North what the schools are to the South. Reviewing the deep stake of all Jewish organizations in supporting civil rights, he said that the end of legalized segregation, like the end of colonialism, is clearly in sight. "If the inevitable result is achieved over the massive and unyielding opposition of the whites, the price may be a chauvinistic and demagogic Negro leadership and a relationship between Negro and white based on mutual suspicion and hostility." He urged closer interracial cooperation in the fight for integration. He also called for Congressional legislation to authorize the appointment of federal registrars to assure the right to vote granted in the 15th Amendment.

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss., resource leader at the workshop, stressed the importance of humor, sound judgment and courage as qualities necessary to the rabbi working to improve human relations in the Deep South. Other Southern rabbis attending described the heavy pressures upon clergymen and protested against the frequent Northern tendency to regard a rabbi in the South as a "coward" if he has not become a "hero."

### *Interreligious Relationships: Conflict and Cooperation*

CHAIRMAN: GARSON MEYER, *Rochester, N.Y.* DISCUSSANTS: Father L. G. Twomey, S.J., Loyola University of the South; Prof. Hal Lewis, Univ. of Florida; Leo Pfeffer, American Jewish Congress, N.Y. RESOURCE LEADER: Albert Vorspan, UAHC, N.Y. RECORDER: Rabbi Saul B. Appelbaum, Rockford, Ill.

Differences of outlook and conflicts among religious groups are inevitable in our democratic, pluralistic society, but perhaps these conflicts can be "creative and constructive." This was a major point stressed at this workshop. Other important points: The beginnings of "dialogue" among the various religious faiths in the U.S. is a heartening sign of maturity. Despite differences, there are many social issues on which Protestants, Catholics and Jews can and should work more closely.

Speaking as a Catholic and a Southerner, Father Twomey stated that faith in God is the best defense against Communism and urged religious groups to work together to oppose this menace. He called the race problem in the South "the acid test" of religious commitment.

Discussing the Protestant stand on Church-State issues, Prof. Lewis explained that this position was not based on "malice" toward other groups, especially in the area of religion in public schools. Most Protestants, he said, are aware of the effects

(*Continued on page 4*)

# Religious News Digest

### *Birth Control*

The statement of the Roman Catholic Bishops, charging that a campaign is underway to tie birth control to U.S. foreign policy in underdeveloped nations, touched off an inter-religious explosion with serious moral and political implications. Protestant and Jewish leaders protested against President Eisenhower's subsequent decision to ban the use of foreign-aid funds to foster birth control in other lands.

In a statement, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath cited the resolution of the 45th Biennial Assembly of the UAHC which declared: "We favor the elimination of all restrictions and prohibitions against the dissemination of birth control information and the rendering of birth control assistance by qualified physicians, clinics, and hospitals."

Deploring the President's statement, Rabbi Eisendrath said that "in an apparent effort to avoid offense to any religious group, President Eisenhower has evaded one of the gravest problems of our time. To conduct a foreign policy in the light of this population explosion without making available necessary medical knowledge to the peoples of the world who desire it is to nullify all that we seek to do in our generous programs of foreign aid and technical assistance."

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Catholic spokesmen commended the President and scored planned parenthood advocates as "immoral." John Cardinal O'Hara of Philadelphia, in a pastoral letter to the constituency of the Philadelphia Roman Catholic Archdiocese, rebuked those who have been urging birth control as an answer to the "population explosion." The Cardinal declared:

"If they do any research at all they must know that in this country only Catholics and Negroes show an extraodinary increase in births – the latter about 60% and the former 100% over the totals of, say, 15 years ago. Are those who want to supplant divine wisdom by their own planning disturbed by this? Let them leave us to God. We ask no sympathy."

Catholics urged that the population explosion should be solved through increasing productivity in the use of the world's resources and not through "lethal" control of child-bearing.

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"It would clearly be wrong" for a Roman Catholic President to approve a bill fostering a birth control program, according to the Rev. John R. Connery, Professor of Moral Theology at West Baden College in Indiana.

### *POAU*

Protestants are becoming increasingly opposed to the POAU (Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State), according to the results of a study completed by Father John F. Kramer, S.J., of West Baden College. He said that POAU has failed to win widespread Protestant support for its effort to prevent the granting of television station licenses to two Catholic universities as well as for its pleas for the withdrawal of citizenship from U.S. cardinals who voted in the 1958 Papal election.

### *Church-State Separation*

Ever-increasing demands for more stringent Sunday Laws are leading to a sharpening of inter-religious controversy and conflict in many states.

The constitutionality of Sunday Blue Laws is headed for a test in the Supreme Court. Cases from Massachusetts and Maryland have already been docketed with the high court. Sunday laws, forbidding business and other activities on Sunday, have been on the books since colonial times but have never been decided by the Supreme Court.

In New Jersey, Jewish organizations have been seeking to combat adoption of a Sunday closing law on the ground that such a law contravenes the principle of separation of Church and State. The Jewish groups have been opposed not only by Protestant and Catholic agencies but also by a group of Jewish merchants who charged that the American Jewish Congress and other national bodies were "shedding crocodile tears" for the benefit of "a handful of big Sunday operators." The Sunday law was adopted in 12 out of 15 New Jersey counties.

• • •

Writing in the *Christian Century*, Protestant magazine, Gilbert S. Fell scorned the effort to force Sabbath observance by law. He said such laws violate the First Amendment, are based on the "sham" of being justified as "health measures," contradict the "Protestant affirmation of personal free choice," and discriminate senselessly against some businesses and in favor of some others. "Yes," he concluded, "man needs a Sabbath. Yes, we deplore the changing pattern of contemporary life. But let us remember that the commandment is to remember the Sabbath and keep it holy; it does not say that we are to remember the Sabbath and pass laws. The thrust of the commandment is personal; *you* keep the Sabbath day holy. No one can legislate loving obedience."

### *Religious Test*

In Maryland, the state constitution requires belief in God as a requisite for all public offices. The constitutionality of this provision is now being debated as a result of the denial of a notary public commission to Roy R. Torasco because he refused to swear belief in the existence of God. The Maryland provision originally required "a declaration in the belief in the Christian religion." In 1851, the so-called "Jew's Law" was passed by the legislature to include "a declaration or belief in the Christian religion *or* the existence of God," thus enabling Jews to qualify for office.

The American Jewish Congress is entering the case which is expected to be precedent-shattering in its significance.

### *Prayer*

A suggestion that a "non-denominational" prayer be recited daily in St. Louis public schools touched off a heated furor which resulted in withdrawal of the proposal by its sponsor. Protestant and Jewish spokesmen objected to the prayer in the public schools, contending that prayer belongs in the church, synagogue, and home – not the public school. "Prayer is too important to reduce it into an opening exercise," said Dr. O. Walter Wagner, Protestant official.

The editor of the *St. Louis Review*, Roman Catholic Archdiocesan weekly, hailed the withdrawal of the prayer proposal but made clear that his reason was different from that cited by Protestant and Jewish leaders. "Any program," he wrote, "no matter how laudable it might be in motive, that is likely to result in the Catholic's faith being watered down, that could subtly lead him to believe there is just one, big amalgamated religion, is detrimental to the exclusive character of the faith, religion and Church established by Christ."

• • •

"We are a Christian nation. I think the more religion we can get with politics, the better off we are." This was the reply of Mayor Daley of Chicago to protests against the display of a creche on Chicago's City Hall. In New York City, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations questioned the propriety of a cross displayed on the New York City Park Department Building at Fifth Avenue and 64th St. during the holiday season.

### *Civil Rights*

Paying warm trbute to the ministers in Deerfield, Illinois, who have spoken up in support of integration in Deerfield, the *Christian Century* editorialized: " . . . the racial issue, which crops up with almost monotonous frequency though sometimes in an unexpected locale, is the issue through which Americans find out what the church is. The North Shore minister, so easily typed as a product of his culture, transcends his culture when the chips are down. . . . [Five ministers] allowed their love to show. It would take less courage to speak out on prostitution, graft, or any other crime in Deerfield than it does to speak out for neighborliness. But there are still giants in the earth, and we wish them well."

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☐ **Religion and the Public Schools** by Marvin Braiterman. Stimulating study of separation of Church and State.

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☐ **Man's Right to Life** by Ruth Leigh. The moral, legal and sociological implications of the death penalty in the light of Jewish tradition.

☐ **The Three Sons.** Provocative socio-discussion which stimulates thinking on the question: "What is a good Jew?" Free.

☐ **Call for the Question.** Social action filmstrip. Accompanying LP recorded narration and discussion manual. $10.00.

☐ **The Work of My Hands.** 15 minute sound film in color dramatizing the role of the individual and the synagogue in social action issues. Rental fee: $5.00. Cost: $90.00 (with a 20 percent discount for affiliated congregations.)

"Either they've succeeded in completely cleaning up the industry or the set is on the *blink*."

Drawing by Stan Hunt © 1959 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

## *Highlights of Biennial Workshops*

*(Continued from page 2)*

of this insistence upon Jewish children in the public schools. Similarly, neither Protestants nor Jews are sufficiently cognizant of the tax burden upon Catholic parents who must pay for the public schools even though they send their own children to parochial schools.

Leo Pfeffer, noted authority on Church-State, expressed gratification that American religions are competing frankly and honestly, but held that certain rules of fair play must govern this competition. No one has the right to ask Roman Catholics to yield their position on birth control, divorce, etc.; Roman Catholics have no right to use economic boycotts to influence public opinion; Jews should not invoke censorship against movies such as "Oliver Twist." Government should keep hands off in such religious issues as child adoption, religion in the public school and "sacrilegious" movies. At the same time, religious groups can and should work together on such common problems as immigration, civil rights and juvenile delinquency.

In a dissenting view, Albert Vorspan, resource leader, doubted the prevalence of the interreligious "dialogue" and the existence of effective working relationships across religious lines even in fields where the major faiths share the same views, such as desegregation. Protestant-Catholic bitterness is growing, he feared, and there are signs of increasing self-isolation by Roman Catholics and self-segregation by the Jewish religious community.

### *What Are the Personal Demands of Social Justice?*

### *(Workshop A)*

CHAIRMAN: PHILIP B. HELLER, *Roslyn Hts., N.Y.* DISCUSSANTS: Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Atlanta, Ga.; George Brussel, Jr., New York. RESOURCE LEADER: Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, New Haven, Conn. RECORDER: Rabbi Iwan J. Gruen, Newcastle, Pa.

Of all the religions, Judaism is the most insistent in demanding social justice. Both our religion and our experience have made us partisans in the struggle for righteousness on earth. These principles, set down by Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, New Haven, Conn., resource leader at the session, formed the basis for discussion.

Applying these principles to practical situations, Mr. Brussel contended that for Jews there can be no abstention from the fundamental moral problem of the U.S. today: justice for the Negro. He condemned the "moral vacuum" existing in most Southern Jewish communities on this issue. He criticized the selection of Miami Beach as the 1959 convention site and the failure of the UAHC Trustees to invite Martin Luther King as a speaker.

Reporting on the situation in Atlanta since the bombing of his synagogue, Rabbi Rothschild noted that while Jewish laymen increasingly are facing up to the Negro question, nevertheless the general community is experiencing a "hardening" of fear and anxiety. Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss. noted that many Negro leaders are disappointed that Jews, who symbolize equal justice, have maintained silence on critical racial issues. The Southern Negro is eager to learn from the Jewish experience how to survive with courage, strength and faith.

In the discussion period that followed, some members of the audience stressed the precarious position of Southern Jews, reminding Northerners of spreading housing and public school segregation above the Mason-Dixon line. Another member charged that public statements from Northern Jews injure Southern Jews without accomplishing any good. Rabbi Goldburg and others rejected this view, asking how we Jews, who had condemned non-Jews for failing to speak out against Hitlerism, could stand by in silence.

### *"J & J" in 4th Printing*

*Justice and Judaism,* the volume on Jewish social justice written by Albert Vorspan and Rabbi Eugene Lipman, has been revised and brought up to-date in its fourth printing. The book has become a basic resource in adult education courses, post-confirmation classes of religious schools, social action groups, and interfaith study programs.

The revisions in the fourth printing include new developments in race relations, civil liberties, international relarelations, labor legislation, juvenile delinquency, and other vital social issues. Published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1956, *Justice and Judaism* has become an all-time best seller among UAHC adult books. (See order blank, p.3).

## Biennial Acts

*(Continued from page 1)*

problems of war and peace, the Assembly spoke out in commendation of President Eisenhower's initiative in arranging exchanges with heads of states, hailed the suspension of nuclear tests, and called for a continuation of the suspension agreements.

•

The UAHC declared: "We believe that in the light of modern scientific knowledge and concepts of humanity, the resort to or continuation of capital punishment either by a state or by the national government is no longer morally justifiable.

•

Delegates expressed support for the "elimination of all restrictions and prohibitions against the dissemination of birth control information and the rendering of birth control assistance by qualified physicians, clinics, and hospitals.

•

Other major resolutions: renewing protests against the disabilities suffered by Jews in the Soviet Union; calling upon all zoning authorities to recognize responsibility for the spiritual foundations of the community and not to interfere with the rights of religious congregations.

# *Dr. Eisendrath Charges U.S. TV with Moral Bankruptcy*

"I am less concerned about the scandals *in* television than I am with the fact that the quality of American television itself *is* a national scandal. The moral lapses of Charles Van Doren and others like him are of minor significance compared to the moral bankruptcy of American television itself."

So said Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in testifying at a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission in Washington on December 15.

Charging that television has "contributed to the cheapening of human life," has appealed to low tastes and violence, and has avoided facing up to vital controversial issues, Dr. Eisendrath urged tighter enforcement by the FCC, and the establishment of a United States TV and radio network to set a high cultural and educational standard of "creative competition" for commercial broadcasters.

Rabbi Eisendrath denied that FCC enforcement would require censorship of the media. "The truth is that we already have censorship in television. . . . It is the censorship of the dollar, unchecked by the public interest. It is the censorship of supercautiousness and timidity which, because of this dollar dictatorship, stifles most controversial social ideas. It is the censorship of vested commercial interests whose motif is: Thou shalt not offend a single viewer, because even the lowliest and the dullest can buy our toothpaste or deodorant."

Pointing to the TV scandals as "mere symptoms, mere signals of moral sickness which has pervaded the bloodstream of our national life," the Reform Jewish leader attributed this failure, in part, to a loss of national purpose. "Our current national goals," he declared, "seem to be the stopping of the Communists, beating them to the moon, launching bigger and better missiles, and balancing the budget." He appealed to government leaders — and religious leaders — to "hold aloft those moral standards which can ignite the spark of the American spirit and rekindle the fire needed to burn out these nauseous impurities of our day."

### *Deerfield*

*(Continued from page 1)*

heroes of many moderate middle-class citizens who had the courage to stand up and fight when the pressure was on. According to observers, the Steering Committee of the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights has been doing a "magnificent job."

Morris Milgram, president of Modern Community Developers, Inc., pioneer builder of integrated housing projects, recently told an interviewer, "Any builder must be prepared to fight for his legal rights." Americans who believe in social justice agree that this fight involves the rights of *all* citizens, and they will be watching Deerfield with close attention as the fight goes on.

### *Seen "The Work of My Hands"?*

*"The Work of My Hands,"* the powerful new social action motion picture, evoked an enthusiastic response at its premiere showings at the UAHC Biennial in Miami Beach.

The dramatic 15-minute color film, which dramatizes the role of the synagogue in vital social issues, is now available from the UAHC, Department of Social Action, 838 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. The 16 mm movie may be rented for $5.00 or purchased for $90.00 (with a 20 per cent discount on the purchase price to affiliated congregations). A discussion guide accompanies the film.

Please indicate alternate dates and order well in advance.

**Union of American Hebrew Congregations**
838 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

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Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 17, 1961

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Rabbi Eisendrath:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the announcement of the new religious action center to be established in Washington.

This is an admirable undertaking and will undoubtedly serve as a valuable resource for many individuals and groups of all faiths. I expect to be spending a good deal of time in Washington myself and will look forward to cooperating with the personnel of the new center once it is established.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

838 Fifth Avenue · New York 21, N. Y. · Regent 7-8200

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

March 13, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I believe you will be pleased to see the attached announcement of the establishment of a religious action center in Washington, D. C., to serve as an arm of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism. It is our hope that the Center, working closely with Protestant and Catholic bodies, will strengthen the ideals of religion in their application to the great moral issues of our time.

We will be grateful for your comments and reactions.

Cordially,

Maurice N. Eisendrath

Maurice N. Eisendrath

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION

## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

=(43)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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=GEORGE MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

:WILL TELELPHE YOU TOMORROW AT ELEVEN AM OUR TIME FOR INFORMATION SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS ON DESEGREGATION AND ROLE OF CHURCHES IN NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, DELAWARE, WASHINGTON, DC DEEPLY APPRECIATE COOPERATION=

ALBERT VORSPAN UNION OF AMERICA HEBREW CONGREGATIONS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

EAB - Set up file on this program of Unit. Sv. Ctee (Hy Lewis's)

~~FBR~~

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Report of Program Planning Conference
UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
on June 18-19, 1954
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

Community Service--U.S.A.
Matilda Moore, Director

Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Report of Program Planning Conference
UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
on June 18-19, 1954
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

The Program Planning Conference held at Atlanta University on Friday and Saturday, June 18 and 19, 1954, was called to explore with the Department of Communit, Service-U.S.A. of the Unitarian Service Committee:

What is Already Taking Place
What is Now Planned

to implement the Supreme Court decision on integrated public schools; to discuss whether there is a place for the Unitarian Service Committee to make a creative and constructive contribution in this area of human relations, and if so, how and where.

The conference was called under the joint sponsorship of Atlanta University and the Unitarian Service Committee, but the Unitarian Service Committee wishes to acknowledge its great indebtedness to Dr. Mozell Hill for the wonderful way he caught the idea of such a conference and the great amount of effort he put into helping to plan the details; for taking the entire responsibility for arranging the details in Atlanta; and for the excellent way he chaired the meetings or arranged for others to do so.

Thirty-six educators, sociologists, social workers, teachers, principals, civic and religious leaders from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts participated. Among those who attended were:

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean
Morehouse College

Mr. David Burgess, Executive Director
Georgia State Industrial Union Council

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University

Mr. Warren Cochrane, Executive Secretary
Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Maenelle Dempsey, Consultant
Elementary Schools, State of Georgia

Mr. John Griffin, Director
Community Educational Service
Emory University, who acted as observer

Dr. William Hale
Department of Sociology, Clark College

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Philip Hammer
Committee of the South

Dr. Mozell Hill, Chairman
Department of Sociology, Atlanta University

Dr. R. O. Johnson
School of Education, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Department of Sociology, Atlanta University

Mr. Arthur Levin
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President
Morehouse College

Dr. J. B. McRae, Dean of Students
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

Dr. S. M. Nabrit, Dean
School of Arts and Sciences
Atlanta University

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. C. M. Richardson, Consultant
Georgia Secondary Schools

Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University

Mr. R. A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Edward Weaver
School of Education, Atlanta University

Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield, Dean
School of Business Administration
Atlanta University

Dr. Albert N. Whiting, Dean
Morris Brown College

Mr. Whitney Young, Dean
School of Social Work, Atlanta University

Attending for the Unitarian Service Committee were:

Mr. Frank Baldau, Executive Director
Cleveland Community Relations Board, and
former President of NAIRO

Reverend and Mrs. G. O. Canfield, Minister,
Unitarian Church, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Department of Psychology,
CCNY and Director of Research, Northside Center
for Child Development, who with Dr. Hylan Lewis
took a major part in the smaller planning groups
which functioned between the larger sessions

Mr. Wilmer Froistad, Associate Director of the
Unitarian Service Committee, New York City

Miss Jeannette Hopkins, Beacon Press, Boston,
Massachusetts, who summarized the proceedings
and assisted in the report

Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director, Community Service-
U.S.A., for the Unitarian Service Committee,
Boston, Massachusetts

Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte, North Carolina,
of the Commission on Inter-group Relations,
American Unitarian Association

The Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., is an independent, voluntary service agency which has as its primary purpose rendering non-sectarian humanitarian service, at the same time that it develops leadership and self-reliance among people in areas of tension and social need. It functions without regard to race, creed, color or nationality. Among its stated purposes is that of restoring human dignity where it has been violated and to strengthen it everywhere. While it started in 1940 as a Committee of rescue and relief, in 1948 the Committee was incorporated under the Charitable Act of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as a non-sectarian voluntary agency.

As a part of its program of rescue and relief the Unitarian Service Committee established a dispensary in Marseilles and a clinic in Toulouse to meet the needs of the refugees, both in and out of internment camps. An outgrowth of the experience in France was the Committee's growing concern with medical care and rehabilitation. It was the Unitarian Service Committee that first initiated the idea of "Medical Missions" so called a program that has in part now been taken over for the World Health Organization. This program was finally extended to include technical projects because of the many demands.

Since the first medical nutrition mission to Italy in 1945, twenty-one such projects have been carried out on every continent but Australia.

From 1947 to 1951 the Unitarian Service Committee cooperated with the International Refugee Organization in maintaining homes for displaced children in Germany. A new phase of this child welfare work began in 1949 with an invitation from the

Arbeiter-Wohlfahrt, a liberal voluntary welfare organization in Germany, to conduct an institute in education and child care for teachers and social workers. Since that time such summer institute seminars have made a unique contribution to rebuilding democracy in Germany. We now have a year-round program in Germany, centering in the Bremen Neighborhood House, which has become the new institute headquarters and a social work training center in Bremen.

In the fall of 1954, for the third year, a team of educators, specialists in primary and secondary education, will go to Korea at the request of the Korean Ministry of Education to help Korea modernize its school administration, curriculum and teaching methods.

The initiative in programs comes in a variety of ways -- sometimes from the Unitarian Service Committee, sometimes at the suggestion of and in cooperation with another agency. In the case of this particular question as to whether the Unitarian Service Committee should think in terms of a project toward integration in public education, not only has the Unitarian Service Committee been interested in this aspect of human relations, but has been urged to explore the possibility by many of its friends as well as Board members.

Briefly, three principles of the Unitarian Service Committee program development were emphasized; the quality of human relations wherever Unitarian Service Committee works, with individuals, with the various cooperating agencies, and with the people involved and their culture; the quality of the representatives doing the work, as persons themselves, as people thoroughly equipped professionally to deal with specific needs of a specific program and in terms of the lives and problems of the people with whom those representatives work. And last, the Unitarian Service Committee believes in functional supervision, that the central administrative staff be imaginative, flexible, have a sense of commitment and maintain close and continuous contacts in the field.

While a project may start with one person being made available to a group, or one person pin-pointing a project, it is a procedure of the Unitarian Service Committee to use a multi-professional team approach when acceptance of such a team can be arranged -- in some cases a team can be made available from the very beginning.

Friday Morning

AIMS, PROGRAMS OF ACTION AGENCIES:

The conference began with a discussion about definitions which appeared on the surface to be purely a matter of semantics. Were we interested in "desegregation" or in "integration"? Those who felt some anxiety about the possibility that the Unitarian Service Committee might be only concerned with "desegregation" thought of the term as a negative one, as the abolition of inequality of treatment without attempt to create a climate of healthful human relations. Others preferred to deal with "desegregation" first and get to "integration" later. Behind the discussion over words appeared to be a real feeling of anxiety that the forward movement toward racial justice would not be complete. The conference members needed to be convinced that for the Unitarian Service Committee "desegregation" was only a step toward ultimate "integration."

On this point, several persons seemed to feel that "desegregation" was concerned with the "impersonal," as Frank Baldau put it, that "integration" was a personal matter. Dr. Clark used the words "objective" to define "desegregation"; and

"subjective" to define "integration." He said that "desegregation" was,in a way, "more comfortable," implying that the process was one that something could be done about while "integration" was more of a matter of psychological attitudes. Mr. Levin pointed out that the Jews are not segregated, but neither are they fully integrated; "desegregation" he said, "is the first step, involving legal means, but that then we must change peoples' attitudes though education." Some felt that people "drift" into "integration"; others that positive steps must be taken to stimulate the process, that it is not merely a question of "changing men's souls," as Dr. Clark had termed it. Both Dr. Roddick and Mr. Cheetham (a young school teacher) wanted very much to know whether the conference was really concerned with "integration." Mr. Griffin added that "equalization is a lower level; then comes desegregation, then integration ." Dr. Brazeal believed that "some kind of preparation for integration must take place."

A committee with Frank Baldau as chairman was charged with coming up with a workable definition of the two knotty words. This committee returned to say that it could agree on a clear statement, but that the problem of the conference was to devise ways and means of gaining acceptance at the community level of the decision by the U. S. Supreme Court that legal separation in education on the basis of race is unconstitutional. The committee reported that if the group had progressed beyond a study of definitions while the committee was in conference, this in itself would have been a step forward. This had, indeed, happened. Relieved to think that a committee would come up with the answers, the group had plunged into the problem. It was obvious that everyone really knew what the terms meant, inarticulate though they may have been on the question, that everyone wanted both as soon as possible, that everyone, however, was aware of the need for strategy and even caution, and that group action was possible without semantic preciseness.

The second major area of discussion during the morning session was, in a way, related to the first: Do we move toward integration by social action or by "changing peoples' hearts": A number in the group appeared to feel that there was a dichotomy between these two, that religion and psychology were off to one side -- legal action, specifically the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People, on the other side.

Mrs. Tilly declared that "after all, it's a problem of religion, not of politics," and she supplemented her comments by pointing out what the churches of the South had done in the past. She declared that while the NAACP had been the first to use legal measures, that the churches had promulgated the "first great statements against segregation. . .They didn't do much about it but they recognized it." She referred to questionnaires to churches, leaflets on segregation, work in pastors' schools, discussion groups, etc., where spadework had been done to help break down segregation patterns. She pointed out that a number of church educational institutions had been integrated in the South already. The pamphlet: "Christian Conscience and the Supreme Court Decision," which she has prepared, is now in process of publication.

There seemed to be some impatience among conference members with the idea that the church in the South has done much about segregation. Dr. Roddick wanted to know what documents the denominations had put forth on the subject and said that "if the church took positive steps against segregation, this is an important point." Most of the group appeared to admire the work of the NAACP as an obviously effective means toward racial justice. Dr. Hale said that groups of this sort were influential legally; that the churches' job was to "change peoples' hearts." Frank Baldau declared that the "only major advances in breaking down racial barriers were where there was the handle of invoking legal authority."

He was not, he said, "implying that education and the churches have not had effect," but that it is "hard to find evidence of change" except where executive, judicial action has also been present." The importance of sociological, educational religious forces in molding public opinion which might lead to the judicial action was discussed.

The group as a whole seemed to feel that the voices of bigotry in the south were the voices of "the demagogue and not the voice of the people." They seemed confident that the South, as a whole, was moving toward integration and that people like Talmade reflected the last echo of the old South. Burgess, however, seemed fearful that the North didn't believe this and that the press of the North was too quick to pounce upon the sensational rantings of demagogues and to proclaim this as the voice of the South. He felt that politicians of the North were unduly "alarmed" about the situation. This was one of the very few times during the conference that any separation between those of the "North" and those of the "South" appeared. There was very little narrow regionalism.

A number of persons pointed out that the situation varies a great deal from community to community in the South, that some areas were ready to desegregate now, that others refused, that 17 states have a school segregation law on their books. Dr. Clement said that the question is how fast to work and with whom, that "it is important to recognize the situation in the local community," that generalizations cause difficulty.

The major plan of the NAACP, several pointed out, was to move in with legal recourse in communities which may try to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. The group realized that this was not the function of the Unitarian Service Committee, that the role of education was to "soften the impact of disruptive effect of the decision." But as Kenneth Clark added, "not of the decision, but the response to the decision." Mr. Thompson said that in some areas, the anti-desegregation forces would try to concentrate Negroes in certain districts to get around the Supreme Court ruling, and that the Urban League, therefore, would work for "dispersion" of the population, the breaking down of housing and real estate barriers; "dispersion tends to make communication more possible."

Reporting on the Southern Regional Conferences' meeting at Williamsburg, several members pointed up the priority of projects suggested there. The group agreed to study them -- later analysis showed that the emphasis in the report was on the accumulation of research data on desegregation, the sharing of materials, the organization of discussion groups, etc., to plan for the social change.

Mrs. Moore had told the group that the Unitarian Service Committee had come to the conference to find out what those working in the field thought needed to be done to fill in the gaps of service. Because the Unitarian Service Committee, she said, is non-sectarian, "it has the freedom to explore," -- the freedom of experimentation that some other groups may not have. "The emphasis of the Unitarian Service Committee," she continued, "is primarily education, but it is willing to go into problem tension areas "which other groups may not want to touch." Its purpose would be to develop a pilot project, "demonstrations which others may use and benefit from," that it was interested in "developing indigenous leadership." Should the Unitarian Service Committee work on an inter-racial project in the South, or the North, she asked; "integration is not just a problem of the South, or of one group of people."

Mr. Froistad, also speaking of the aims of the Unitarian Service Committee, said that it believed in "the capacity to grow in aspects of service," that it knew

that Emerson's statement that an institution is the length and shadow of a great man is no longer true, that an institution, in this case, the Unitarian Service Committee, is the length and shadow of a group as a whole.

Friday Afternoon

IMMEDIATE REACTIONS TO THE DESEGREGATION RULING

The second session revolved around the reaction in the South to desegregation and what could be done to counter the unfortunate effects that might be expected.

Mr. Hammer said that his first impression was that the "reactionary forces in the South were pretty badly stunned by the decision . . . Forces of opposition have been building up." But he estimated that the politicians' reactions are not the reactions of the public generally; "politicians are more extreme than people," he said. "The majority are pretty decent and honest in their views." "Blood in the streets is not essential," he said; "but if this is said often enough, you're going to have your blood." He spoke of the importance of leadership, an emphasis which had been mentioned in the morning session and was to recur throughout the conference.

Dr. Parrish seemed to feel that Kentucky and other border states would go along with the decision. Mr. Shopshire, principal of a school 50 miles southwest of Atlanta, said that there had been no reaction in his town, but a "rather violent reaction against the NAACP." Negro parents often said, "I don't want my children to go to school with white children," highlighting the fact that integration was a problem both for Negroes and for whites who had lived seperately so long, that the reluctance for community living was not all on one side. Here appeared an anxiety that was also to reappear in the conference -- what would happen to the Negro teachers in an integrated school system -- would they lose their jobs? In a number of these towns, Negroes had not yet been convinced that they should register and vote, despite lack of opposition from the white population.

Dr. Wheeler reported that in North Carolina the newspapers' reaction was that they had to help avoid violence, that they should help the state work out methods of compliance with the decision. He spoke, as others did, of the "good judgment of the people," and the "loudtalk of demagogues." "Noise-making demagogues, he said, would not influence liberals in the South."

In some states, methods are being worked out to circumvent desegregation. John Griffin reported that in Georgia a committee had been established to retain segregation and Mrs. Hamilton said that bus drivers were to be denied state funds if they drove for integrated schools. Dr. Nabrit said that in Atlanta, a ministerial group had split 50-50 over whether or not "God ordained segregation," and that at least one Baptist church was using its gift to the denomination as a weapon to protest against any movement to break down racial barriers.

The answer, the group said, to irresponsible leadership, was obviously a counter leadership which is responsible. People should stand up and be counted and exert leadership in their local communities to prevent violence. Dr. Clark declared that no one was investigating the influence of "power groups" in communities, that since constructive leadership appeared to be of paramount importance in orientating a community toward integration (or the opposite), that research and action with authority figures, or 'gate-keepers' "would prove of great value." "Everyone is addressing the teachers because desegregation involves the schools, but who is addressing the business leaders, the "power groups" in the communities?" he asked. In discussing the value of action groups, like the NAACP, Dr. Brazeal said that the

conference should consider implementing from the legal point of view. Dr. Clark asked whether cooperation with action groups like the NAACP would be precluded by the Unitarian Service Committee because the emphasis was primarily education? Mrs. Moore assured him that it would not.

Here again, appeared the same dichotomy that had occurred in the earlier parts of the discussions -- the separation in the mind of the discussants between attitudes and action, between education and social action, between religion and results. It stemmed, it appears, from an impatience with the status quo attitude of many groups which have used "education in lieu of action." The definition of a number seemed to be that education was used as a "conscience-salving device to side-step action." Frank Baldau pointed out that the Unitarian Service Committee is interested not in education as "doing nothing," not "passive, but participant education." The groups' reaction seemed related to the tendency of many organizations to postpone direct action, especially legal, toward racial justice, by saying that you can't legislate against prejudice. In many ways, direct and indirect, the members of the group expressed impatience with this, their suspicion of it, and therefore their reluctance to think of education as a constructive process which is in itself action, a kind of action essential to the beginning of legal action and the implementationof it. Dr. Clark had inquired specifically of the Unitarian Service Committee what area of education they were interested in and did they intend it to substitute for action. What could the Unitarian Service Committee feel free to do?

Mrs. Moore pointed out that the Unitarian Service Committee is "not a pressure group, not legislative," but it concentrates on education demonstrations, but not in the negative sense implied by some of the questions. The Unitarian Service Committee felt that it could find the funds, if it produced the project. She said that the Unitarian Service Committee might work effectively in developing local leadership or supporting and enhancing local leadership as it had done in other domestic and foreign projects, particularly since the group seemed to agree that leadership was of great importance in establishing a sound program of integration. Could the Unitarian Service Committee, Mrs. Moore asked, develop a workshop-training center for local leaders who want democratic relationships, or a series of workshops with follow-up in the communities? Would it be effective to bring Negro and white parents from the desegregation areas to such workshops. The Unitarian Service Committee would work with existing community groups, she said, though development of leadership would be a "bridge" to effective social action.

Dr. Hill said that information from research would be valuable, to add "some knowledge to action on desegregation" so that mistakes that had been made and successes, would be reported in the local community to a central agency for distribution to other communities. Dr. Clark pointed out, however, that the Ford Foundation had already made plans for research on desegregation and that the Unitarian Service Committee should probably emphasize something also.

Dr. Johnson argued that to send people from a community to a workshop and have them return to their local situations was "not valid;" that a project in a local community would be "more real." He said that it would be better to say to a community that help was available than to impose it, that the Unitarian Service Committee would have to say, "You have a problem, can we help you solve it," rather than waiting for people to say, "We have a problem, come help us." Mr. Levin felt that people would feel "branded" if they were taken out of their communities to the workshop, and that it would prove an ineffective technique. On the other hand, he agreed with Dr. Johnson, "People will not reach out for us."

The kind of research which the group agreed the Unitarian Service Committee could best include would be the "Research-action-evaluation" with the research following from a specific action program. Dr. Reddick inquired whether the Unitarians would not be more effective working with private school groups, but in later sessions, the group as a whole disagreed and concluded that the emphasis should remain on public school education. Several asked whether the theology of the Unitarians would limit them in any way in their projected program and they were assured that Unitarianism was not a limiting philosophy and that there were no ideological boundaries. Mrs. Moore pointed out that the Unitarian Service Committee is not a sectarian organization -- it is non-sectarian in organization as well as in activity.

The two aims which the group agreed upon for the Unitarian Service Committee project were to implement the Supreme Court decision; and to counteract resisting groups.

Friday Evening

SPECIFIC COMPONENTS OF LOCAL SITUATIONS IN RELATING RESPONSES TO RULING

A committee which met between the afternoon and evening session reported to the total group that it had compiled a list of preferences for a description of the kind of program upon which the Unitarian Service Committee might embark. These preferences included:

1) - That the project be in a local community in the South.

2) - That it be a non-sectarian in outlook.

3) - That it be educational action rather than legal action.

4) - That it be open-ended rather than restrictive in its action, capable of expansion and change as the needs developed. (This is in line with the Unitarian Service Committee policy.)

5) - That it be able to include a demonstration in both an unfavorable situation and a favorable situation, if at all possible.

6) - That a research program be included either to run concurrently or as a follow-up.

7) - That the community chosen be relatively small.

8) - That the community not have the resources of its own for a community council or the like.

9) - That the community be one where change is on the way.

The evening session, led by Kenneth Clark and Hylan Lewis, centered around the problem of authority and leadership in effective desegregation. Dr. Clark, who had been responsible for a great deal of research analysis in this field, reported that surveys had shown that none of the factors of environment that had been expected to influence movement toward effective, disciplined desegregation had proved important in actual cases, that "structured" leadership is the only factor that seems to matter. In the available incidents of desegregation, he said, in Clarendon County, South Carolina, and in Virginia, arguments used were that a high

proportion of Negroes was a vital factor that violence would occur, that segregation was an integral part of the way of life of the South. However, study has shown, he said, that the number of Negroes is not particularly pertinent. Those who showed the most intense reaction against desegregation, the most negative reaction, "seem most positively influenced when the process is jointed,when the social operation was started." Where the role of the leader was "vacillating" and "ambivalent", there was trouble, he said. Violence was more often noted where the leaders resisted desegregation, but the established authorities were on record against desegregation.

"Initial hostile reactions do not persist when countered by effective responsible leadership," Dr. Clark pointed out. Researchers found that Southerners could be positively influenced in favor of integration even though they had been the most negative, that Northerners sent to the South in the Army became more anti-Negro than white Southerners; and that white Southerners sent North became more pro-Negro than white Northerners.

In St. Louis, Missouri, where the parochial schools abolished segregation, there was great initial bitterness among the white parents, Dr. Clark said. They called a protest meeting and threatened legal action against the bishop. But when the bishop sent a message to the meeting reminding them of the fact of excommunication, the meeting was recessed and never reconvened. Some parents sent their children away to school but no more than fifty did so. Dr. Clark said that no one had been able to determine what the pressures had been that operated on the leaders, or what caused the Catholic bishop to issue the edict. This was a flaw in the research. In a St.Louis suburb where a swimming pool was not used fora long period because it could not be used unless open to both races, the parents of Webster Grove forced a referendum, "the people pressured their top leadership," Dr. Clark said. (This was an exceptional case.)

The question rose about the role of authoritarian versus democratic leadership and the implications of the surveys in terms of power imposed by leaders from above. Dr. Clark said that where there was disrespect for the law, violence was more likely to occur; desegregation "is most effective in authoritarian situations." He said that he did not believe that this was a cynical position, but realistic, even though it might appear to conflict with an approach through democratic idelogy. "You can't change the relation between power controllers and the people." He pointed out that the authoritarian role appeared to be responsible for the successful integration of Negroes into the Army. Both he and Dr. Lewis emphasized that sometimes the "minor gate-keepers" attempt to influence public attitudes, "the small men who try to wield great power", but they urged that the real power figures be located where integration programs are planned. Dr. Lewis asked what was implied in terms of action "if leadership is the crucial factor." Both agreed that access to those who controlled society was most important. Dr. Clark said later that in the case of the men with most hostility toward desegregation who became positive in their attitudes "it appears that these people are influenced only by authoritarian power."

A number of discussants raised questions about the points brought out by Dr. Lewis and Dr. Clark. Dr. Griffin inquired further about the influences that had played upon the leaders, believing this is to be the vital factor. Dr. Hill asked how we can "build an articulate citizenship" in view of these facts. "Must we manipulate people by edict in terms of our own will?" He said he believed that it would be a challenge to a democratically oriented organization to attempt to deal democratically with power and to "neutralize" the misuse of power. Dr. Nabrit pointed out that in the search for power figures, it must be recognized

that they are not only "absentee" as several speakers said, "but also local." Frank Baldau had suggested that in the case of a southern community, it might be more important to reach a national figure with influence -- such as Sinclair Weeks -- than to reach local figures with only the appearance of power.

The attitude of leaders in a community is of great importance, Dr.Parrish said. "Where there is a wishy-washy leadership, you have trouble; where there is a firm stand, you do not." He described a situation in Louisville, Kentucky, where Negroes had been admitted to the police and fire departments' eligibility lists and where a possible problem had been averted by the response of the captain who made a point of eating with the Negro rookies for a long period until the other rookies took an example from their leader and followed suit. It is important, he said, to "find out who are the "real leaders in a community."

Dr. Roddick inquired what happens when the established authorities are opposed to desegregation as he believed had been true initially in the Army, but several who answered him stated that they did not agree that this was the case. The question persisted that it was possible that the Army had acted actually from long direct and indirect pressure from the people and that it had not acted spontaneously and that if this were true, this would be an example, not of authoritarian leadership at the source (though perhaps in application), but of democratic leadership and that although the men were acting under orders, they, as a group, willed the leaders to establish and impose the orders for equal treatment. Dr. Weaver asked whether the leaders are not, in fact, "amenable to their followers". If not, this would show a contradiction between the political facts of life as understood to operate in the United States. Dr. Weaver asked whether "it is possible that in the name of a democratic goal and organization, the Unitarian Service Committee might find itself operating in an undemocratic way."

The kinds of authority discussed were democratic and authoritarian, community, and personal, legal and social. As one discussant said: "It is important to know, to paraphrase 'Who takes care of the caretakers' conscience while the caretaker's busy taking care?'" It seemed vital to know what motivated the leadership to act, whether in an authoritarian or a democratic way, and to find a way of utilizing and creating these pressures for motivation. Dr. Clark said that he felt that the type of leadership was meaningful in definition only in terms of the larger value systems under which the leader and group operates, that the groups' acceptance of authority might be voluntary and, therefore, democratic.

The group urged the Unitarian Service Committee to work with the persons of leadership in the community chosen for a project. Mrs. Moore pointed out that the Unitarians have a real "strength in reaching people with influence," that the Unitarian Service Committee would "not be averse to using" these people, "but we don't build a project on this." She felt that this was a two-way street, that the Unitarian Service Committee must work from the bottom up as well as from the top down, that this was not just a manner of manipulating the leadership. She said that if the project were started in a small community, the Unitarian Service Committee might be able to make a person "skilled in group work available" to use what is known about groups, finding where the local leadership is, working with all available resources." The experience of the Unitarian Service Committee, however, indicates that the team approach -- a small inter-professional group -- is more valid as a means of operating; such a team ought to be the aim of the Unitarian Service Committee even though a project were started first with just one person.

Saturday Morning

INDICATED AND PROJECTED ACTION AND RESEARCH:
Short run and long run:

After a summary of the work of Friday by Dr. Clark, Mrs. Moore introduced the plan worked out as a tentative program by the Unitarian Service Committee staff present. "In working with individual groups and agencies," she said, "we work in terms of building mutual trust. We emphasize democratic ways of working and we learn from others as well as sharing with others. In some of the situations in which we have gone we would never have been able to develop a program that moved along step by step unless we had this attitude. Our administrative staff tries to be flexible. We think, as a group, we do have a sense of commitment to the job."

The program as developed in response to the conference discussions was as follows:

"That an advisory committee should be set up to pick up where this conference leaves off to work with us throughout the selection, planning and implementation of a project."

"That this advisory committee should include several participants of this conference as well as professional people not present who have already expressed an interest as well as some lay people."

"That the advisory committee would be depended upon to draw up a list of communities in the South from which a study would be made according to criteria suggested at this conference: These we name here as criteria for selection of communities:

1) - A small community (10,000 to 20,000)

2) - One without resources to establish an integration commission of its own

3) - A community or communities in the South

4) - A project based on education---action rather than legal action

5) - A program which is flexible and deals with the dynamics of the situation rather than a restricted project which cannot adapt to the developing situation

6) - A program guided by a worker, sophisticated enough to work effectively, both with the real leadership of the community and others

7) - A program developed at first probably by one worker, later possibly with the aid of a team, depending on the evident needs and the acceptance of a team by the community

8) - A program which would include a research survey action-evaluation project to enable other groups and communities to take advantage of findings while the project itself develops

9) - A program which will permit exchange of information among groups working to make desegregation more effective and constructive.

These latter two might better be called "extension of program," but have been included here as a matter of convenience.

"That this advisory committee will help us to obtain preliminary information already available on the suggested communities or help us to obtain such information through a survey in order to make a final choice.

"That the information sought include: community leadership, community agencies, intergroup cooperation already taking place; attitudes of school board, public officials, religious leaders and others; tensions and racial incidents in the community in recent years; community group resources helpful in arriving at desegregation, groups working in the South focusing on this community if any, estimate of the forces of cooperation and the forces of opposition.

"That when the selection has been narrowed down, the advisory committee would suggest methods of gaining entry into a community including ways of making known to some of the cooperative agencies and community leaders that a person is available to work with the community who has knowledge of and skill in methods of constructive human relations.

"That a nucleus of cooperation -- no matter how small -- must be found to establish a working relationship with the staff person. The worker would then enter the community and work with this nucleus to gain knowledge of community resources and to use known group work and community organization skills to help the community to work toward effective desegregation. This person would offer consulting services and organization skills to help the community solve problems of desegregation whenever they arise.

"Although in such a situation it might seem wise to start with one person in the community, it is the Unitarian Service Committee experience and intent to use a team method, as the more effective approach, and to add other workers as soon as group acceptance can be gained and as soon as it becomes evident what other kinds of activities are needed.

"The advisory committee would review the project with the Unitarian Service Committee periodically and it is our policy to give functional supervision through reports and field visits; it is also hoped that Atlanta University and/or some other university would, from the beginning, be interested in providing constant research survey tools to evaluate the project and determine what methods would appear to be most valuable for use in other communities."

Discussion followed on the proposal. Dr. Clark asked how large an advisory committee was contemplated and Mrs. Moore said, "large enough to get the job done -- not more than eight or ten." Dr. Weaver pointed out that some members of the committee should have educational skills; Dr. Johnson said that researchers were necessary; and Mrs. Tilly, that there should be "persons with know-how" in the group.

Dr. Clark asked if the desegregation process needed to be "imminent" in the community chosen. Perhaps the Unitarian Service Committee should rethink in terms of a challenging project, moving into a "negative" community and see what techniques might be used to change the situation. Dr. Griffin suggested that Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia should be eliminated immediately since there are statutory situations present. Most agree that these states, at present, were the field for the NAACP and not the Unitarian Service Committee. But Dr. Mays asked that the worst states not be bypassed, for "something can be

done even there; you might find something where you least expect it." Dr. Whiting said that it is "important to work where desegregation has not started." John Griffin suggested that a variable might be introduced, that a Negro worker might work through the Negro community, a white worker through the white community. Mr. Baldau tried to clarify the definition of "imminent" by suggesting that the community "in balance" might be one in which to work that the Unitarian Service Committee should move in where the action might go one way or the other, the Unitarian Service Committee should help to balance it in favor of effective desegregation.

Mr. Mitchell said that the project would help other communities which might "benefit richly from what you do. Even though focused on one community, he urged that the Unitarian Service Committee "not neglect the opportunity to do things elsewhere."

Mr. Young of the School of Social Work stated that sociological and psychological data was very important in the stimulating of legal action, that it "gave an air of respectability to the Supreme Court decision." . . .That the problem has moved out of the area of legal measures exclusively. "It is now a problem of community organization." The community is the "client." People must ask for help -- "You need skill to get them to ask. You must understand their feelings." As Mr. Young said: "All people have a capacity for good as they have the possibility for evil -- so does a community. We must have this confidence," he said, "to enter the work of community integration with hope of success."

Dr. Weaver asked if the Unitarian Service Committee would go into a community without invitation and Mrs. Moore replied that there would have to be a group within the community willing to work with the Unitarian Service Committee person -- "Perhaps it need only be one person if it is the right person." Dr. Weaver further noted that the process of entry was very important itself in the educational process. Dr. Parrish said that the Unitarian Service Committee might stimulate a community to take action, or it might help them with the problems that have followed from the fact that the community has already accepted desegregation in principle.

On the question of research, Mrs. Dempsey said she believed that statewide research resources should be used in addition to Atlanta University. Dr. Hill agreed that an intercollegiate network of research could be utilized, including Athons, Emory and others. Dr. Clark advised that other groups be used in addition to institutions in Georgia itself. Mr. Froistad suggested that an advisory research committee might prove practical, Research of the more specific nature should not be dispersed, but concentrated geographically, Dr. Weaver said, for greater efficiency. The Unitarian Service Committee would "look to Atlanta University" to organize this research work.

Wilmer Froistad suggested that this group meeting together should be divided roughly into two categories: (1) the researchers who emphasize "the evaluating of research and facts with the impersonal, objective approach and the removal of personal factors; and (2) the professional practitioners "who use their training consciously for disciplined action to use observed facts as the basis for action in intergroup and interpersonal relationships." He said that it was "important to determine what is known and what is indicated for action. This is what the conference is all about; this is what we are involved in." He described the life of Dr. Harvey Cushing whose research on heart surgery combined with the surgical process showed an admirable combination of the search for information and the translation of the facts into action. "To act without observing is bad. We have a need for both roles; both must be kept in proper relation to each other."

The Report

While it was at first the plan to have the report a chronological one in less detail, it was finally apparent that it should first contain some explanation of the reason for the conference, the particpants, and a comprehensive enough statement about the Unitarian Service Committee to make the report intelligible to many who have shown interest in the Conference but were not present. Although in general the plan of the report remains chronological, there has been an attempt to summarize discussion under topics for greater clarity. Some portions of the discussion are in detail for greater understanding of people who were not present, but who may be interested in the process as well as in the findings. Details, therefore, that may seem to some relatively unimportant, have been included.

At the same time that the report was being compiled, the recommendations coming out of the conference have already been discussed in a staff meeting of the Unitarian Service Committee and with the Chairman of the Program Committee; our precedure calls for such discussion before a project is finally recommended to the Executive Committee by the Program Committee. In other words, the Unitarian Service Committee has already started working through its own organization at the same time that we have started efforts to implement the recommendations.

The Conference itself was evidence of the validity of this method of procedure and we believe it has importance even beyond the recommendations for a particular program. For the Unitarian Service Committee, as well as for other agencies, this kind of conference may well mark a new pattern in program planning.

Matilda Moore, Director
Community Service - USA
Unitarian Service Committee

Boston, Massachusetts
August 2, 1954.

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
9 PARK STREET
BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS
CApitol 7-3660

MEMORANDUM TO: Unitarian Ministers September 15, 1955

FROM: Matilda Moore, Director
Community Service -- USA

SUBJECT: Report on Unitarian Service Committee
Plans and Activities on Desegregation and Integration

Even before the Supreme Court decision regarding segregation in the nation's schools, May 17, 1954, the Unitarian Service Committee was exploring the possibility of working in the field of integration. That decision and subsequent developments have merely added a new sense of urgency toward effective action. Lay and professional people are agreed that this area of human relations will continue to be our number one frontier in this country for years to come.

Many of you have expressed your interest in having the Unitarian Service Committee active in this area of human relations and have consulted with us. This memorandum is an attempt to keep you in touch with developments as we move ahead.

The Unitarian Service Committee has made several decisions in order to give clarity and direction to its responsibility and program activities in the area of integration problems. The general framework for exploration and planning was set at a conference held at Atlanta University in June, 1954, less than one month after the May 17 decision. The key proposals that evolved from that session and from subsequent thinking are these:

1. That plans be made to put into the field what shall be known as "The Statewide Education Project."

2. That a team composed of persons with complementary community-organization and group work skills be recruited, oriented and trained to work -- under the general supervision of the Community Service Department -- with citizens or local groups in two or more communities of one of four southern states: Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, or Tennessee.

3. That the project be planned to last at least two years.

4. That planning and execution be such that local citizens will want to, and will be able to, continue the project, if that is indicated.

5. That the Unitarian Service Committee's team will represent a service resource and that a part of its design will be to cooperate with interested or committed groups in the areas; and to serve as catalyst and coordinator where feasible and desirable.

6. That a continuing program of research and record-keeping, in cooperation with appropriate university or other groups be an integral part of the field operations.

Dr. Hylan Lewis, department consultant, and I have talked and corresponded with dozens of persons in strategically placed positions in sociology, social work, education and human relations councils. We have attended numerous conferences in efforts to survey thoroughly events, opinions, and the many dimensions of the problem, and what private and public agencies, including foundations, are doing or planning to do. One of the prime purposes also has been to narrow the choice of a state for the Statewide Education Project.

In May, 1955, we visited Tennessee where we had comprehensive and very fruitful talks with church, civic and educational representatives in Nashville and Knoxville. These talks, particularly those with President Charles Johnson of Fisk University, members of the Fisk faculty, and the director and staff of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association which has its headquarters at Fisk, helped to crystallize thinking that had been evolving for several months.

These were field tests of the soundness of the particular exploratory approach used with local citizens and professionals who are interested in or have stakes in this area; they gave concrete and specific answers to the questions:

1. Is there a job that needs to be done, and can be done, by the kind of community organization team proposed by the Unitarian Service Committee?

2. How does such a team get invited into a community or committee?

These talks when combined with other favorable and strategic features connected with the State of Tennessee, underscored the very real opportunities and working possibilities in this state. They make it possible to move now toward a firm decision as to place and to begin to draw up specific proposals for program and personnel.

Within the year the Unitarian Service Committee has moved from a general decision to assume responsibilities for an integration program through exploratory and preliminary steps to what looks like an imminent decision to place a specific project into the field in the State of Tennessee. Approaches for foundation and special funds will be made this fall.

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# EDITORIAL

## A New Frontier:

### The Columbia Heights Boys' Club, Washington, D.C.

In the nation's capital, but on the frontier of America's major social problem, Unitarians are pioneering in an integration project. If example is the test of sincerity and, as Albert Schweitzer says, the only way to influence people, the experiment has importance beyond its modest scale.

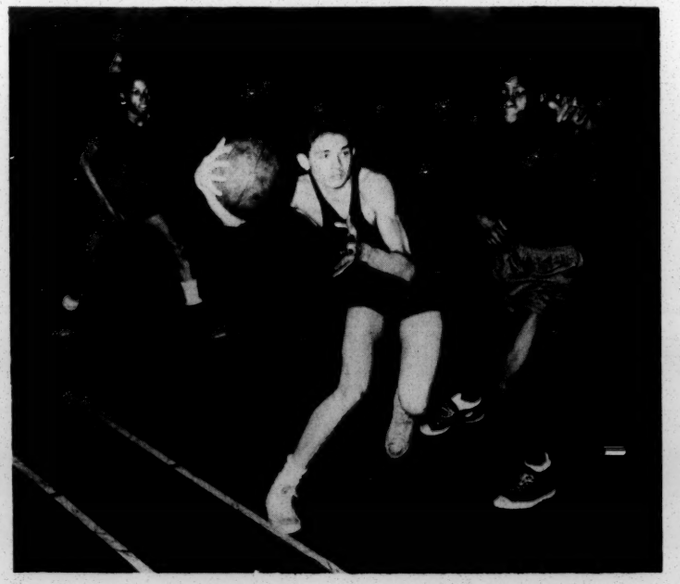
The project is in some ways a perfect starting place. Continuing the work of a former boys' club, instead of being artificially contrived, it fills what otherwise would be a dangerous vacuum. Furthermore, since it *is* a boys' club, it stirs no panic about attachments between the sexes. Finally, it reaches youngsters at the time when habits are set and when preventive effort is most needed to counteract the rising tide of delinquency.

The Columbia Heights Boys Club is a year old, and the outgrowth of an emergency. For 15 years Washington's All Souls' Church had given its basement facilities, including club rooms, a gymnasium, and showers, to a unit of the Metropolitan Police Boys Clubs, a network of segregated clubs. The Church Board had long tried to change this arrangement and, after the Supreme Court ruling, asked the Boys Clubs to suggest a timetable for integration. The answer came come months later when the Boys Clubs vacated the premises and put their equipment in storage rather than cooperate on an integrated basis. Meanwhile, to forestall the end of the recreational program, All Souls' Church appealed to the Unitarian Service Committee. The USC was already considering work in the area of race relations, and so responded first with emergency aid for minimum equipment and maintenance, and later with a place in its budget and program.

There was a special need for integration, rooted in the area's rapidly changing complexion and economic level. All Souls' fronts a boulevard adorned with foreign embassies and churches—but this ecclesiastical and stately facade has little in common with its rear. The residents of this old community are leaving it in droves, and their places are taken by Negroes, who greatly outnumber the whites; so the maintenance of all-white boys' club was not only unrealistic, but provocative.

Nevertheless, the new club started with great handicaps. The police clubs encouraged a boycott by their old members, and even hired buses to take them to another club whose facilities were comparatively lavish. Second, the new members, mostly Negroes, were unused to any club, and some of them were unused to social behavior. Worse, habitual segregation had left them hostile to the white club directors and to such white boys as ventured to participate. Naturally it took time and patience to reverse these attitudes. Luckily the summer and outdoor playground schedule marked a turning point, as well as a chance to show the neighborhood the program's value. September started with an increased attendance, and with a larger number of white boys roughly in proportion to the area's population. Daily the club has been growing, and the manners and spirit of its members have been improving. In fact, this fall has presented no real disciplinary problems.

This year the Negro and white staff members possess a variety of crafts and recreational skills. They wisely aim at



closer contacts with the boys' families, and have begun with a parents' day program, a Mothers' Club, and plans for father-son get-togethers. They will also benefit by an advisory council of professional consultants in human relations and programming. Already the club has become the preferred alternative to the streets for dozens of boys who come directly from school, as well as all day Saturday, and remain, supperless but well occupied, until the club doors close at eight o'clock. Naturally the staff dreams of a snack bar, but such innovations must wait on a steadier and more ample budget. So must expanded activities, more adequate equipment, and even the assurance of keeping a well-trained staff.

Good works in faraway places are often more appealing as philanthropies, but Washington is the show window of our democracy, a testing ground where boys should learn that color is no barrier. Shall we keep this pilot project going?

Emily Taft Douglas

PROPOSAL

From Department of Community Service--USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.

for

# A COMMUNITY SERVICE PILOT INTEGRATION PROJECT

## The Problem

It has been twenty-three months since the May 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court that declared racial segregation in the public schools of the United States unconstitutional, and ten months since the May 1955 decree that instructed communities involved to proceed with "deliberate speed" to desegregate their public schools. These unanimous decisions reaffirmed American democratic principles and constitutional support of a specific civil and human right of all citizens. At the same time, explicit recognition was given to, and reasonable allowances made for, the human problems anticipated in some local areas. Today, after nearly two years, daily incidents change the details of the picture, but the important fact is that the main lines of response, and the basic methods used by those who affirm and by those who seek to vitiate or nullify, seem clear and largely fixed for the near future.

A review of developments and of the many incidents that now tend to fall into patterns makes possible:

1) some estimate of the probability of acceptance and fulfillment of the court's decrees in different types of communities in the near future;

2) accurate and concrete indications of what is happening now, and is likely to happen, to people, to human relations, and to democratic processes in local communities--and by the same token, to national morale and reputation; and

3) renewed emphasis on the kinds of resources and community skills that must be found, mobilized, or made available--particularly at the local level--in order that the people themselves can work together, not only to solve the specific problems involved in the desegregation of the schools, but also to help solve the fundamental problems of American democracy, community development and education.

April 30, 1956

## The Present Situation

The following summary and estimate of the situation today indicates the problems and the tasks of citizens, officials, and groups who affirm democracy, law and order, and better human relations:

### Unfavorable to Fulfillment

1. Official defiance at state level with implementing legislation and administrative acts: South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama.

2. Official efforts at "legal" circumvention: Virginia and perhaps North Carolina.

3. Organization and spreading influence of approximately fifty anti-desegregation groups in fifteen states--(White Citizens' Councils, States' Rights Councils, Federation for Constitutional Government, etc.); application of open and hidden economic pressure and the intimidation of Negroes and whites.

4. Retreat from 1954 positions of much of southern press; direct support for and leadership of pro-segregation movement by many, including such tendencies in some of the magazines and newspapers with national, or not strictly southern circulation.

5. The assumption of dominance and positions of strength by resourceful, aggressive and frequently unscrupulous groups; by control of much of opinion and news apparatus, parts of the economy, and the political and administrative machinery, they dwarf and intimidate an unknown number of persons who do not agree with them, or who are neutral. The fiction has grown and circulated that this is a movement of the "respectable" and "best" people. They are undoubtedly people of power.

6. The successful beclouding of the legal, social and economic issues involved; the insidious inroads of the tactic that labels those in favor of law and order subversive and seeks to elevate to positions of so-called patriots those who defy the court and flaunt democratic procedures; the exploitation of racism and race fears; the capitalizing on violence and the threats of violence.

7. The cynical revival of nullification and interposition doctrines in an attempt to transform the struggle into a matter of constitutional principles.

8. The irreparable absence of sound facts and needed knowledge about what happens, and how, when, where and why in this period of major social change. The priceless opportunity for the use of available behavioral science skills, knowledge and manpower to gather facts systematically, to analyze them, and to make them available not only as contributions to knowledge but also as guides to social policy and action, is now going begging. The reasons for this are many, but above all, it is symptomatic of the strange and costly confusion and paralysis that beset many who are committed by definition to positive American values and human relations.

Favorable to Fulfillment

1. School desegregation accomplished or firmly scheduled in whole or significant parts: Washington, D.C., Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Texas and Arkansas.

2. Official acceptance and support of law at state level, but "go slow": Tennessee and Florida.

3. Support of organized groups and action agencies whose efforts are largely uncoordinated: resolutions of major Protestant denominations in South and affirmative acts and statements of Catholic hierarchy in selected communities; foundation support of enlarged activities of Southern Regional Council and twelve state affiliates (goal: influencing opinion leaders); NAACP (legal measures); and different degrees and types of involvement of Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Friends Service Committee, and local branches of the Urban League.

4. Generally favorable national press and magazines; continuance of probably less than a half dozen "liberal" southern papers.

5. The existence in practically every community of (a) those who are above all disposed to be law-abiding, (b) those who oppose objectives and/or tactics of those who are fighting or delaying the implementation of the decision. (The latter tend to ask individually "What can we do?", and for the most part they are without organization, leadership and effective communication among themselves;) and (c) of Negroes in predominant numbers who continue to display faith in democratic processes, and determination and courage in working for human and constitutional rights.

6. The valiant attempt of many to clarify and to keep the essential issues and values straight; to reiterate the position that desegregation of schools is the law of the land, and that the health of American democracy, improved human relations locally, and the persistence and improvement of public school education for all are paramount.

7. The solitary effort of the Southern School News to keep the record--to report objectively desegregation developments. Scattered and fragmentary data gathering and research operations.

Given, on the one hand, the Unitarian Service Committee's purposes and its record of responsible and fruitful activity in the field of human relations and, on the other hand, facts and trends such as outlined above, the Unitarian Service Committee, through its Department of Community Service--USA sought answers to these questions: What should be the Unitarian Service Committee's role in this crucial area of human relations? How, specifically, can the Unitarian Service Committee best carry out its responsibility? In brief, are the approach and the field technique of the Unitarian Service Committee valid for meeting the kinds of community problems that are laid bare by the desegregation process?

The Philosophy and Method of
the Unitarian Service Committee

Since 1940 the Unitarian Service Committee has operated as a non-sectarian, voluntary service agency; it was independently incorporated in 1948. It has initiated and supervised pilot demonstration field projects, and selected and trained field teams for them, in the United States and Mexico, and in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Unitarian Service Committee, with inter-professional teams, has worked in many fields vitally affecting human relations: social work; medical and health service; education and teacher training; community development; child care and youth programs. Extensive experience has proved the validity of the team approach and given support to the conviction that pilot demonstration projects are sound tools for working in the local community with local people in meeting human needs.

In all of its work the emphasis has been on a community development approach. The prime purposes of the Unitarian Service Committee projects are to reinforce existing local leadership and to discover new leadership in order that the people themselves will be able to, and will want to, carry on and support programs started with the assistance of the professional teams we provide and train. Characteristically, these teams are composed of persons from various disciplines whose training, skills and experience complement each other.

Experience in such projects has shown that the best way to get answers to questions, involvement and effective procedures, is, first, to explore systematically every aspect of the problem, with the help of advisors and consultants having special knowledge and competence. As a measure, not only of its approach but also of the priority given a project in this major problem area, in late 1954, the Unitarian Service Committee allotted money from the budget of Community Service--USA for exploratory work. In the summer of 1954, with the cooperation of Atlanta University, a confer-

was sponsored by the Unitarian Service Committee at Atlanta University. There, staff representatives and consultants discussed with a group of professional and lay people in the South the question of the Unitarian Service Committee's involvement and the general shape of a possible program. The report of this conference was reproduced for circulation and became the basis for the further discussion and exploration of what was tentatively called "The Statewide Education Project". Since that conference, staff members and consultants have visited numerous communities, talked with and exchanged correspondence with numerous persons throughout the country, weighed trends and day-by-day developments, exchanged staff memoranda, and reported frequently to the advisory and directing boards of the Unitarian Service Committee. In this process, some of the thinking and many of the suggestions of the Atlanta Conference in 1954 have been modified. However, the basic notion that this area is one in which the Unitarian Service Committee can make a needed, and in many ways unique, contribution has been reaffirmed and strengthened by exposure to critical examination and testing. In the process, the staff has acquired the knowledge and the sensitivity to field realities that enables it now to submit concrete proposals.

## The Proposal

In the spring of 1955, after visits to several communities in Tennessee, staff members began to give priority in thinking and planning to Tennessee as a state that met many of the conditions for a Unitarian Service Committee pilot demonstration project.

Among the important facts about Tennessee are:

1) the strategic mid-south location and the socio-economic differences among the three major sections of the state;

2) the position taken by the Governor and state officials that the court decision will be respected in Tennessee and that the mechanics of the process of desegregation will be left to local communities;

3) the Governor's and state officials' forthright resistance to the pressure and intimidation by organized pro-segregationists active in Tennessee and in surrounding states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia;

4) the scheduled orderly desegregation of state colleges over a four-year period; and

5) significant evidences in many local communities of citizen and official leadership committed to, and working for, community and school improvement and for better human relations.

The Unitarian Service Committee proposes to set up a community organization field project, first in one community and later in other communities to be chosen in Tennessee. The project would be staffed in the field by an interprofessional team of three persons, consisting of a person experienced in community organization; a group worker with specific experience in youth work, health or adult education; a social science analyst, with a social psychologist as special consultant. The project would be designed to last at least two years in order to assure maximum effectiveness and the accumulation of a body of experience and knowledge that can be

shared. The possibility of working in communities of different types means that important comparable experience and data will be obtained and made available. The aim of the project will be to make available trained personnel and resources to citizens of a community who need and want that service. The field team, under supervision, will seek to foster and help to guide the democratic participation of all segments or levels of the population in tackling a specific local problem or problems that affect directly or indirectly community development. The emphasis, as in all Unitarian Service Committee projects, shall be upon democratic values and practices and the practical demonstration of the manner in which they reinforce and are reinforced by people planning and acting together on specific tasks for the betterment of the local community.

During final exploration, the Unitarian Service Committee staff has been assured by several local organizations in more than one community that invitations to make such a team available to groups in such local communities would be forthcoming as soon as the Unitarian Service Committee is ready to proceed with pinpointing the field project.

The specifics of the project would depend obviously upon where the community is--in terms of location and social climate, local resources, local definitions of problems and expectations, and the pattern of local power and control. Once a community or alternate communities are settled upon, the description of these features would be the first and necessary task. Although field reconnaisance or the experience-survey need not necessarily be assigned to the field team that is to take up residence, it must be considered the first step in actual field operations.

Submitted by:

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In February, 1956, the Department of Community Service--USA, of the Unitarian Service Committee asked *Dr. Kenneth B. Clark and *Dr. Hylan Lewis to undertake a two-week survey in selected southern states--Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina--to observe developments related to the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation.

Portions of the trip were made jointly. Visits were made to many communities in these states and hundreds of persons from all walks of life were consulted, both formally and informally.

The attached are excerpts from the memorandum Dr. Clark prepared for the Unitarian Service Committee.

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are consultants to the Department of Community Service--USA, Unitarian Service Committee, in program development in the field of Desegregation-Integration.

May 15, 1956

Issued by:
Community Service--USA
Matilda Moore, Director

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## I. Purpose of Trip

During the past year there has been an apparent hardening of opposition to the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court which ruled that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional. Organized and systematic attempts at defiance of this ruling have been particularly acute in such "hard core" states as Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia. The intensity of this opposition seems to have increased since the Supreme Court handed down its implementation decree on May 31, 1955.

The attempt on the part of the Supreme Court to be "reasonable" in permitting the Federal District Courts to take into account "local conditions" and to permit "additional time" in the transition from segregated to non-segregated schools has been used by prosegregationists as an opportunity to mobilize intense resistance to any desegregation of public schools, and in some cases parochial schools. They have used the time so far to develop schemes for evasion and subterfuges; to encourage talk of interposition and nullification; and to incite the passions of the people. There is no evidence that they have been working "in good faith" toward a solution of the real problems involved in a transition from segregated to non-segregated public schools.

The success or failure in ... "hard core" states may well determine what happens in such neighboring states as Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and North Carolina. In the light of this fact and the rapidity of changes in the pattern of racial relations in the communities in this region of the country, it seemed desirable to obtain current information through direct field observation.

Some pertinent questions are:

What is the nature, extent, and depth of the present opposition to public school desegregation?

How do the White Citizens' Councils and similar organizations operate? Who backs them? What is their political significance? What are their methods? How do they appeal to whites? Who are the whites who are most influenced? What are their long-range and short-range plans and propaganda goals?

What is the effect of the White Citizens' Councils on Negroes? Have they succeeded in intimidating Negroes? How have they influenced the activities of the NAACP in these states?

What is the state of morale among Negroes? . . . Who are the Negro leaders in the local communities in these states? How effective are they?

What forms of communication exist between whites and Negroes in these states today?

Have race relations deteriorated in these states since the Supreme Court decisions? What are the chances of . . . violence?

What does the Negro expect to happen? Does he really expect desegregation of the public schools and desegregation in other areas of life? What do Negroes think should be done to implement these Court decisions?

What local variations exist? What accounts for the observed variations?

What type of implementation program is likely to be appropriate and effective in the present social and political climate in these states?

These questions are answered in terms of information attained from discussions with Negroes. The answers, therefore, reflect the Negro's view of the present situation in these states. Some information was obtained from the few whites who were interviewed in Birmingham, Alabama. The information presented here reflects a combination of the writer's notes, recollections, inferences, impressions, and his general observations. The reliability and value of this report must be judged in the light of these conditions.

## II. Observations and Findings

### A. Nature, Extent, and Depth of Opposition to Desegregation

It is difficult to gauge the intensity and depth of opposition to public school desegregation in these states. On the one hand, if one were to judge by the quality and quantity of the newspapers' treatment of this problem, the statements of politicians, the number of evasive and punitive statutes introduced in the state legislatures, and incidents such as the Autherine Lucy case it would seem that the opposition to desegregation is intense and adamant in these states at this time. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the masses of white people have yet expressed the degree of intense and emotional opposition to desegregation which their political leaders and the Southern press would seek to arouse.

Negroes in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, told of whites who come to them secretly, expressing sympathy and their hope that the Negro will be successful in his fight for freedom.... In Alabama and South Carolina, Negro leaders also described clandestine and surreptitious contacts with sympathetic whites who dared not make known their sympathy with the aspirations of the Negroes for fear of reprisals...

. . .

Direct observation of local communities in these Southern states leaves the curious impression that in spite of seemingly effective newspaper propaganda against any form of desegregation, there still appears to be a large number of whites who are uncommitted and who do not seem to be particularly excited one way or the other about this problem. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of such whites for reasons which will be made clear in this report. Public opinion polls and referenda are not necessarily valid indicators of their numbers. It appears that these individuals, if asked to verbalize their attitudes, feelings, and opinions by someone whom they either do not know or who they have reason to believe expects an expression of the prevailing opinion, will tend to express an opinion which conforms to the propaganda. These individuals, for various reasons, are not likely to be a party to racial hysteria or violence. They are also not likely to take any public stand against those who preach racial hatred or indulge in violence. And they are certainly not likely to take a public stand in favor of the Negro or desegregation.

In Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, a very small number of whites... were found who publicly aligned themselves with the cause of the Negro...

In the light of the severity and complexity of the coercive pressures exerted upon whites, preventing them from expressing opinions which are contrary to those expressed by their newspapers or politicians in these states, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine at this time the real nature, extent, and depth of opposition to public school desegregation in these states. This is particularly true since a small minority of whites control the newspapers and political power in this region of the country.... Furthermore, a very small minority of whites in a given community may incite and perpetrate violence which then may be interpreted as an expression of the feelings and attitudes of the vast majority of the people in that community. As a Negro observer in South Carolina sees it:

> "There is no need for the Negro to get excited... His everyday contact with the white man hasn't changed... If they were mean, they are still mean. If they were polite, they are still polite. When you go in a store downtown they still are eager to wait on you and get your money. They say, 'Yes, sir. May I help you, sir?' "

B. White Citizens' Councils - Their Organization, Effect on Whites, and Goals

. . .

An outstanding fact about the White Citizens' Councils in these states is the extent of encouragement and organizational stimulation which they receive from public officials and local and national politicians. Organizational and general meetings of these Councils are widely publicized in newspapers and on the radio....

Some of these Councils pay for radio time advertising their meetings. They receive, however, a great deal of free space in the newspapers in the form of announcements of meetings and news articles. When a nationally known figure such as Senator Eastland speaks at these meetings, his words are carried by the local press and transmitted to other newspapers throughout the nation by means of the wire services.

It appears that the White Citizens' Councils follow in the wake of racial incidents. For example, in the Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, and Birmingham region recently there seemed to have been an intensive organizational drive. In every community the leadership in these councils is drawn from among the political leaders and public officials....

A white professional man in...Alabama, who has the confidence of some of the more reputable politicians in that state and who has been a victim of reprisals of the White Citizens' Council...maintains that the...Councils are being organized and controlled, for the most part, by the same people who were behind the Dixiecrat movement....

...The White Citizens' Councils are not to be understood exclusively or even primarily in terms of the race problem. There is reason to believe that the leaders...are exploiting the present desegregation issue in order to obtain or strengthen their political control and power. They use the methods of incessant newspaper and radio propaganda; they appeal to the passions and latent and overt racial prejudices of the masses of whites; and they are ruthless in

preventing any expression of dissenting opinion among moderate or sympathetic whites.

. . .

...The leaders of the White Citizens' Councils movement seem concerned at the present with building a mass political organization which will be indistinguishable from, and, hopefully, more successful than, the Dixiecrats. If they are successful in doing so they will wrest the political power from the more moderate or liberal Southern politicians. There is little doubt that they will be on the extreme right - not only on issues of race, but on ..... labor and other social, economic and international issues..... They have influenced Southern labor leaders and other minority groups and have muted opposition from within the churches. The Catholic Church is a notable exception.

In the pursuit of their ends they are concentrating appropriate propaganda on the Northern moderate white press and political leaders. They are appealing to Northerners, not without some success, to recognize that the Supreme Court decisions were a mistake and are unenforceable. They insist that Southern racial traditions are unchangeable and they point to incidents of violence, which they incite, as proof of their contentions. They have been successful in creating the impression that the NAACP is an extremist group, that it is subversive, intolerant, bent upon the mongrelization of the white race, and should be outlawed. In effect, the anti-NAACP propaganda of the White Citizens' Councils has made the NAACP the most feared, hated and misunderstood organization in these Southern states.

C. Effect of the White Citizens' Councils on Negroes

Throughout the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, one fact emerges with...clarity and consistency; namely, that the White Citizens' Councils, in spite of their tremendous propaganda, have not succeeded in intimidating Negroes. Every Negro with whom this problem was discussed stated that the Negroes in his state, in general, were calm and fearless in the face of...the White Citizens' Councils. Negroes are curious about these Councils; they have no illusions about them.... Even in those areas where there has been violence against Negroes, they have remained calm, stolid, and unwilling to retreat in their insistence upon their rights as citizens.... Negroes report that the more publicity that is given to the White Citizens' Councils, the greater is the solidarity and unity of purpose.... The NAACP has been most strengthened in those communities where the White Citizens' Councils have been most active or strident.

School teachers and other Negroes who are dependent upon the white community for their livelihood are most vulnerable in the anti-NAACP drive of the White Citizens' Councils. In many communities these individuals have been told that membership in the NAACP will be sufficient cause for dismissal....

D. Morale Among Negroes

Negro informants in all of these states spontaneously and independently agreed that they had never seen the morale of the Negro any higher than it is today.... For example, he looks upon the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama with an intense and fierce pride. The Southern Negro now profoundly believes in his own humanity and equality.... He now appears to be sure of his dignity

to the point where he need neither grovel nor be arrogant.

... A Negro porter told this observer that the Southern white man is "scared and panicky." "He is going through all these motions to try to scare the Negro, but he is only scaring himself. They die hard. Everything those old die-hards do just make the Negro that much stronger."

When one raised the possibility that there are Negroes who are not in favor of desegregation and who might be working with whites who are opposed to the aspirations of the Negro people, one gains the impression that while there are a few such Negroes, they do not have any influence in the Negro community.... One Negro leader in South Carolina said, "The Uncle Toms are not only discredited in the eyes of Negroes, but the whites have found out that they have been lying to them. They now know that those Negroes who told them that Negroes did not want integration were just liars." ...

(In some instances)it seems as if the Negroes have developed a technique wherein those Negroes who are acceptable to whites are not rejected by the militant Negro leaders.... This type of relationship...may reflect more clearly the liaison and double role of many Negroes who are considered "safe" by the controlling whites.

E. New Type of Negro Leaders

The new type of Negro leaders who are emerging in the South are for the most part young men, generally college-trained individuals who, though soft-spoken, are clear in their goals and methods. They are by no means fanatics or demagogues. A description of one of the leaders of the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott may be used as an example of the type of Negro leadership now found in these Southern states.

Reverend Martin L. King, Jr., is 27 years old and a graduate of Morehouse College and has a Ph.D in philosophy from Boston University. He is ... articulate, intelligent...with an inherent dignity and calm. He discusses the issues of the boycott and the general problem of race relations in Alabama and the South, not only without venom, but without apparent emotion. He...recognizes the relationship between the success or failure of...the Montgomery Negroes;...the total problem of racial justice in America and the more complex problems of international relations.... He is profoundly concerned with the fundamental issues of the nature of justice and democracy. He is neither cynical nor sentimental; he does not expect miracles nor does he accept the cliches of gradualism or "we are not ready." He contends that human beings are always ready for justice.

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... The major signs of emotional stress are to be found in the wives of these younger Negro leaders. On the whole these wives admire and respect the work which their husbands are doing. They know that it is imperative that this work be done; but at the same time they verbalize to anyone in whom they have confidence their fear and anxiety about the personal safety of their husbands and their children....

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F. Communication Between Whites and Negroes

Most of the Negroes who discussed the problem of communication between whites and Negroes generally described a form of...personal contacts with moderate whites. These whites, who generally had some type of personal and professional relationship with individual Negroes, would express general sympathy for the cause of the Negro and at times a willingness to help. They would also, however, indicate a sense of futility in the face of the overwhelming pressures....

The Negro leaders in South Carolina were asked what precautions were being taken to prevent the White Citizens' Councils from knowing about their plans in the fight for desegregation. They stated that they took no precautions because everything that they did was done publicly. They felt no need for secrecy....

. . .

... A lawyer...stated that he had reliable sources of information through confidential white contacts concerning the activities of the White Citizens' Councils.... In ...(another state)... leaders ... described close and confidential contacts and conversations with some white individuals who have fairly high political positions. These leaders, however, have no illusions about the possibility that these individuals will take a public stand in the favor of the position of Negroes in the present climate....

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G. The Supreme Court Decision and the State of Race Relations

A recent survey of opinion of selected Southern editors by the United States News and World Report (February 24, 1954) showed that almost all of the 15 editors interviewed believed that race relations in the South have deteriorated since the United States Supreme Court decision....

This article received widespread publicity in Southern newspapers. The general statement that race relations have deteriorated since the United States Supreme Court decision seems to be accepted uncritically by large numbers of Northern individuals, whites and Negroes, and by almost all Southern whites. Southern Negro leaders, however, do not share this general impression. Many of the individuals talked to in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina spontaneously expressed the opinion that they have never seen the morale of the Negro so high. When they were questioned specifically about...deterioration of race relations they all agreed that while things were now more open and tense, there was no fundamental worsening of race relations. In fact, many of them believed that there is an improvement in those aspects of race relations which are related to progress. The very tensions and increase in incidents reflect a refusal of Negroes to continue to accept injustice and an inferior status.... They point out that it is important to make the distinction between stagnation, apathy, and an acceptance of the denial of rights on the one hand, and good race relations on the other. The Montgomery incident, the Autherine Lucy incident, and similar incidents which Negroes anticipate and are preparing for are not to them signs of the worsening of race relations, but are signs of the growing strength and systematic insistence of the Negro for full rights as an American citizen. As Negroes continue to assert these pressures there will be increased resistance on the part of power-controlling whites and those whites whom they influence.

The present situation may be more accurately described not as deterioration in race relations, but as the inevitable tensions, stresses, and strains which manifest themselves whenever a social system is in a state of transition. It would seem axiomatic that the more fundamental the social change which is taking place, the more intense are the transitional tensions. The sophisticated Negro leaders in these states appear to understand this and are not too deeply concerned about what others interpret as a deterioration in race relations....

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... The struggles of the Negro against...injustices are not signs of deterioration in race relations, but are symptoms of his present refusal to accept and accommodate to the "white man's" concept of his traditional "place." For the Negro, race relations in the South were never "good" as long as he remained the victim of arbitrary racial discrimination and segregation....

H. Chances of Violence

Negroes are generally not unaware of the possibility of localized or widespread violence being unleashed against them. They neither exaggerate nor underestimate this possibility. They believe that the incessant subtle and at times flagrant propaganda of the White Citizens' Councils may stimulate violence among the more stable elements of the white population.

Rumors of violence seem to be one of the techniques employed to spread racial hysteria by some of the prosegregationist groups....

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Probably the outstanding indication of the high caliber of leadership of those who head the Montgomery boycott is the fact that they have successfully controlled any expressions of violence initiated by Negroes. This accomplishment was not necessarily easy....

Unfortunately, in many communities in the South the Negro is not only prepared to die for his rights; he is also prepared, if he must, to meet violence with violence. Responsible Negro leaders are working desperately to prevent the development of this type of chaos. They recognize the futility and inherent tragedy of violence and believe that the legal and community organization approach to the attainment of their citizenship rights is at present effective and eventually will be successful.

I. What the Southern Negro Expects

... Negroes...do not expect the masses of white men to change "overnight" and change...racial prejudices to...brotherly love. The Negro expects delaying tactics, evasive schemes, subterfuges, and violence. He is convinced, however,

that these will fail and he will obtain his rights as an American citizen within the foreseeable future. He certainly does not believe that he is fighting a losing battle. He believes that his die-hard opponents are the ones who are on the losing side. He also believes that these racial fanatics know that they are going to lose and that this accounts for their desperation and adamance.

. . .

... They do not expect that all schools will be desegregated because of patterns of residential segregation and because of the concentration of the Negro population in certain rural areas. They do believe that all schools will be improved in physical plant and in educational standards. They believe also that in the transitional period the Negro teacher, particularly those who are least prepared and qualified, will be the most convenient casualty or victim.

Negroes...believe that as a group they are better prepared for this than were their forefathers for the first emancipation. They expect to be free to use all public, tax-supported facilities without restrictions based upon race. They expect to register and vote like any other citizen without fear of bodily harm. They expect that they will continue to improve their economic status and to be granted wider...employment opportunities. They expect that their children will be able to grow, live, and be educated without the handicaps of flagrant racial oppression, discrimination, and segregation....

J. <u>What Should Be Done to Implement the Supreme Court Decisions</u>

A Negro laborer in Jackson, Mississippi stated: "You want to know what should be done to get integration in Mississippi? I'll tell you. It's not hard. You know, when the laws were against us, they enforced them. Now that the laws are for us, they should enforce them. The Supreme Court said that segregation was unconstitutional. This is supposed to be the law of the land. But it won't mean a thing unless it is enforced. What is the use of telling me that it ain't legal to segregate me and I see that they are still segregating me and that the politicians and the police are helping them to segregate me and putting me in jail if I try to obey the law. A law ain't worth a thing unless it is enforced. Ain't no use in having a law unless it's gonna be enforced. As I said before, when the laws were against us, they enforced them all right. Now that the Supreme Court has spoken they should have some way for the government in Washington to enforce the law and protect us. If they do that - and put some of these crackers in jail - we wouldn't have any trouble and this integration thing would take care of itself."

Many Negro leaders say the same thing in more sophisticated language but with no more incisive logic. Almost all Negroes interviewed believe that some form of Federal intervention will be necessary to counteract the power of the local press and politicians if the Negro is to be protected in his quest for full citizenship rights. They point to the fact that there are some communities in these states that are willing to desegregate their schools but are prevented from doing so by pressure from state politicians rather than local sentiment....

. . .

Negro leaders agree that an effective campaign to induce Negroes to register and vote in local, state, and national elections must be developed parallel

to the desegregation drive. They believe that it is necessary to bring home to the Negro in a dramatic form the importance of his vote in order to overcome the residue of past discouragement of all voting activity among them. Furthermore, incidents of violence perpetrated against Negroes who attempt to register and vote must be prevented. These incidents, by the way, have not been frequent in urban areas, but have been more dramatic in rural areas....

In these communities in which a substantial number of Negroes vote, already white politicians are secretly seeking their support. As the number of Negro voters increases it is to be expected that these secret appeals will become more and more open. This may be one way of breaking up the monolithic political structure which now characterizes these Southern states. This fear may account for the racial panic which grips the present political leaders.

Negroes do not believe that these states, if "left alone to work out their own problems," will voluntarily grant the Negro his rights as an American citizen, gradually or at all. They see the arguments for "gradualism" as a desire to postpone these rights indefinitely.... They point to the fact that every single advance in race relations came about as a result of legal or executive pressure from the national government which the state governments only reluctantly accepted. Not one of these states has itself initiated a program for amelioration or solution of a racial problem....

The need for some form of effective Federal enforcement is imperative unless the nation is willing to run the risk of widespread chaos in a large region of this country or unless the Negro is successful in obtaining his citizenship rights by his own efforts without provoking violent repercussions. This latter possibility seems unlikely.

K. Nature of Local Variations

. . .

As far as this observer could see there were (few) significant differences among Negroes in the various communities visited.... High morale, intelligent and responsible leadership, impatient patience, pride, dignity, calm insistence upon their rights as citizens, open or covert support for the NAACP, courage in the face of the threat or the smell of violence, awed admiration for the Negroes of Montgomery and for Autherine Lucy were the rule with very few observed exceptions.

The climate of white opinion in a given community could be judged only by the newspapers, the printed letters to the editors, and spasmodic reports of Negroes. With the exception of the Atlanta Constitution, which tries to maintain a fairly high level of journalistic competence and objectivity, and to a lesser extent the Birmingham News, the newspapers in the communities visited in these four states seemed definitely biased in their editorial position, in the amount of news devoted to the activities of the White Citizens' Councils in their local signed columns, in the selection of letters to the editor which are published.

It must be pointed out, however, that almost all of these newspapers gave full or adequate coverage to racial news, even when the particular story is not quite flattering to the "Southern way of life." This was true also of the local radio and television news programs.

It appears to this observer that the specific climate of race relations and the degree of racial emotionality among whites in a given community reflect the quality and caliber of the local political leadership and the degree of professional objectivity of the local press. It appears also that if racial hysteria were to reach a point of explosive violence in a given community - unless directly instigated by outside forces - irresponsible politicians and irresponsible journalism should be held accountable.

## III Effective Implementation Program

An effective implementation program should be appropriate to the present social and political realities which now prevail in these Southern states. An effective project...should take into account the following summary impressions:

1. The Negro is determined to press for his full and unqualified rights as an American citizen.

2. He has organized himself and is dedicated to obtain these rights, in spite of intense resistance or violence against him, in these states in which he lives in such large numbers. There is no likelihood of migration of significant numbers of Negroes from the South in the near future.

3. He has not been intimidated by the activities of the White Citizens' Councils. In fact, the more desperate, rigid, or cruel these groups behave, the more unified and determined do Negroes become - the greater is their solidarity....

4. The number of Negroes who are willing to advocate publicly a compromise or postponement of fundamental citizenship rights has... decreased almost to the vanishing point.

5. Resistance to these aspirations of Negroes seems to have increased or has become more open among some Southern white politicians and newspaper publishers.

6. The White Citizens' Councils are controlled and directed by a... group of prominent politicians and Southern industrial, financial, and religious leaders.... In all of the Southern states where the White Citizens' Councils have been organized they are led by... right-wing politicians....

7. There is evidence that the leaders of the White Citizens' Councils are exploiting with sophisticated cynicism the racial passions of their followers - for the most part white laborers, farmhands, and millworkers - in an attempt to build a strong grass-roots, right-wing political movement which they hope will be more successful than the Dixiecrat movement.

8. An undetermined number of moderate, middle-class or intellectual whites are being made the victims of intense pressures to conform to the prevailing opinions of the controlling politicians and the extreme racial fanatics. These whites cannot ordinarily express publicly an opinion in opposition to these forces without running the risks of name calling, social ostracism, or

threats to their personal safety....

9. Public officials, police authorities, the press, and all sources of official power in the larger community are, with few exceptions, openly aligned on the side of the white oligarchy and against the aspirations of the Negro. This present political and social system may best be described by the term "ethnocracy," wherein the state and community political and police powers are arbitrarily and invariably used in any dispute between whites and Negroes on the side of the whites and at the expense of the Negro....

10. On the side of the white defender of the status quo are vast economic and political powers; almost complete control of the press; the timidity or alliance of Southern church denominations; realistic fears of non-conformity; the confusion, bewilderment and traditional racial prejudices of Southern white middle-class and intellectuals; and the vascillation of Northern whites.

11. On the side of the Negroes are the clarity and firmness of the United States Supreme Court and the power and integrity of the Federal judiciary; the high morale of Southern Negroes due largely to Court decisions, the activities of the NAACP, the fact that Negroes have helped to fight two world wars for democracy for others and have become infected with the desire for democracy for themselves also; the wide publicity given to even isolated instances of racial injustices or unrest; the vast economic and industrial changes which are taking place in the South (shift from a plantation to an industrial economy) which are inconsistent with past racial patterns - the danger that the rate of industrialization, the attraction of northern capital, will be retarded if there is widespread racial unrest or related social and political instability; the American tradition of social and political democracy; the present international situation and the peculiar role of America as a would-be leader of the anti-communist democratic world.

12. Negroes are as persistent in their demands for their rights as American citizens as the controlling white economic, political, and press powers are rigid and insistent upon the preservation of the racial status quo.... There appears to be little room or desire for compromise.

. . .

. . .

The following program suggestions appear to be appropriate...if the Supreme Court's decision is to be implemented....:

1. A program designed to insure the right of the Negro to register and vote and continue to work openly for desegregation with impunity must be developed. Such a program must assure that individuals who work within the framework of the law toward these

ends can do so without fear for their personal safety and that of their families....

2. Effective techniques and methods for official or grass-roots communication between whites and Negroes on the local and state level should be encouraged....

3. ... A program designed to protect the undetermined number of Southern white citizens who are at present not free to express a dissenting opinion from those of the extreme racial fanatics.... It may well be necessary to publicize their plight and to appeal to white churches to protect, if not encourage, these whites if they dare to speak out.... Furthermore, national labor leaders must be made to see the degree to which anti-Negro activity of local labor leaders is not only self-defeating on the local scene, but is a threat to the stability of the entire labor movement....

4. ...(A)program to counter the propaganda of the White Citizens' Councils in the Northern press must be developed and sustained. Specifically, it appears that the propagandists for the Southern point of view have succeeded in equating their point of view with what is considered "objective" or "moderate"; painting the NAACP as another equally intolerable opposite extreme of the white fanatics; and presenting the issue of the constitutional rights of Negroes in terms of the non-relevant issues of "Southern tradition," intermarriage, and the general inferiority of the Negro.

   This increasingly successful propaganda must be counteracted by clear and repeated statements of the basic issue of the rights of American citizens to equality before the law and the demands of Negroes for the unqualified benefits and responsibilities of American citizenship. The goal of the present Southern propaganda is to confuse this basic issue and bewilder Northern and Southern white liberals by concentrating attention upon the more emotional side issues. If they are successful in this they will succeed in postponing desegregation indefinitely, and Americans who believe in democracy will lose by default.

5. It is conceivable that the next legal attack...could be fought in terms of tax-payers' suits brought by Negroes to prohibit the use of public funds, which obviously include tax money collected from Negroes, by these states in litigation and legislative devices designed to deny the Negro his rights as an American citizen and as a citizen of the particular state....

. . .

# VENTURE

FEBRUARY 1957

PUBLISHED BY THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE INC.

# USC BOARD MEETING IN CHICAGO

**Members of the Board in Chicago November 17 are: (left to right) Dr. Daniel S. Cheever, Samuel H. Morgan, Dr. Harry C. Meserve, Rev. Harry B. Scholefield, Dr. Wilburn B. Miller, Hon. J. Ray Shute, Mrs. George W. Pieksen, Rev. Robert W. Sonen, Dr. Frank Z. Glick, Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, John F. Partridge, Mrs. Elbridge F. Stoneham, Albert S. Bigelow, John C. Kidneigh, Milton A. Dewey, Miss Susan M. Lee, McKeen Cattell, M.D., Arthur J. Altmeyer.**

**Each year one of the four meetings of the USC Board of Directors will be held outside Boston to help build national support, and to bring other communities closer to the functioning of the USC. In connection with this Board meeting, two public meetings were held and eleven Chicago pulpits filled by members of the Board and staff on Nov. 18, "Unitarian Service Committee Sunday."**

**Shown in the background is the new portable five-panel USC display available to local groups on request.**

# CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION STRENGTHENED

**For the second year, young people in the Unitarian Society of Wellesley Hills, Mass., have planned and been responsible for the Community USC Campaign. Working with Dr. William B. Rice in the church office are Philip Bertocci, Anne Parker, Chairman, and Sara MacGilvra.**

Headed by Peter I. B. Lavan, National Campaign Chairman, campaign leadership expanded to include four National Vice Chairmen and twenty-one Regional Chairmen. 235 local church and fellowship chairmen and their committees planned and organized campaigns in their communities, an increase of 55% of cooperating groups.

This group of interested and hard-working volunteers raises the funds necessary for keeping USC's work a continuing reality. In the closing weeks of the campaign many groups responded vigorously with added support for the Hungarian emergency program.

# USC VOLUNTEERS HELP IN MANY WAYS

## HOSPITALITY

**USC French interns Dr. Solange Trouillet (left) and Dr. Claire Hossenlopp (right) look over the operating room equipment at Beverly Hospital (Mass.), accompanied by Mrs. Bradford E. Gale, Church Coordination Chairman of the Metropolitan Boston region for the USC, and Dr. Richard E. Alt, Director of Research, Beverly Hospital. Local USC groups have entertained the nine interns from France serving in hospitals along the Atlantic seaboard.**

## CLOTHING DRIVES

**Bloomington, Ind., Unitarian Fellowship spearheaded community Hungarian Relief Drive for donations and clothing. Excellent publicity and interpretation of USC work resulted as well as 700 pounds of clothing and $150. Shown packing donated clothing are (left to right) Mrs. Robert Kraft, Chairman, Mrs. William Estes, and Mrs. Bernard Perry. This group is one of many churches and fellowships who have generously responded. We regret space does not permit full public recognition of all groups.**

## AMONG OUR OUTSTANDING VOLUNTEERS

Bradford Bachrach

**Mrs. Crary Young**

Mrs. Crary (Ruth) Young of South Woodstock, Conn., a graduate of Simmons College School of Social Work, is well known in Southern New England for her devotion to the purposes of the Unitarian Service Committee. As Regional Chairman of that area, Mrs. Young assists eighty churches to develop interest and support for the USC. In addition, she has given generously of her time and energies for speaking engagements in the last three years, and will continue with this responsibility.

Albert S. ("Bert") Bigelow of Cos Cob, Conn., National Vice-Chairman of the Unitarian Service Committee, inspires local USC groups with his interpretation of the Committee's program in a dozen major speaking engagements throughout the country each year. Mr. Bigelow is a renowned portrait and marine artist, and has been a member of the USC Board of Directors since 1949.

**Albert S. Bigelow**

## FOR ASSISTANCE AT EJIDO EL PORVENIR COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

We salute Mr. and Mrs. George Morgan of Los Angeles, Calif., volunteers who coordinate all contributions sent to the hospital and represent USC in this continuing project. Individuals and groups from San Diego, San Gabriel, L. A., and Santa Barbara among others have contributed materials and leadership as well as their skills in architectural plans, plumbing and carpentry. Dr. Harry Banoff, of Los Gatos, formerly of San Gabriel fellowship, was responsible for setting up the original medical services at the Ejido, Baja California, Mexico.

# NEW PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS

## COMMUNITY SERVICES

Dr. Hylan Lewis will join the Department of Community Services as Associate Director on February 1, as a result of demands of Unitarian groups for a consultant to help them to implement USC philosophy on a local level. Dr. Lewis has been released to accept this post by Atlanta University, where he has been Professor of Sociology and Managing Editor of *Phylon*, the Atlanta University Review. He is the author of *Blackways of Kent* and has served for the past 2½ years as consultant to the USC Community Services Department, of which Mrs. Dudley Moore is Director.

**Dr. Hylan Lewis**

**Placing the lintel over main entrance of Administration Building**

## CAMBODIA

Construction of the Rural Education Demonstration Center in Phnom Penh is moving ahead. The USC team is working closely with seven newly appointed members of the Cambodian teaching staff. It is expected that the school will be ready for the first class of 125 students in September, 1957. Miss Helen Fogg, Director of Social Work and Education Overseas, has recently returned from a supervisory field trip.

Dr. William Sheldon is on leave from Syracuse University for a special 8-month assignment to aid the Cambodians in the development of instructional materials. Additional staff is needed, and we are searching at the moment for three specialists, one in agriculture, one in industrial arts and one in home economics. In addition to their professional competence, these persons must have had teacher training experience, and an ability to communicate in the French language.

## RESETTLEMENT OF HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

USC emissaries to Eastern Europe, Rev. and Mrs. Zoltan Nagy, arrived in Vienna December 15, and have conferred with our German partner agency, Arbeiterwohlfahrt. They will arrange for the distribution of 14 tons of clothing and blankets shipped from the New York warehouse for Hungarian refugees. Mr. and Mrs. Nagy will give assistance to refugees, both those who do and those who do not wish to emigrate.

Groups desiring information on the resettlement of Hungarian individuals and families in this country should contact the New York office, 345 East 46th Street, where USC staff will be working closely with other agencies at Camp Kilmer.

**Rev. Zoltan Nagy**

THE Unitarian Service Committee's partnership with all peoples encircles the globe. Paul has said, "None of us liveth to himself; but we are members one of another. And if one member suffer, all the members suffer with him. And if one rejoice, all rejoice."

In just this spirit, Horace Mann dedicated himself to the development of an educational system that would bring opportunity and life to all the children of men. I believe that Horace Mann as an educator and as a Unitarian, would be proud of our training program for rural elementary school teachers in Cambodia, and, were he among us today, would be crusading in its behalf.

Ours is a partnership with peoples on this continent, too. We are intent on assisting Southern communities where the citizens want guidance on desegregation by sending them a team of social scientists. We are sponsoring in Washington, D. C., that city's first integrated Boys' Club, where boys of different races play and learn together that theirs is an important and perfectly natural partnership, also.

For several years, we have been operating a Community Center in Gallup, New Mexico, for the Navajo Indians, the largest Indian tribe in America today. We are not working for them, we are working with them, and they have learned to trust us.

Through the Unitarian Service Committee, you and I can be partners with all peoples everywhere, protecting the dignity of every man, and working for a better world.

DANA MCLEAN GREELEY, D.D.
*President, USC Board of Directors*

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Copies of VENTURE are available without charge in bulk quantities for your literature table or to mail out with church bulletins. Order from Public Relations Department, Unitarian Service Committee, 9 Park St., Boston 8, Mass.

H. Armstrong Roberts

**COVER:**
**A Navajo woman and baby. For hundreds of Navajo people, assistance is needed in making the adjustment from life on the reservation to that of modern American communities. At the Gallup Indian Community Center, the Unitarian Service Committee is helping the Navajos to make this transition. Through a trained staff of thirteen (six of them Navajos), recreation, hospitality, family services, citizenship education and vocational information are provided. Citizens of Gallup, New Mexico, will participate in a local campaign early in 1957 to supplement USC and program funds.**

March 8, 1957

Mr. Hylan Lewis
Associate Director
Community Service
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Nine Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Hy:

I was glad to learn that you were well underway in your new position and that you were pushing hard on the staffing of Knoxville. Certainly Knoxville is the key place in the South just now, and we are beginning to get urgings from some of the cooperating agencies that we stage an early inter-agency field meeting in Knoxville. As we agreed in our last conversation, it would be highly desirable for this to be deferred until your staff people are on the job. Therefore, I will be looking forward to hearing from you further about the progress of this effort.

I appreciate your writing us frankly about the approach to Galen Martin. Our position on matters of this kind is that staff members should have full and free opportunity to consider other employment opportunities in this field. Naturally, we should be sorry to see the Kentucky Council lose Galen Martin, but that is a decision for him, and only him, to make. If you get him, you will be getting a good man.

I haven't yet received the information which you said you were sending. Please make sure that there has been no slip, for it will be helpful to have written description of your program.

I hope we will find ourselves together soon. Meanwhile best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

HCF: I hope you don't mind the personal note. I don't know when I would write, though, so I took advantage of the opportunity.
Forgiven?
EAB

February 25, 1957

Mr. Hylan Lewis
Associate Director
Community Service
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Hy:

Harold is away until Monday, March 4th. I am sure he will be very much interested in seeing your letter of February 21st and the information about the Unitarian Service Committee's work which you are sending.

I miss seeing you and Audrey around and hope that before too long, here or in Boston, I will get a chance to see and talk with both of you. Prospects, however, are amazingly dismal from this side of the cat-bird seat.

Best of everything, always, to both of you.

Sincerely,

eab/

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

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*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

*International headquarters:*
9 PARK STREET
BOSTON 8, MASS.
CApitol 7-3660
*Cable address:*
UNSERCOM BOSTON

February 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As soon as I got to Boston last week, I briefed my colleagues on the January Conference of Agencies Working in the South and on the last conversations I had with you and Fred. They share my optimism about the newly demonstrated possibilities of inter-agency cooperation in both the South and the North. We are pleased to be a part of this design and effort and we are pressing hard now on the matter of personnel in order that we might put the USC-sponsored team into the field at Knoxville. We have lines on some good people. The enclosed copy of the letter to Fred indicates how close one of these lines comes to you. I hope your reaction will be what I presumptuously anticipate it will be.

I am sending for your information and/or files a copy of the report on the 1954 Atlanta conference, the 1956 proposal used in a request for funds, and some miscellaneous materials describing USC's policies and work.

Mrs. Moore and I hope that you will be able to drop in on us in Boston the next time you are up this way. In any event, the chances are good that we will see each other at the next CCD session that is called.

Best personal wishes to yourself -- and special greetings to Mrs. B.

Cordially,

HL

Hylan Lewis
Associate Director
Community Service--USA

HL:hms

enc.

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

February 21, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Many thanks for letting me know about the follow-through plans for Virginia. They look good. They are a remarkable indication of how far we have come during the past two years and a real earnest of the cooperative action we have long worked and hoped for. Please keep me in touch with developments and do not hesitate to call on me when indicated.

My first days here have been extremely busy what with Board meetings, getting oriented to new duties and a new pace, and getting settled in the apartment. Things are moving very well and I am pleased with the setup and high on what I am going to be doing.

During the first week of March I will leave for Chicago and I plan to spend two or three weeks in Greater Chicago during which I plan to regain my feel for the area and to talk with local groups about their program plans and possibilities. I will also go up to Madison while out there. Before I leave for this little trek, Mrs. Moore and I would like to move closer to settling on personnel for our Knoxville project. I know we share the feeling that it is imperative that we get a team of topnotch people in the field as soon as possible.

We appreciate the helpful suggestions you made about possible persons for Knoxville and we have weighed some of them along with others we already had. While I was in Philadelphia for the NAIRO meetings I talked informally with several persons there and got some leads. In sifting them, two or three persons have struck us as approximating the kinds of human relations' skills and equipment we would like to have on this project. One of these persons is Galen Martin of the Kentucky Council. We are interested in him as a possible person for one of the spots we have, but before we pursue this possibility any further, we hasten to tell you of our interest and to ask your blessing.

This is something more than protocol and a demonstration of ethics. Knowing we share the same concerns about "getting on with the business", I feel free to presume upon your understanding and cooperation in this instance.

Please let me have your reactions. As soon as we solve our personnel problems and get the team together, I will let you know the exact dates on which we plan to start field operations. We may have to call on you for some help for briefing before they actually go into the field.

Best personal wishes to yourself and colleagues.

Cordially,

Hylan Lewis
Associate Director
Community Service--USA

HL:hms

CC - Harold Fleming

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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UNSERCOM BOSTON

March 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 14 1957

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter and for your information and comment on Knoxville. We are in communication with Galen Martin and we will know his decision by this Friday, March 15th. If he decides to become a member of the Knoxville team, we would expect to start field operations there early in April. We will let you know as soon as we learn his decision.

Our procedure would be to bring Martin to Boston for briefing before he goes into the field. If all goes as we hope we will immediately call on you for any information and advice that you think would be useful for Galen Martin and us. I plan, under any circumstances, to get down to Knoxville in early April and this might be a good time for us to share appraisals and talk about the role of cooperating agencies and the projected inter-agency field meeting.

I have checked on the materials. I trust you have them by now. If there are any questions or if any clarification is needed, let me know.

Best regards to yourself and colleagues.

Sincerely,

Hylan

Hylan Lewis
Associate
Community Service--USA

HL:rr

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

April 4, 1957

Mr. Hylan Lewis
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Hy:

As Fred has written you, I have been travelling and this is the first chance I have had to answer your letter of March 19th.

I will be in the office for two weeks beginning Monday, April 8th, though our Executive Committee will be meeting on the 17th and 18th. If your schedule would permit you and Galen to be in Atlanta next week, it would be a real pleasure and benefit to discuss our common interests.

I hope this letter reaches you before you leave Boston and that, one way or another, we will be seeing you before long.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 27, 1957

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Hy:

In Harold's absence I answer your letter. We were sorry to see Galen Martin leave the Kentucky Council but we are happy that he will be working in the South and with a good guy like you. We would be glad to have you and Galen come by the office any time. You are always welcome. Our calendar, however, is fairly well loaded the first three weeks in April, but there are dates even in that period when either Harold or I could spend some time going over Knoxville plans. We have some excellent contacts in and around Knoxville and will be glad to cooperate in helping to bring more forces to bear in the Knoxville area.

Best personal regards to you and Galen.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

9 Park Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts CApitol 7-3660

March 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been here in Chicago for a week but I have just learned from Boston that Galen Martin has accepted . He will be in Boston on the 1st of April for some preliminary briefing. I will be back by that time and we hope that he will get started in Knoxville that first week in April. I am planning to go to Knoxville myself about the 8th or 9th of April. If you think it is indicated, Martin and I could arrange to come to Atlanta to talk with you and your staff around that time. If this is premature or if there are other alternatives, we can exchange views later.

Many thanks for your cooperation. We are pleased that at long last the Knoxville Project is about to become a field reality.

Best personal wishes to you and staff.

Sincerely,

Hy

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File

Unitarian Service Committee
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Summary Statement on USC Southern Community Project

May 22, 1957

The Unitarian Service Committee project in Knoxville is the result of more than three years' planning. It had its inception before the Supreme Court decision on public school segregation in May, 1954. At a time when the nation was anticipating this decision and some of the possible problems, particularly in local communities of the South, Mrs. Dudley Moore, the Director of Community Service-USA, raised questions with staff and the Advisory Committee about the role and program responsibilities of the USC in this area. Then began the period of careful exploration and planning during which answers were sought to three primary questions:

(1) Given the USC's purposes and philosophy and its record of creative service in this country and abroad, and given the human relations problems dramatized in an acute fashion by the Supreme Court decisions, is it desirable and feasible that it develop a project in this area?

(2) If there is a role that the USC might and should play, what should the nature of that project be?

(3) And, in what place or places might such a project be put into the field?

The process used to get responsible answers to these questions and to shape and find support for any proposed project was characteristic of the manner in which USC operates. It involved, among other things, the sponsoring of a two-day conference of professional and lay people from the South and North in Atlanta during the summer of 1954, where USC staff and consultants discussed these questions thoroughly; the use of Hylan Lewis, then Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, as a continuing consultant; numerous visits by staff and consultants to various communities, particularly in the South, for observation and talks with community leaders and professionals; communications with agencies and foundations interested and active in this area; and constant review of developments with staff, program committee, and Department Advisory Committee.

By late 1955 we were agreed on the general shape and purpose of a project that would involve making available a USC-type team of trained professionals, with community organization or human relations skills, to representative local groups in a community or communities in a Southern state. And by this time, we were certain that the state that provided the best opportunity for our type of project was Tennessee.

In 1956 we began conversations with representatives of local groups in Knoxville who were affiliated with an organization known as "The Joint Committee", a group interested in local problems related to the desegregation of schools. These representatives expressed an interest in having a USC team work with them on local problems. In April, 1956 the purpose, the shape and the proposed location for our project were specified in a formal application for funds to a major foundation. This statement, "A Proposal for a Community Service Pilot Integration Project", pointed out:

> "...The prime purpose of Unitarian Service Committee projects are to reinforce existing local leadership and to discover new leadership in order that the people themselves will be able to, and will want to, carry on and support programs started with the assistance of professional teams we provide... Characteristically, these teams are composed of persons from various disciplines....
>
> ...The aim of the (Knoxville) project will be to make available trained personnel and resources to citizens of a community who need and want that service. The field team, under supervision, will seek to foster and help to guide the democratic participation of all segments or levels of the population in tackling a specific local problem... The emphasis... shall be upon democratic values and practices and the practical demonstration of the manner in which they reinforce and are reinforced by people, planning and acting together on specific tasks for the betterment of the local community."

Late in 1956, sufficient funds were received (from a private source) to put a project in the field for a minimum of two years. With the assurance of adequate operating funds we began the search for appropriate personnel. Mr. Galen Martin, formerly Executive Director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, joined the staff as a field representative of the Community Service Department on April 1st, and after staff briefing started operations as the first member of the field team. We propose to add a second team member with complementary skills and experience as soon as indicated. In a memorandum of March 5, 1957 our first field representative was told:

1. <u>Your Role and Sponsorship</u>

   You would be a member of the field staff of the Community Services Department--USA of the USC, assigned specifically to the Knoxville community. You would be the first member of a professional team which, utilizing the knowledge and skills of community organization, group work and the behavioral sciences, will assist representative local organizations in meeting problems in human relations, particularly those related to the desegregation of schools and other community facilities and services. Since we are primarily interested in getting a job done and not in credits, and since in the initial period the term "Unitarian Service Committee" might raise for some local people more questions than it answers, widespread publicity and excessive featuring of the name are not indicated. This does not mean that the name is to be kept secret or that sponsorship is to be denied, but rather that tact and awareness of possible local misunderstandings are important. The project is the thing. USC is providing a service.

2. The Local Group Contact

The local group which has extended an invitation to the USC to work in Knoxville is the Knoxville Joint Committee, a provisional committee organized about two years ago. It consists of representatives of local organizations. The group apparently has no fixed structure or agreed-upon procedures. The relationship between the members of the relatively small core group and their constituencies is not clearly defined. From the point of view of starting field operations, there are both plusses and minuses in these facts. There is a definite community-minded group with which to make initial contacts. Their loose structure and ad hoc character, and the blunting of some of their earlier efforts to achieve desegregation of the schools mean that we do not enter a rigidly defined situation and that the need and the wish for guidance and effective focus are clear. They add up to a starting point and a healthy flexibility. It would be important that the representative of USC and the local leaders of the Joint Committee be mutually clear about his role with them. Our representative would work with them, not for them; act as a catalyst and resource and not as a leader or an initiator of his own program. For example, if it is indicated that someone should call on the school board or some other local agency, this would be a job for local people and not for our team, although team members might advise them on the merits of such a move.

3. First Steps in the Field

The first period in the field should be devoted to (1) getting a feel for the Knoxville community and the facts and nuances of the human relations situation, with particular reference to desegregation; (2) establishing USC role and relationship to the leaders of the Joint Committee; (3) finding out what the Joint Committee and other groups or individuals have done or planned up to this point about desegregation and other aspects of human relations; (4) assessing the potential of the Knoxville community and particularly of the Joint Committee and similar or related groups who are positive about law and order and/or desegregation while doing the same for those forces which are neutral or indifferent and opposed; (5) discussing next steps with the leaders of the Joint Committee; (6) outlining the kinds of things an additional member of the team--a person with social science analysis as well as community organization skills--might do to supplement the efforts of the first staff member; and (7) setting up a system of reports and analysis; plus anticipating and eventually proposing a scheme for periodic evaluations.

Hylan Lewis, Associate Director of Community Service--USA has been in Knoxville twice since Galen Martin started his work. He was there first on April 12 to assist Galen Martin in getting an orientation to the local community and to discuss first steps with local groups. The problems discussed and the initial agreements arrived at establish the basis and direction of the team's work, and something of the general climate in which it begins its work. His second visit was on May 13.

Some steps that have been taken by local people up to this date are:

On April 16 the Kn xville Joint Committee adopted the first of two important motions.

"The Chairman announced that the Community Services Department of the Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., a non-denominational agency carrying on a variety of service activities for the relief of distress and the promotion of healthy human relations, was prepared to make available in Knoxville the services of one or more trained Consultants on Community Relations. The services of Mr. Galen Martin could be made available immediately. By motion duly made, seconded and passed it was decided that the Joint Committee would avail itself of Mr. Martin's services."

On May 13th the Knoxville Joint Committee on Education appointed a committee of five, including Galen Martin, to draw up recommendations for the reconstructing of the Committee. This was done in order to further clarify their purposes and relationship to the USC team and thereby provide a more effective operating base and sponsorship.

Tennessee, like most Southern states, has recently enacted legislation requiring the registration of certain individuals and organizations. In this initial stage of our activity the question has been taken to legal counsel for USC as to whether Tennessee House Bill #32 would make it necessary for USC to register. After consultation with others with first hand knowledge of local legislation, Mr. Channing, in a preliminary opinion, has outlined the reasons why he advises that we need not and should not register. This opinion is not yet in final form.

Staff of Community Service Department of the USC continues to keep in close personal touch with field staff and representatives of local organizations.

Between the 24th and 29th of May the Southern Regional Council has called two meetings in Atlanta. The first is the annual meeting of Southern Regional Council consultants. The second is the meeting of representatives of agencies active in human relations in the South. USC will be represented at both of these important meetings. After these sessions Mrs. Moore and Dr. Lewis will stop in Knoxville for additional conferences.

We acknowledge the cooperation, help and patience of the many individuals and organizations who have shared their knowledge and energies in the shaping of this project.

Department of Community Service--USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

May 23, 1957

Mrs. J. H. Wilcox
1816 Lake Avenue
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Wilcox:

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and the Unitarian Service Committee on obtaining the services of Galen Martin as Director of the Special Project in the Knoxville area.

file

We hated to lose Galen as the Director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. We considered him to be one of our most able professionals. He did an outstanding job in Kentucky, winning thereby the respect and admiration of the Negro and progressive white communities as well as that of other professionals.

As you probably know, we have a group of professional consultants who work with the Kentucky Council. They are college professors, school administrators, and other specialists who give on a professional fee basis several days a month to the work of the Kentucky Council. Without exception, they speak highly of Mr. Martin's competency, his organizational ability, and his friendly, cooperative spirit.

Frankly, we hated to lose him to you but we could not offer him the same security of tenure which the Unitarian Service Committee could provide.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

MRS. J. H. WILCOX
1816 LAKE AVENUE
KNOXVILLE 16, TENNESSEE
5-15-57

Dear Fred;

When you can't figure a tactful, subtle way to say a thing, say it bluntly: would you please send me, as chairman of the Knoxville Joint Committee On Education(note the addition!), a note of congratulation on having available the services of Galon Martin, or of commendation of his work in Kentucky... or something from SRC.

It is a long story..you probably know some of the details.. and we are fairly rapidly solving most of the difficulties and arriving at the best ways to make use of Galon's presence in Knoxville, but the circumstances under which he came, the secrecy which seemed important for a number of reasohs, etc., and the general unfamiliarity with either USC or Galon's qualifications, have raised questions in the minds of Committee members.They are happy that he is here, and willing to take my word for it that he did a swell job in Kentucy..but I think everyone would feel even happier if SRC said an official word.You see why I mark the envelope Personal..and why I should hate to have anyone know that I solicited this communication from you!

We are in process of reevaluating the Joint Committee, a sort of job-analysis for the Committee that probably will lead to some sort of reorganization that will make us more effective and put us in better line to use Galon more fully.Our next meeting will be May 27.If you have any suggestions to make or advice to give, please tell.

Greetings to all of SRC...wish you were here.

Cordially,

Ted

June 11, 1957

Mr. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Thanks for your note of June 10th. I am happy to hear that things are looking up in the Knoxville area. I think that there is the possibility of real improvement this fall in the whole tier of eastern counties.

I think your move to apply the Hill-Burton Act's provisions to serve all people in hospitals constructed with Federal funds is a wise move. It is always good to invoke the power of the Federal Government on the side of righteousness.

I will attend the meeting of the Tennessee Council in Nashville Saturday, June 15th. Are you coming over?

Regards to the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee
June 10, 1957

Dear Fred:

It was good to see you in Atlanta. I'm glad things are going well at SRC.

Things are about the same here but looking a little better. We are still trying to work out a local sponsorship or advisory committee.

Francis Manis says that he might be available to work for the Tennessee Council on Human Relations this summer. He had other plans but apparently they have been changed and he is now available. He will talk with A. C. Miller while in Nashville June 12-13. He will raise some questions he has about my sponsorship here. Mr. Woods Beckman is going to Nashville for the Tennessee Council Board meeting and I have told him of Francis Manis' interest.

The local Presbyterian hospital has an application in for Hill-Burton construction funds and we have been working to see that they agree to serve all patients.

Come to see us.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin

September 6, 1957

Mr. Galen A. Martin
Field Representative
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Since John is on vacation your letter of the 3rd has come to my attention.

Accordingly, under separate cover, we are sending you ten copies of "Next Steps"; ten copies of "Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision", (New South, October 1956 is not available but this is a more thorough compilation); and, several single pieces which may be of value. Unfortunately, we do not have an adequate list of publications available. A bill for these materials is enclosed.

Concerning films, we do have available "The Baltimore Story", the George Mitchell "Face of the South", and possibly at least one other. These are distributed for us by the Atlanta ADL office. I will ask John to send you additional information on this upon his return on the 16th.

Cordially,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 Invoice

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September 3, 1957

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

It is always good to receive the New South and other fine materials which you have been turning out. I like the colors of the July-August issue.

Would you please send us ten copies of "Next Steps in the South".

I am also interested in having copies, in some form, of what the various churches have said on desegregation. The best thing I have at hand now is the section in the October 1956 New South. If that is still available, would you please send us ten copies. If you have anything else on this subject or could suggest such a publication by some other group, I wish you'd let me know. We are now getting in shape to show movies to local groups and I wish you would remind me of what films you all have available including the running time and annotations if this is convenient.

Would you also send us about twenty copies of your most recent list or lists of publications available from Southern Regional Council. Please bill us for this material when you send it.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin
Field Representative

In Reply, Address:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

**The Maryville-Alcoa Daily Times**
Thursday, August 8, 1957

# New School Board Faces Integration

The appearance last Friday night of a group of persons at the Maryville School Board meeting brought out to the forefront a problem which shall be facing our school systems all over the county in the next few years.

This group, calling themselves the Blount County Improvement Association, asked the city board to begin to plan toward bringing colored students into the white school system. They did not demand that immediate action be started not did they give any threat of legal or court orders. They, with one minor exception, simply wanted to know when the city planned to integrate the schools and what the plans were to effectuate this.

It has been our feeling ever since the Supreme Court decision that nothing could prevent the future integration of our Blount County schools. In plain and simple language, as well as that couched in extreme legal technicalities, the Court said that the same facilities would be available to all races, although timing for the transition would be left up to local Federal Courts.

The Clinton episode has brought forcibly to our citizens what a catastrophe can occur when outside influence is allowed to gain control of a situation where friends within a community have different viewpoints. Worldwide attention was focused on the little East Tennessee town somewhat to the detriment of our reputation.

This we would not like to see happen here. We do not need to see it happen and we think that enough thinking people exist in the area to refuse to allow any rabble-rouser to gain control of the situation to the detriment of all Our own people can resolve the problem just as we have resolved others which have come before this one.

To look at the problem realistically, Maryville is in an unusually bad predicament in the colored high school. The students who graduate there are not given an accredited diploma with which they can enter an ordinary college without entrance examinations. The 24 high school students are not enough to reach the required 75 students for accreditation. The only way they can become accredited is to attend an accredited school. The only school available is the Maryville High School, other than Alcoa Hall High which is both colored and accredited.

If attempts were made to get the students to attend the Alcoa colored High School, a similar situation to that of Clinton would develop. Students would rightfully refuse and court action could be started for them to go to a high school in their own city. In view of past decisions, the court could do nothing but render a verdict that the students be allowed to attend Maryville High School.

The movement by the group attending the Maryville School Board meeting is a peaceful one and has taken a mild approach to achieve what all of us know now is inevitable. No arm-waving and table-poundng was attendant to their request to seek their objective. No voices were raised in anger and no demands for immediate enforcement of rights were heard.

The problem was recognized as a delicate one which would disrupt the past customs of the city and its people. A simple prodding for some activity on the part of the school board was sought without any great demand for immediate fulfillment of the final objective.

This is as it should be. We know that the new Maryville School Board will study the matter in the light of full recognition that by law they must plan for integration in the not-too-distant future. They must not delay their planning but must in all good consciousness seek a method to achieve this end with the least possible confusion.

We know also that there are those who will seek to prevent the integration because it is their honest belief that the schools should be kept segregated. We can understand their attitude and know that their townspeople who are seeking integration can understand it also.

This understanding of one another's problem is one great reason why we must arrive at a solution among ourselves without outside influence. In this manner, a peaceful and lasting answer to a century-old question can be resolved.

Don't use

~~KNOXVILLE AREA HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL~~
~~1711 Breda Drive, Knoxville 18, Tenn.~~

The Maryville-Alcoa Daily Times
Friday, August 2, 1957

# Group Seeks Steps Toward Integration In Area Schools

A committee of the Blount County Improvement Association appeared before the City of Maryville Board of Education last night seeking information on what plans the board has for taking some step toward integration in city schools.

George Coffin, Maryville Negro and chairman of the group, stated that the purpose of the meeting with the board was:

"1. To make them aware of the existence and purpose of the Blount County Improvement Association.

"2. To request information of the board of education concerning any plans that the board may have made to uphold the law of the land by desegregating the public schools under their jurisdiction."

The discussion on integration was quiet and on a friendly basis with both the board and the committee showing all due consideration of the problem. Three white men and five Negroes besides Coffin attended the meeting as a part of the group which was organized last March to seek countywide understanding of the problem.

Dr. Francis Manis, 830 E. Long Road, Alcoa, associate professor of the U-T department of social work; the Rev. Carleton E. Pilsecker, Fairlawn Circle, Maryvile and pastor of the St. Paul Lutheran Church, and one of his church members, Don Richardson, Locha Poka Drive, a CAA operations expert, were the white men on the committee. Richardson said that while he lived in the county his children attend city schools.

Coffin said the group had met with Alcoa City Manager Ross Walker and that while Alcoa was not willing to integrate immediately, that its officials are willing to join with Maryville and Blount County boards in discussing the matter.

Opinion on the Maryville board seemed to favor the establishment of an interracial advisory committee to discuss the problem of integration and how it should be approached, especially in view of the particular local needs. Coffin proposed that such an advisory group could be made up of representatives of civic clubs, teachers, school boards, the ministerial association, and interested citizens.

The group did not push for immediate integration but as Chairman Coffin stated "only asked that some move be made" in that direction. Both the board and the commitee were quick to observe that they did not want a Clinton situation in Blount County. The very successful integration at Louisville, Ky., was cited as one that took a lot of similar groundwork.

Apparently none of the school systems in the county want to be the first or only one in the county to move toward integration.

Coffin first appeared before the board two years ago seeking some step toward integration. A lack of sufficient enrollment prevents the Negro high school (Hale) in Maryville from being an accredited school. Richardson stated that he felt the group had been very sincere and had made an honest effort to move toward integration without any use or threat of force or pressure.

Enrollment at Hale High has not exceeded 26 in recent years. An average daily attendance of 75 is required for a high school to be accredited in Tennessee.

Dr. Tom Stanley, board member, told the delegation that he felt certain that each member of the board favored upholding the law and that the board had studied and offered plans but the problem was something like a man trying to lift a 300-pound block of ice without tongs — it is hard to find a place to take hold.

Secretary Stanley Shields said he felt the idea of an advisory committee looked like as good a suggestion as had been presented.

Coffin stated that the Improvement Association of some 35 to 50 members had grown out of P-TA groups as a result of the need of a step toward providing the Negro children with a good education.

Coffin listed the following purposes of the Association:

"1. To promote improved relationships between people of different races and religions.

"2. To promote improved educational, economic and civic conditions. The current emphasis of the Association is in helping to achieve the transition from segregated to integrated school systems so that it will contribute to better schooling for all the children in Blount County.

"This emphasis grows out of the following:

"The Supreme Court of the United States has concluded that ... in the field of public edcuation the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place ...

"The Attorney General of the State of Tennessee has indicated that ... it is the responsibility of each local school board to determine for itself the way in which it is going to meet the problem of desegregating the schools under its jurisdiction."

The Rev. Mr. Pilsecker said he wanted integration so his children could be brought up to respect the law since the law of the land upholds integration. When asked what his church was doing about integration he replied that he was speaking as an individual but that Negroes had been invited and had attended his church.

It was pointed out that the Civic Improvement Association had not yet contacted the Blount County board concerning the matter. Coffin was told to discuss the matter with the county board and then return to the city board. It was implied the city board would be willing to meet with Alcoa and Blount County to discuss the matter.

(OVER)

September 25, 1957

Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director
Department of Community Service--USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Thanks for your letter about Ken Clark's book, "Prejudice and Your Child." We were lucky enough to get a few hundred copies of it through the Fund for the Republic. These we distributed with a memorandum suggesting program uses to our state affiliates and to other appropriate groups in the South.

But in the light of recent difficulties, your reminder is very timely. We can at least call attention to the book again and consider ways to bring its contents to bear directly in the desegregating communities.

It was good to see you and Hy at the Washington meeting. I hope some practical results will come of our discussions there.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 23 1957

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FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

September 20, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

If I had not had so many other extraneous matters on my mind during the recent CCD Conference in Washington, I am sure I would have thought to raise this question with you on the spot. When I returned I did wonder whether all the groups know Kenneth Clark's book "Prejudice and Your Child", published by Beacon Press. Even if they do know it, I wonder if they are all using it and referring their groups to the book. It is my understanding that some time ago the Fund for the Republic ordered several hundred copies of this. They may have been placed in the hands of some agencies who work directly with you; however, my own feeling is that it could be very valuable in connection with the item brought up during the discussion period, namely, reinforcing parents. I commend this to you as a suggestion to pass on to other groups and would urge that it be made available to others, including church schools and other church organizations.

As always in such meetings, the chance for personal interchange is of great importance and in this conference your own contribution was a considerable one, as undoubtedly you have been told by others.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Matilda Moore

Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director
Dept. of Community Service--USA

MM:rr

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

March 6, 1958

Mrs. J. H. Wilcox
1816 Lake Avenue
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

Dear Ted:

You will think that I have forgotten you and your request for a copy of SRC's manual for the self-survey. Such is not the case. We discovered to our horror that we were all out of the manual and had to scrounge around to come by one. This we have done and I am sending it to you with this letter.

One of the chief purposes of the self-survey is to get people to know each other as they work together on a matter of common concern. Therefore it is essential that a representative group from all segments of the population be included from the planning stages through the final report of the self-survey. You have excellent resources in Knoxville to assist you in such a program. Three people come to mind immediately: Francis Manis, Tennessee School of Social Work: Dr. W. B. Jones, Department of Sociology, UT: and Galen Martin.

If there is anything we at SRC can do to assist you further please feel free to call on us. It would seem to me that with desegregation so imminent in Knoxville a good deal of effort ought to be

Continued . . .

Mrs. J. H. Wilcox March 6, 1958

spent working directly on the problem of preparing the community for acceptance of the inevitable. I know that a great deal has been done in this direction, but I would be less than professionally candid if I did not warn you against dissipating your energies in other activities, including the self-survey, unless it will play a direct part in preparing the community for desegregation.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

March 13, 1958

Mrs. J. H. Wilcox
1816 Lake Avenue
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

Dear Ted:

Sorry if I was confused about our telephone conversation. I am sending you with this letter a copy of our pamphlet "Next Steps in the South". I would think that an interracial study group built around the suggestions in this pamphlet might be more helpful than a self-survey. I am also enclosing a copy of New South for March 1956. Again, a committee organized with official sanction or without along the lines suggested in these two articles would be helpful.

Hope this helps you with your presentation on the 19th.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

MRS. J. H. WILCOX
1816 LAKE AVENUE
KNOXVILLE 16, TENNESSEE

Friday, March 7, 1958

Dear Fred;

I am sorry I didn't make myself clear when we talked on the phone. It was for Oak Ridge that I wanted the self-survey manual..and that, only as a suggestion to them. The Human Relations ..no, it's the Community Relations Council..there has asked me to speak on March 19, making some suggestions for increasing communication across geographical, economic and social lines...and as I said, I didn't come up with any better gimmick than the survey.

Thank you ever so much for sending me the hard-to-find copy.. one good turn breeds request for another: you told me that SRC has been underplaying the survey and had come up with several more effective techniques. Do you have time to send a hint of what these are, before March 19?

Don't make a problem of this..I think what they want, actually, is details on the FH day camp so they can plan to have a similar camp this summer! You know how these things go.

But anyway, my thanks.

Cordially,

Ted

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

IMPORTANT

26 March '58

HCF -

Sorry I wont be about to talk with David Stoloff - but I am at the Gainsville, Fla - workshop -

I have ~~called~~ wired Galen and asked that he call David and ask him to talk with you, or Paul, if you are not here.

David Stoloff will be a key man when Knoxville moves.

FBR -

IMPORTANT

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**M. L. WILSON**

**HON. J. RAY SHUTE**
*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

**FRANK Z. GLICK**
*Executive Director*

March 25, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

One of the Human Relations Council Board members, David Stoloff, has just told me that ~~he~~ will be in Atlanta Thursday and Friday. I suggested that he stop by the Southern Regional Council office and talk with you if you were available. He said that he hoped to have some free time Thursday evening or Friday morning.

David is an important Board member for several reasons. He is a senior planner with the State Planning Commission. His wife, Barbara, is a Board member. His boss is a Board member and another employee there, Jim Dodd, is a Board member. The Stoloffs are not too heavily involved in other groups and will tend to be "prime movers" in the Council, particularly when Francis Manis goes to Burma in May.

If you get to talk with David, I hope two things can be discussed among others. One is the possibility of having the SRC consultants help the Council with a workshop for those involved in the Council program, and the other is the general problem of whether the Council should emphasize community education or education of the "functionaries" or "gatekeepers", or a combination. I haven't time to elaborate but I think Myles Horton has discouraged David and other Board members from working on direct or semi-direct approaches to School Board and police officials. At one point David was reading Hunter's book on community power structure and seemed inclined to try to apply some of those ideas to Knoxville to involve more prominent people in our group and in other work for desegregation. I am not trying to suggest what you should say to David, but I believe you and I tend to agree on the importance of involving the power structure and educating the functionaries.

David asked that I write you saying that he might call, but I didn't tell him what else I put in the letter. I will be contacting John Hope about the workshop.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin

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*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

March 26, 1958

Galen Martin
109 Tulane Drive
Knoxville 14
Tennessee
Telephone -- 3-7873

Please have David Stoloff talk with Harold or Paul. I will be out of town during his visit.

Fred Routh.

Unitarian Service Committee

**AIR MAIL**

April 10, 1958

Mr. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

In answer to your card, yes, we have available reprints of the Wall Street Journal article. I presume you mean the one on "Segregation Costs."

Did you see the N. Y. Times reprint? I am enclosing both in this letter.

The reprints are available for one dollar ($1.00) per hundred which is a little under cost.

I am mailing you the 15 copies of New South. Let me know if you need more. Let us know about the other reprints.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Calen Martin
Knoxville

# Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.
CApitol 7-3660

May 6, 1958

Dear Fred:

I was extremely pleased to learn this afternoon from John Hope that you will be with us this weekend for the Human Relations Council Workshop. I am looking forward to seeing you.

Reservations have been made for the three of you, at Dogan Motor Court, 208 Vine Ave S. E. The phone there is 3-8146. The reservation for you and John is for two nights (Friday & Saturday) in one room with two beds.

Please let me know when you expect to arrive in town since we can't let such important people wonder around loose here. I or someone should be able to meet you at the airport.

My office phone is 4-0357 - home 8-8031. Office address 606 Empire Building, Corner of Church and Market. Home address, 6 Blackberry Circle, Knoxville 19, Tenn.

Sincerely

Calen

74

June 5, 1958

Mr. Galen A. Martin
P. O. Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Sorry to have missed you at the interagency meeting in Atlanta.

For information on police institutes throughout the country the best contact man is:

Dr. Lewis Radelet
NCCJ - Building for Brotherhood
W. 57th Street
New York, N. Y.

Thanks for the nice words about our Knoxville workshop.

Kind regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/hs

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
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*Oxford 7-0248*

**FRANK Z. GLICK**
*Executive Director*

May 23, 1958

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

At the Council meeting on Tuesday, May 20, all the people expressed their appreciation for the appropriate suggestions which you and all the other consultants gave. We are moving ahead with several jobs which the discussion suggested to us, but particularly the matters relating to law enforcement.

I can't recall nor locate the exact name and location of the police institute in Michigan. Would you be able to tell me that, along with any suggestions you might have for obtaining information and learning whether or not local people have attended. We have done this with the Southern Police Institute, and I am renewing our contact with them through letters to McCandless and Parrish. Perhaps you could also have suggestions on getting comparable information on the FBI schools.

The family and I expect to be in Atlanta next Tuesday and Wednesday and we hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin

GAM:af

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July 15, 1958

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Galen Martin
109 Tulane Drive
Knoxville 14, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

I am very happy to hear that you are able to proceed on the survey of employment practices in federal establishments in the Knoxville area. I am very sorry that I have been unable to reach you by phone the last two days.

It is perhaps unseemly for me to press you for your findings so soon, but I would like to have whatever information you have uncovered to date sent as soon as possible. If this means sending it to me piece-meal, that will be O. K. However, please continue on to get as full a report as your resources allow.

Thanks so much for taking this one on. It will be a great help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

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*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

July 17, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Your letter arrived at my home today. It had gone to the address at which we lived for two months after we came to Knoxville. When you get a chance would you ask the appropriate SRC person to correct my home address to 6 Blackberry Circle, Knoxville 19, Tennessee. Perhaps they should also enter my office phone 4-0357 and the home phone 8-8031. When I can't be reached at the office, my wife usually has some idea of where or when I can be located. I have only part-time office help, and I am out a good bit of the time.

The enclosed sheet will give you the best information I have so far. We know that there were 4,008 people employed by the Federal government in the Knoxville area, including Blount and Anderson counties. The main agencies on which I have yet to obtain information are the Post Office and the Atomic Energy Comission in Oak Ridge. I should have that information soon. (in May)

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin

In reply address:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

P.S. we could get information on TVA employment in Chattanooga and some other TVA areas if you think this would be useful. They claim the record is better in some other places.

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Mr. Johnson Sent - 6/18

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

June 18, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your suggestion regarding the police institute. I have written to Lou Radelet and received a very helpful letter in reply, along with useful material. I have also heard from Robert Johnson. I talked personally with the assistance director of the Knoxville FBI office, and we will be getting material on the FBI Academy.

Other things are going well. We are following up on other suggestions made at the workshop. I imagine you noticed in the minutes that the Council has decided that past and present members of the Communist party are not eligible for membership.

I have a memorandum from you dated October 21, 1957, to selected state executive directors which accompanied the manual of the Louisville Police Department on Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups. Your memorandum referred to a memo you had sent out in November, 1955. If you have any remaining copies of the 1955 memo, would you please send me one. Thanks for all your help.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin,
Field Representative

In reply, address:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

July 18, 1958

Mr. Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Thanks for your letter of June 18 which came while I was out of the city on both vacation and later extended field trips.

I am enclosing a copy of my memo of November, 1955, on riot prevention. I hope you will find it helpful. You will note that it is not for reproduction, for we have obtained permission from the publishers to reprint materials for distribution to state people only. With this word of caution, you are welcome to it.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure: memo on riot prevention

July 21, 1958

Mr. Galen Martin
6 Blackberry Circle
Knoxville 19, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Your report is a great help. Just what was wanted. Any and all further information greatly appreciated.

You will be informed of any follow-up regarding our South-wide information in this field.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence)

EFV:ls

# Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

~~90 Pitts Street, Boston 13, Mass.~~

CApitol 7-3660

September 16, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I was very glad to see the quotation inside the back cover of the recent New South of an officer of the Tennessee Industrial Development Commission as quoted in the Chattanooga Times. I would like to obtain a copy of the complete article from the paper. If you have a copy could you make me a copy on your machine, or if you don't have a copy could you supply me with the date it appeared in the paper and I will write to them to obtain a copy. This can be used in some way in our next newsletter.

The article by Harry Ernst of my native state was very pleasing to me. I met him a few months ago. He is a young liberal guy who is doing a fine job on the Charleston Gazette.

Keep up the good work down there.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tenn.

74

September 17, 1958

September 17, 1958

Mr. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Here is a copy of the clipping.

Appreciate comments concerning New South.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc
Enclosure

File

# Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

~~9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.~~

CApitol 7-3660

September 23, 1958

Dear John:

Thanks a lot for sending me the copy of the clipping from the Chattanooga Times, headed "Violence in Tennessee Stunts Industrial Growth." We want to reproduce that for the Human Relations Council. It is the best on the subject that I have seen for possible use here.

I have written to the Chattanooga Times for a copy of the article itself so we can reproduce it. They have been a little slow in responding but that may be because I couldn't tell them the date it appeared. If by any chance you have the date it appeared, I wish you would let me know.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

74

October 29, 1958

Mr. Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Thanks for your letter of October 27 concerning the possible hardship case.

I discussed this with Art Levin and one or two others here, and they share my view that this case falls outside the scope of interest of the Interagency Conference.

Do you know if the lady in question has had any help from the ACLU? It seems to me that her case is one in which they might be interested.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
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FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

October 27, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I want to report a Knoxville situation which might or might not come under the "hardship" case procedure as discussed at the last Southern Inter-Agency Conference.

Mr. Forrest Lacey, a member of the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council and University of Tennessee Law School faculty member, suggests the need for help to a Knoxville Negro woman. This woman and her husband were in Germany where he was in the Army and both were convicted by the military authorities of murdering a German. In line with many other decisions she, a civilian, obtained release from the Federal Prison at Alderson, West Virginia because she had been improperly tried by a military court.

The Legal Aid Clinic connected with the University is assisting her and managed to raise the money for an appeal which the Army took to the Sixth Circuit Court at Cincinnati and which the Army lost. However, the Army is appealing the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Legal Aid Clinic has secured free counsel in Washington, D.C., but $300 is needed for other expenses. The Law School people feel certain that the Supreme Court will uphold the lower courts and that the woman will remain free, because the Army has not won any of the previous cases like this.

If you have any suggestions for possible avenues of assistance to this woman, I would be glad to pass them on. I might add in passing that I have no reservations about this because I don't think she would get the same justice in the military court that she would have in the civilian court to which she was entitled.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin
Field Representative

IN REPLY, ADDRESS:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tenn.

lm

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November 18, 1958

Mr. Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

We have sent you twenty copies of the March, 1958 New South for use with the police workshop.

I suggest you contact:

Col. David McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

and

Dr. Louis Radelet
National Conference of Christians
and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

The memo I did long ago on riot prevention might be helpful, too. You probably have it in your files.

Best regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence.)

FBR:ls

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

November 10, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks a lot for the suggestions you gave me of ministers who might be good participants in the Knoxville Ministerial Association workshop. Your suggestions were given to Lea Acuff who put them to good use in the meeting the day after I phoned. They decided to go ahead and tentatively set the workshop for February 3.

Brief articles in the local papers indicate that a police school will be held starting November 24, for the 17 officers on the force who have not been through police training. The idea occurs that the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council or other local group could provide one copy for each of the 17 policemen of one or two leaflets relating to law enforcement and human relations. Such a plan would provide a basis for further discussions with the Police Department on this subject.

If you have ideas for such an approach, or if you know of any new pamphlets or short materials which you think would be good for this purpose, I would be glad to have your suggestions. We have sample copies of:

Race and Law Enforcement, Southern Regional Council, 1953.

How to Stop Violence! Intimidation! In your Community, Morris B. Abram andAlexander F. Miller, ADL.

Violence: It Need Not Happen, Alexander F. Miller, as reprinted in New South for March 1958.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin
Field Representative

We are getting Public Affairs Pamphlet 107

IN REPLY, ADDRESS:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tenn.

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Ky Comm

December 9, 1958

Mr. Hugh Brimm
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Brimm:

Please note the enclosed summary of information about the meeting to be held in Nashville by the Commission on Civil Rights. The wording is taken from two of their releases and a letter I received. I discussed this conference very briefly with officials of the Commission at the NAIRO meeting and they indicated that suggestions of persons to be invited would be welcomed.

It seems important that those who know from experience of school administrators who would be outstanding participants at this conference suggest their names so they will be invited. It should not be left to chance that the Commission will know of the school administrators who have done the best job of desegregation, but who may not have received widespread recognition. This is illustrated by my opinion that several Kentucky school superintendents have done a far better job in desegregation than the one who was singled out by President Eisenhower for national recognition.

I call this to your attention with the thought that you might care to make any such recommendations based on your experience in Kentucky. It would only require a letter to the Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C., giving the name, position, address, background information, and desegregation accomplishments of the persons suggested.

Sincerely,

Galen A. Martin
Staff Secretary

lm

## Summary of Available Information Relative to Nashville Meeting of School Officials Called by Commission on Civil Rights

A national conference with officials of local public school systems will be held in Nashville, Tennessee, during the last week in next February. The purpose of this conference is to attempt to collect from school officials and other interested persons all the available information about the problems involved in transition from segregated to non-segregated public schools.

At the Nashville Conference the Commission will be consulting with local school officials as representatives of local government. Such consultation was specifically authorized by the Congress. It is in no way conducting an "investigation" but inviting the professional people who have had experience in trying to desegregate school systems to relate their experience for the benefit of the President, the Congress, the Commission, and the people of the U.S.

The Commission would be very happy to have suggestions of persons to participate in the conference, although tentative selections have already been made. We have to include representatives from the thirteen states that have had conferences in desegregation since 1954 and from various types of communities

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

**FRANK Z. GLICK**
*Executive Director*

January 7, 1959

Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
60 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I note in the Mass Media Committee minutes for December 2 that you are preparing a memorandum on the role of the clergy in the South in supporting law and equality, as a possible beginning for a magazine article. For whatever it's worth, I thought I might mention some local actions in this regard.

As you know, the Knoxville Ministerial Association is an integrated group and has been for more than fifteen years. In 1956 a Negro minister, the Rev. W. T. Crutcher, was president of this group. From January 18 through 23, they are sponsoring a United Preaching Mission which was begun last year on a integrated basis. This year Rev. James Robinson of the Church of the Master in New York, and a Knoxville native, will be one of the speakers. The noon and evening services will be held at the First Baptist and First Presbyterian churches in downtown Knoxville.

On Tuesday, February 3, the KMA will hold a human relations workshop for its members. John Marion and Lewis Deer are among those invited from outside, and the Knoxville and Knox County school superintendents and top law enforcement officers are also being asked. The Human Relations Committee of the KMA planning this workshop was until last month headed by Rev. Burney Overton of the New Prospect Presbyterian Church (Northern). He has been elected president of the KMA and I believe would be cooperative with anyone desiring more information about these activities. Part of our total picture here are the developments in Clinton and Oak Ridge. The Knoxville News-Sentinel for December 27 carried the following article under the heading, "Ridge Clergy Arrange Preaching Mission":

> "Oak Ridge Ministerial Association has arranged for an interfaith interdenominational preaching mission Jan. 18-23 at First Methodist Church. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, will preach. The ministers feel that the preaching mission, following Billy Graham's Clinton visit, should help interracial good will."

If I can help with any further information on these matters, please let me know. See you next week at the SIC meeting.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin, Field Representative

cc: Harry Fleischman

**Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.**

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ROOM 606 EMPIRE BUILDING
PHONE 4-0357

# Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

POST OFFICE BOX 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

January 28, 1959

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am very pleased to know that you will be one of the leaders for the Knoxville Ministerial Association Clinic on Integration. We have hoped that many constructive developments will follow from this workshop.

I am taking the liberty of sending some information pulled together from various earlier reports regarding school desegregation and Knoxville. I hope this information will be of use to you, but more than that, I want to indicate my willingness to help in any way possible.

I have been invited to attend the clinic and look forward to seeing you there. If you arrive in town before the session begins, I hope you will call me at the office, 4-0357 or home, 8-8031.

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen Martin

GM:dke

Enclosure

as always I'll welcome an opportunity to talk with you.

The Knoxville News-Sentinel

## Garrison Mum on Mission

City Safety Director David Garrison and Detective Chief Bernard Waggoner left town today on a secret mission. The director refused to divulge the nature of the business.

It was reported, however, that the two were to attend a meeting of mayors and police officials in Jacksonville to discuss possible ways of stopping bombings of Jewish centers and Negro schools in the South. Officials of Nashville, Birmingham and Miami were also to attend.

May 2, 1958

## Garrison Back From Secret Talks

Safety Director David Garrison and Detective Chief Bernard Waggoner returned from a secret meeting in Florida over the weekend, both still silent as to the purpose of the meeting.

Mr. Garrison said today he and the other officials at the meeting were sworn to secrecy.

Wire reports today confirmed a News-Sentinel story Saturday saying the conference concerned bombings aimed at Jews and Negroes.

The meetingn, held in Jacksonville, was attended by officials from 28 cities, with Mayor Ben West of Nashville, presiding, wire reports said. The Jacksonville Police Department was selected as the clearing house for information on 47 bombing attempts which have hit 21 Southern communities since Jan. 1 last year, it was reported. Announcement was made at the meeting of rewards totaling $55,700 for apprehension of those responsible for the bombings.

May 5, 1958

# NEWSLETTER

Volume II, No. 6

January, 1959 Knoxville Area Human Relations Council Box 1011, Knoxville, Tenn.

## CHURCHES TAKE SPOTLIGHT IN HUMAN RELATIONS ACTIVITY

With a court decision on school integration postponed until at least February 6, the spotlight in Human Relations activities in the Knoxville area has shifted to what the churches are doing; Presbyterians merged white and Negro presbyteries; both Oak Ridge and Knoxville-Maryville are sponsoring interracial community-wide preaching missions which feature or include Negro speakers; the Methodist Church in this area is preparing for an interracial conference on racial understanding; the Methodists also held a one-day spiritual retreat to which Christians of all races and denominations were invited; the Knoxville Ministerial Association readied plans for a Clinic on Integration for Knoxville area ministers; the Knoxville Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews planned a series of programs concerned with aspects of human relations. This issue of the Newsletter is devoted largely to this remarkable increase of human relations activity amongst the churches and religious groups.

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## METHODISTS TO MEET ON RACE RELATIONS

An interracial conference of Methodist ministers and leading laymen, designed to promote understanding and cooperation between the races, will be held February 5-7 at Morristown College. The conference was called by Bishop Roy H. Short of the Nashville area and Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Baltimore area.

The sponsoring bodies are the Holston conference, which comprises the predominantly white congregations of East Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, and the East Tennessee Conference, an all-Negro body belonging to the Central Jurisdiction.

The meeting will be in the nature of a study conference. Some five or six individuals have been engaged in research for several weeks, compiling background material for the conference.

They have been investigating the comparative situation of whites and Negroes in regard to health, housing, employment and income, education, recreational facilities and religion. Thus one benefit of the project is expected to be the making available of factual data regarding race relations in this area which has not been previously compiled. Thirteen similar study conferences have been held by Methodists in other parts of the country.

## PRESBYTERIANS INTEGRATE PRESBYTERIES

Presbyterians of the Knoxville-Maryville area took a historic step recently. On January 15, when three presbyteries merged, it brought together what had previously been racially segregated courts of two distinct Presbyterian denominations.

The three presbyteries were as follows: Union (36 churches, 44 ministers), which embraced white congregations formerly in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Le Vere (11 churches, 5 ministers), the Negro presbytery of the same denomination; and Tennessee (7 churches, 4 ministers), the presbytery of the former United Presbyterian Church in North America, whose churches in this area were all predominantly Negro in constituency.

### Synods Integrated Earlier

Ministers and elders of Le Vere and Tennessee Presbyteries received prominent committee assignments in the organization of the new presbytery. All activities of the presbytery, including camps and conferences, will be on an integrated basis.

Integration of the synods to which Union and Le Vere Presbyteries belonged took place last June, at Maryville College. The United Presbyterian Church in

PRESBYTERIANS INTEGRATE (Continued)

North America united with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., last May on the national level.

The ceremony of merger was held at the Fort Sanders Presbyterian Church in Knoxville. The new presbytery includes such other local congregations as Second, Fourth, Graystone, and Shiloh. Congregations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (for example, First, Sequoyah Hills, Fifth Avenue) were unaffected by the merger; however, these churches also belong to a racially integrated presbytery.

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KNOXVILLE-MARYVILLE PREACHING MISSION "UNITED" IN MANY WAYS

For the second consecutive year, churches of many denominations are joining through the Ministerial Associations of Knoxville and Maryville to sponsor a United Christian Preaching Mission which recognizes no racial barriers either in sponsorship, attendance, or program. Beginning January 18, the mission continued through January 23.

Seven prominent preachers have been brought to the area from various parts of the country to provide the inspirational leadership in both Knoxville and Maryville.

Of particular interest to Knoxvillians was the planned appearance of Knoxville born and reared Dr. James H. Robinson. He is now minister of the Church of the Master (Presbyterian) in New York City, and is one of the best-known Negro clergymen in the world today. He gave the Lyman Beecher lectures at Yale in 1955. He has traveled in the Far East as a special emissary of his Church. His autobiography, ROAD WITHOUT TURNING, recounts the difficult days of a poverty-ridden youth in Knoxville and his struggle to overcome poverty and racial prejudice.

Dr. Robert Duncan, pastor of Church St. Methodist Church, Knoxville, was General Chairman of the committees planning the mission. Dr. W.T. Crutcher, pastor of Mt. Olive Baptist Church was Knoxville Chairman, and Dr. E.H. Ogle, pastor of Broadway Methodist, Maryville Chairman.

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MINISTERS' CLINIC ON INTEGRATION

Using the theme "Problems and Progress in Human Relations", the Knoxville Ministerial Association will hold a clinic on integration February 3 at the First Presbyterian Church. Leaders for peaceful integration from other parts of the South will lead a morning session on "Toward a Clearer Understanding of What Confronts us in Human Relations."

Such guest leaders will include Reverend John Marion of Richmond, Virginia, and Rev. J. Metz Rollins, formerly of Tallahassee, Florida. Both men work for the Department of Social Education and Action of the United Presbyterian Church. Rev. C.T. Baker, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches of Nashville, and Dr. Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, will also lead.

Local guest leaders who have been invited include: School Superintendents Miss Mildred Doyle and Mr. Tom Johnston; Mr. David Garrison, Knoxville Safety Director, County Sheriff E.B. Bowles, and Dr. John Burkhart, Chairman of the Knoxville Board of Education.

The afternoon program includes small group discussions seeking answers for problems in Human Relations. The clinic will be concluded with a report of these discussions and an hour of worship.

Rev. Tom Carriger, Inskip Methodist Church, and 1959 Chairman of the Knoxville Ministerial Association Committee on Human Relations, will preside.

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RETREAT LED BY E. STANLEY JONES

Persons of all races and denominations were invited to a Prayer Retreat led by the noted missionary, E. Stanley Jones, in Knoxville last week. The Retreat was sponsored by the Knoxville District of the Methodist Church and held at Central Methodist Church. Persons who attended report that the attendance at some of the services completely filled the large sanctuary, and that the congregation was indeed interracial and unsegregated. Dr. Jones spoke four times during the day.

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Editor of this Newsletter: Rev. C.M. Proudfoot, Phone #5-9588

## FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OFFERS "UNITS FOR UNITY"

Prof. Thomas Ktsanes of Tulane University, a sociologist widely known for his work in the area of the status of minority groups, will open the 1959 "Units for Unity" series of Fellowship House on January 26. He will speak on the subject "The Social and Economic Costs of an Unskilled Labor Force."

The "Units for Unity" programs are open to the general public. The series will embrace three programs, all on the general theme: "The Negro Labor Force and the Industrial and Economic Development of Knoxville.

Other programs are outlined as follows:

February 4 - Subject: Economic and Industrial development programs for Knoxville and the extent to which the Negro labor force is recognized in planning them. A Knoxville business or industrial leader will speak.

February 12 - Subject: Job opportunities and on-the-job training for the Negro labor force, with particular attention to what unions are doing in this field. Speakers will include representatives of labor.

All the programs will be at the auditorium of Lawson-McGhee Library and will begin at 8:00 p.m.

Presiding at the meetings will be three U.T. Economics Professors: January 26, Prof. Earl Williams; February 4, Prof. Howard Dye; February 12, Prof. J. Fred Holly, who is Chairman of the Dept. of Economics.

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## LEGISLATION POLL

Many members of the Tennessee Legislation now in session think there is no need for new racial legislation. Another large group of legislators think segregation has been overemphasized as an issue in Tennessee.

A United Press poll of all 133 lawmakers revealed these results. Twenty-eitht members of the 1959 Legislature said they thought segregation has been overemphasized, and 30 said they did not think there was need for action on segregation measures in the coming session.

## TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS ELECTS OFFICERS, BOARD MEMBERS

Dr. Fred Smith of Knoxville was chosen a Vice-Chairman of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations at its meeting in Nashville January 15-17. Dr. Smith is Vice-President Emeritus of the University of Tennessee.

Other Council Board members from this part of Tennessee are: Dr. W.T. Crutcher, Mr. Herman Daves, The Rev. Lea Earl Acuff, Mr. Galen Martin, Mr. Clifford Seeber, and Dr. James A. Colston, all of Knoxville; Dr. William Pollard from Oak Ridge; from Newport, Mr. James Stokely, and from Greenville, Mrs. W.S. Debusk.

More than 200 Tennesseeans attended the annual meeting of the council.

As a concluding action of the meeting, a decision was made to send a letter to Governor Buford Ellington, commending him for his January 16 statement before the Tennessee Press Association, on school closings.

### School Closings

The Nashville Tennesseean of Saturday, January 17, said, "Ellington also implied strongly he will not seek additional legislation on public school segregation during the 1959 legislature. There has been speculation he might ask a law giving him authority to close schools in case of violence. He said in last summer's campaigns he would do so, but does not have authority to do so directly under the present law.

"But he said last night:

'In event of any strife in connection with school integration, the present law gives local school authorities the power to close the school involved. If any local school board is forced by events to take this action, I will back it up to the limit of my authority.'"

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## LEGISLATION POLL (Continued)

"Let's let it lie" was the way one legislatur summed up the issue for the 1959 General Assembly.

## NCCJ ROUNDTABLE ANNOUNCES PROGRAMS

A series of monthly programs exploring relations between religious, racial, and cultural groups has been planned by the Knoxville Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. During the week of February 15-22, the annual Brotherhood Week banquet will feature as speaker the Executive Vice President of the N.C.C.J., Dr. Sterling W. Brown of New York City.

The other programs will occur at the monthly luncheon meetings of the Executive Board, to which interested non-members are invited. These are held at the YWCA on Clinch St., commencing at 12:00 noon. The program for March 16 will present Mr. and Mrs. James R. Stokely of Newport, Tenn., on the subject "Observations on the Southern Racial-Religious Situation." Mr. and Mrs. Stokely are widely known for their book, NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, based on wide travels throughout the South.

On April 20 there will be a panel discussion on "Problems in Integration on the College Level." The panel, to be moderated by Dr. C.M. Proudfoot of the Knoxville College faculty, will include two students from the University of Tennessee: Miss Martha Murphey and Mr. John Deupree, and two from Knoxville College -- Miss Jamesena Boyd and Mr. Robert Booker.

(Continued)

On May 18 there will be a book review and display of books dealing with human relations, led by Miss Martha Ellison of Lawson-McGhee Library.

Mrs. James A. Colston is Program Chairman for the Roundtable. Inquiries concerning these meetings may be directed to her (#2-3434) or to Mrs. Stanley E. Levy, Executive-Secretary (#8-4818).

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## DR. MAYS SPEAKER FOR OAK RIDGE PREACHING MISSION

Dr. Benjamin Mays, world-renowned Negro Christian will speak for the Oak Ridge Community Preaching Mission. The Mission was held January 18-23. It is sponsored by the Oak Ridge Ministerial Association, which comprises 24 churches representing nine Christian denominations, several union churches, and the Hebrew Congregation. Services are being held at the First Methodist Church at 8:00 p.m. each evening.

Dr. Mays is President of Morehouse College in Atlanta. He was born in South Carolina, received his Bachelor's degree from Bates College in Maine, and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He holds eight honorary degrees and is the author of five books and more than sixty articles. He has been called one of the ten most outstanding Christians of the world today.

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~~Your assistance is solicited for the completion and correction of this DRAFT, the accuracy of which has not been completely verified.~~

## IS IT FAIR?

(This list is intended to give the other side of the information reported in "There's Nothing New About Being Fair", by noting some of the many instances in which little or no progress has been made toward equal opportunity without discrimination. When completed this list would not be distributed widely, but is more for use by those who say they want to help but also say there is nothing they can do but wait. It is grounded on a national survey which showed that 69% of all white people think most Negroes are treated fairly.)

### INDICATIONS OF INEQUALITY

While the published reports of the Board of Education are not set up to readily show inequality of white and Negro schools, this disparity is indicated by other information.

### Courses Not Given to Negroes

Courses in the vocational curriculum offered at Fulton High School, according to the student handbook, include the following which are not given to Negro students at Austin High:

Air-Conditioning and Refrigeration
Commerical Art
Commercial Photography
Distributive Education
Drafting
Electricity
In Industrial Electronics
Landscape Architecture
Machine Shop
Printing
Radio
Sheet Metal
Television

It is said that additional courses will be offered at Austin at any time if 15 or more persons register and the course is approved by the Board of Education (10 people for the evening courses below). However the inequality seems apparent if one qualified student is to be denied admission to an existing vocational course because of his race or expected to find 14 other students of his race who are qualified and interested in the same specialty.

In Evening School courses in 1958-59 for adults at the Board of Education Building, the following courses were offered which were not offered to Negro adults in the same evening school held at Austin High:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Health | Mechanical Drafting | Bible | Spanish |
| Economics | Psychology | Choral Music | World History |
| Geography | Speech Arts | French | |
| Human Relations | Woodwork | Latin | |
| Journalism | Art | Remedial Reading | |

The Adult Distributive Education Department classes held at the Board of Education Building list included the following not listed for adults at Austin High.

Principles & Methods of Wholesaling
Business Arithmetic
Business Mannerisms & Oral Expression
Retail Salesmanship
Business English
Retail Merchandising
Personality Development
Interior Decoration

Summer school session are held for whites at West High and Tyson junior High but Negro youth who have applied have been denied admission although there is no summer school whatsoever available for them.

An opportunity school was recently opened at the Moses Elementary school for mentally retarded educatable white children. Negro children are not accepted nor is any comparable service available for them.

Athletic teams at Negro schools are not permitted to engage in sports competition with white teams.

Qualified Negro girls are not accepted for training as registered nurses in the nurse training schools operated by Knoxville hospitals including East Tennessee Baptist, Fort Sanders Presbyterian, St. Mary's, and University of Tennessee. The city of Knoxville does subsidize some Negro student nurses to go to take training in Nashville and Atlanta, but the number is clearly limited by the amount available for subsidy. Three local hospitals have employed Negro registered nurses and this field nationally is opening up to Negroes.

Negroes are not accepted as undergraduate students at the University of Tennessee although more than 150 have been enrolled as graduate and law school students since 1952. Two other state schools, Austin Peay State College at Clarksville and East Tennessee State College at Johnson City admitted Negro freshmen in 1958.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment of Knoxville Negroes is largely limited to traditional occupations. Two state agencies in particular employ Negroes in white collar or professional jobs, but they work on a segregated basis.

More than $10 million in Federal Government Contract awards have been made to Knoxville firms in less than two years, but the firms concerned have shown very little application of the provision in every contract they agree "...not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color or national orgin." (A list of contract awards is available.)

The same policy is stated for employment by agencies of the Federal Government and the TVA and the Post Office have made progress toward following this policy. However, there are six other Federal agencies in Knoxville having from 25 to 50 employees each, and numerous smaller offices which employ no Negroes.

CHILDREN'S EVENTS

Many are the announcements which say, "Everybody is welcome." How often do they really mean that?

While a city-wide champion is declared, Negro children cannot compete for the following city-wide titles:

The quiet games, including

| | |
|---|---|
| Checkers | Pick-up Sticks |
| Chinese Checkers | Plus and Minus |
| Capture | |

The same is true of the active games

Are the following open to all eligible youth of Knoxville?

Inter-High School Student Council ???
Jaycees Teen Age Rodeo ???
Junior Red Cross ????
"I Speak for Democracy" contest held by the Junior Chamber of Commerce ???
The City Schools Band

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Out of four general hospitals in Knoxville, only the University of Tennessee Hospital accepts Negro patients.

While the "standing up" Negro is supposedly accepted everywhere, this is not the case at Knoxville's S & W Cafeteria which has refused to permit a Negro to walk through its line to select his own meal even when he intends to take his tray to a group meeting in a private dining room. Groups which include Negroes in their general membership or support continue to meet in these circumstances without known or continuing efforts to encourage a change in the S & W policy.

While Knoxville Symphony concerts are open to Negroes without discrimination, the programs of the Civic Music Association are not open to Negroes, and the Carousel Theatre is open only to Negroes with a student I.D. card but white townspeople do not face this restriction. Negroes may buy advance tickets to the University concerts, but on one occasion a lady with an advance ticket brought a guest and was refused the purchase of an additional ticket and was insulted.

Negroes are not admitted to Knoxville movie theatres either in auditorium or balcony except the one for Negroes on Vine Avenue. The implications of this on juvenile delinquency and even education can not be overlooked.

Two recent positive developments include:

Definite indication that Ft. Sanders Presbyterian Hospital will be desegregated and will employ Negro nurses when its new building program is completed. (Some efforts are to be made by local groups to encourage St. Mary's and Baptist to "open" at the same time.)

Plans for the new Greyhound bus terminal indicate that there will be no segregation in waiting rooms, eating facilities or rest rooms.

There's Nothing New

# ABOUT BEING FAIR

In January, 1957, a suit was filed in the Federal Court in Knoxville, requesting that public schools in the city be opened to all qualified students on an unsegregated basis. This was front page news.

During the last 50 years many groups and institutions in the Knoxville area have quietly followed the principle of equal rights by opening their facilities to all qualified individuals, regardless of their race, creed, or color. Some of these changes became subjects for new stories, but most of them went unnoticed because no controversy arose concerning them.

In the present emotion-charged atmosphere it is helpful to remember that the issue at stake is fairness and equality, and though its application has been spotty, the principles of fairness has been accepted by people in the Knoxville area.

Below is an inventory of progress toward desegregation in the Knoxville area, compiled by the Human Relations Council. Each item listed below represents a step to end unfair discrimination. As the people of Knoxville add to this list they do nothing new; they reaffirm the belief in the dignity and value of the individual on which our nation was founded.

## EDUCATION:

Negro students have attended the University of Tennessee Graduate School and Law School since 1952. More than 150 have been enrolled since that date. One Negro student has been pledged to a social-professional fraternity.

Maryville College, at Maryville, has desegregated its student body, and a Negro teacher was employed on a part-time basis.

The student body of Knoxville College admitted its first white students in the Fall of 1957. The faculty has been integrated since the beginning of the College.

Prepared by the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council—a group of citizens working toward the ideal of equal opportunity for all people in the area. August 1958

EDUCATION (continued):

Oak Ridge High School at Oak Ridge was desegregated in the Fall of 1955. At least one Negro teacher has been a member of the faculty since that time.

Clinton High School at Clinton was desegregated in the Fall of 1956. During the school year 1957-58 the desegregated status of the school was accepted in the school and community without incident.

The Knoxville Board of Education has conducted in-service-training for teachers and other school personnel on an integrated basis for more than five years.

Beginning in 1955 qualified Negro student practical nurses have been admitted to clinical training courses at St. Mary's Hospital.

The Playground Leaders Institute conducted by the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation has been integrated for at least five years.

RELIGION:

The Knoxville Ministerial Association became an inclusive fellowship more than 15 years ago. In 1956 a Negro minister, the Reverend W. T. Crutcher, was president of this group.

The denominational ministers' groups of Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians are desegregated in Knoxville.

The Knox Council of Church Women is desegregated.

The Immaculate Conception Catholic Church, The Holy Ghost, Catholic Church, St. John's Episcopal Church, First Lutheran Church, the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Church, and the First United Presbyterian Church have members from majority and minority groups. Some downtown "white" churches have Negro worshippers.

In Oak Ridge, the First Presbyterian Church and the Unitarian Church have Negro members; St. Stephen's Episcopal, The Society of Friends, and St. Mary's Catholic Church have previously had Negro members who left town; and three additional churches have clear policies that they will accept members solely on the basis of religious conviction.

The United Preaching Mission was held on a desegregated basis in Knoxville and Oak Ridge in 1958.

## GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS:

The professional associations of physicians, nurses, social workers, and lawyers are desegregated. The Knoxville Academy of Medicine admitted its first Negro physician in 1955.

Among Knoxville groups with an inclusive membership are the following:

- Children's Bureau Board
- City Planning Commission
- Council of Community Services
- Juvenile Court Advisory Committee
- Knoxville Health Commission
- Knoxville Area Mental Health Association
- League of Women Voters
- Metropolitan Recreation Council
- United Community Fund of Knox County

The United Christian Forces is desegregated.

A civic group, the Knoxville Men's Fellowship, was formed in 1958 with membership open to men without discrimination.

Inclusive human relations organizations include: The Knoxville Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council, and the Fellowship House of Knoxville. The latter group has sponsored an integrated day camp for children for a two weeks period during the last nine summers with more than 100 in attendance in 1958.

## PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:

Knoxville's baseball club, "The Smokies," has had Negro players since Knoxville entered the South Atlantic League in 1956. Seating for ball games in the Bill Meyer Stadium is without segregation.

Knoxville Transit Lines began operations on a desegregated basis in April, 1956. The Tennessee Coach Company announced the same policy at that time.

Chilhowee, Tyson, and Cowan public parks were desegregated in 1956.

In July, 1955, Mayor George Dempster announced that there would be no discrimination at the University of Tennessee Hospital. The Sky Chief Restaurant at Municipal Airport was opened to Negroes in 1954. All branches of the Knoxville Public Library were desegregated in 1950.

Seating at Knoxville Symphony concerts is unsegregated.

## EMPLOYMENT:

Knoxville Police Department has hired Negro policemen for more than 50 years, and the Fire Department has employed Negroes for more than 7 years.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has a policy of employing personnel without discrimination and has Negro workers with job titles of electrical engineer, statistician, duplicating machine operator, personnel clerk, and others in non-traditional jobs in Knoxville.

East Tennessee Tuberculosis Hospital, St. Mary's Hospital, and University Hospital employ Negro registered nurses and licensed practical nurses.

## A FINAL WORD:

This list is not exhaustive. A number of other businesses, associations, and organizations in Knoxville not listed here have found the ancient segregation patterns to be outmoded and detrimental to their best interests.

Also, no attempt has been made to list areas in which habitual segregation has remained unchallenged. Such a list would be much longer than this one.

It need not remain so, for the pattern of fairness and equality in human relations in Knoxville is being lived out around us each day. This list will grow as we choose to act on intelligence and principal instead of habit.

To report additions, and to request copies of this inventory, write to:

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council
P. O. Box 1011, Knoxville 1, Tennessee

(Return Postage Guaranteed)

Bulk Mailing

February 13, 1959

Mr. Galen Martin
Field Representative
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

Thank you for your letter and for your request concerning statements on schools. We are mailing you, under separate cover, twenty-five copies of the ministers' statement and twenty-five of the doctors' statement. A small quantity of these can be had free of charge but I expect we will have to charge about three cents a piece for large quantities.

The Council printed the doctors' statement. The original statement was drawn up and financed by about thirty doctors who donated three dollars a piece. I arranged with one of the doctors to secure permission to reprint, and we thought it best if our imprint did not appear.

Let me know if you need additional copies.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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**HON. J. RAY SHUTE**
*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

February 12, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for sending me the doctors' statement, which I received today. Would you please send us 25 additional copies and tell me what quantity orders would cost.

I am curious as to who had this printed.

Would you also send us 25 copies of the Atlanta Ministers' statement, and remind me what quantity copies of it would cost.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen Martin
Field Representative

GM:bkb

**Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.**

file

# Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.
CApitol 7-3660

April 29, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you very much for the copy of the articles reprinted from THE NEW REPUBLIC, entitled "Southerners and Schools".

We will hold this for Mrs. Moore's attention on her return to the office May 11th.

Sincerely,

Ruth Richmond

Ruth Richmond
Secretary to Mrs. Dudley Moore
Dept. of Community Service-USA

rr

74

September 24, 1959

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the six copies of the Hansen transcript you requested. I am planning an article for a future NEW SOUTH on this project by the Georgia Council and will let you know how things develop.

I appreciated credit for the material you have used recently in the bulletin.

Call on us any time we can help.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

# Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

~~9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.~~

CApitol 7-3660

Sept. 23, 1959

GALEN MARTIN
Box 887, Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear John:

Would you please send me 6 copies of the transcript of the Atlanta TV program featuring Dr. Carl F. Hansen. If there are transcripts or similar information about the other TV programs I could use as many as 6 copies also.

As you know the Nashville Tennessean article of May 31, 1959, and the Chattanooga Times article of March 23, 1958 were reproduced as a part of the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council Newsletters after we learned about them from you. I am grateful for your help with these and hope you will call any similar articles appearing in the future, to my attention, when you can do this without too much trouble. It just isn't possible for me to read all of even the major Tennessee papers.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely

Galen

74

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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CApitol 7-3660 *Cable address:* UNSERCOM BOSTON

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**HON. J. RAY SHUTE**
*National Campaign Chairman*

Rec'd 11/17/59

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In keeping with our recent telephone conversation in which you indicated a willingness to help us where you could to raise money for the Knoxville project, I wonder if you might be able to write a statement about our activity in Knoxville. Mrs. Moore has recently told me of new fund-raising efforts for continuation of the project here in which we believe some expression from you would be helpful.

We have prepared a recent report on the project which I will ask Mrs. Moore to send to you. It gives the background of the project; some of the problems we have faced; and some of the accomplishments which have been made in this period prior to a desegregation court order. Mrs. Moore may also write you further to give you a better idea of what she has in mind.

If you have any questions after you have received the material, don't hesitate to ask.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin
Field Representative

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

IN REPLY, ADDRESS:
Galen A. Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

cc: Mrs. Moore

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Green + original copies rec'd, T. 1 Ct. 11/30/59 WS

via air mail

November 30, 1959

Mrs. Dudley Moore
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Thank you for your letter of November 20 and the encouraging report on the Knoxville Project.

I need hardly tell you that we regard the Knoxville Project as an important and effective local effort. Galen Martin is an able, experienced intergroup relations professional, and we have had more than one occasion to be glad that he is at work in the Knoxville area.

It seems to me extremely important that the project be continued, at least until Knoxville has weathered the transition to desegregated schools. Not only will the chances of successful desegregation be greatly increased, but we will then be better able to measure the value of this kind of intensive community relations effort in advance of major social change in a community.

You are more than welcome to use this letter in connection with requests for further financial support of the project. It might be more useful,

however, if you referred prospective donors to me or to the Southern Regional Council, so that we could give our views to them first-hand.

In any case, you have our good wishes and willingness to help in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Galen Martin

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*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
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RECEIVED DEC 3 1959

December 2, 1959
(Dictated 12/1)

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for your prompt answer to my letter. I'll keep you informed of developments.

Sincerely yours,

Mathilda Moore

Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director
Dept. of Community Service--USA

MM:rr

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via air mail

July 6, 1960

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
Box 887
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

I'm glad to know you will be in Atlanta next week and will be looking forward to seeing you. I will be in the office both Monday and Tuesday; however, Ben Muse and retiring School Superintendent Brewbaker of Norfolk will also be on deck Monday for some conferring. So Tuesday would probably give us more free time, though either day would be possible.

Give me a call Monday morning and we will work it out as best suits your schedule.

Incidentally, Paul Rilling is back from his Continental wanderings and will also be available.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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CApitol 7-3660 ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
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**HON. J. RAY SHUTE**
*National Campaign Chairman*

July 5, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you may know it has been suggested that the Community Services Department of the Unitarian Service Committee consider the possiblity of assisting Atlanta human relations groups with staff and other resources. I have been asked to come to Atlanta as USC field representative to obtain a first hand overview of the situation there.

I would very much like to talk with you during the early part of my trip to Atlanta, and I write to inquire when it might be possible for us to talk. In particular, I wonder if I might be able to talk with you on Monday, July 11 or, if that isn't possible, then on Tuesday, July 12. If neither of these dates is possible, I wish you would suggest when I might see you. If I do come to Atlanta July 11 as seems indicated now, I will probably stay on for two or three days to obtain some understanding of the situation there.

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen Martin
Field Representative

GM/bje

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*Oxford 7-0248*

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August 19, 1960

Mr. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Galen:

This is to inform you that J. J. Brewbaker of Norfolk will be in Knoxville next Thursday and staying at the Andrew Johnson Hotel. Harold, who is out of town, asked me to call you today. Since I have been unable to reach you, I trust that this word will reach you at your office on Monday morning.

Brewbaker will, of course, be at the disposal of the School Superintendent, but will be happy to cooperate with you in any way possible. In case you want to get in touch with him ahead of time, he may be reached at his home in Norfolk; 545 Mayflower Road. His telephone number is Madison 7-1032.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

I have the enclosure if you're interested. H.

PA ✓
PR ✓
HF ✓

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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CApitol 7-3660 *Cable Address:* UNSERCOM BOSTON

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Minneapolis, Minnesota
*National Campaign Chairman*

---

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N.Y.*
*OXford 7-0248*

**FRANK Z. GLICK,**
*Executive Director*

November 7, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

To further explain the procedure being followed in obtaining a person for the Atlanta project, I quote from a letter from Dr. Glick to Reverend Lamar Clements as Acting Chairman of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. "Let me say again that with respect to employment of a person, Galen Martin is at work now and hopefully will turn up a possibility or two, and that suggestions will be more than welcome also from you folks in Atlanta. Of course any possible person who might be spoken to along the line should understand that after exploration as to interested and possible availability, the formal step should be an application to me. This would be followed by consultations between us, after which any formal approaches can be made."

I will send you a list of qualifications etc., soon and would appreciate having any suggestions of persons that you might learn about. As indicated, the formal applications should be sent to Dr. Frank Glick, Executive Director, Unitarian Service Committee, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts. Perhaps you can show this to Paul Anthony and Paul Rilling, with whom also this matter has been discussed.

In case you are interested, I enclosed a copy of the memo on Federal Expenditure in Knoxville which we discussed.

Sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen Martin
Field Representative

GM:am

Enclosure

**Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.**

Unitarian Ser. Com.

August 31, 1961

Mr. Ernest E. Lent, Jr. Director
Dept. of Community Service - USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Earnie:

Thank you for your good letter of August 17.

I will be looking forward to seeing you when you are in Atlanta. Why don't you give me a call as soon as you get into town.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:MBB

PR-fyi
LD

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

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Minneapolis, Minnesota
*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*OXford 7-0248*

August 17, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have received your letter to the members of SRC and your report on the Freedom Riders. Permit me to congratulate you on an excellent report. I was especially pleased with your comments relative to Freedom Riders and integration activities in general. The forthright stand that SRC is taking under your direction cannot be commended too highly. The courageous point of view taken by you and your staff deserves, and I am sure will receive, the applause of people of goodwill throughout this country. Permit me to add one approving voice to their number.

I will be in Atlanta on Monday and Tuesday, September 11 and 12, primarily for the purpose of attending the September meeting of the Board of Directors of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. If you have an unoccupied segment of time during those two days, I would very much like the opportunity to chat with you again. I presume the meeting of the Board will be for lunch on Tuesday, as usual, and it would be most valuable if I could see you prior to the meeting. I expect to arrive in Atlanta around noon on Monday.

I want to thank you for the kindness you accorded me on the occasion of my last visit. Your observations were very helpful to me and I wish you to know that I consider your counsel on matters concerning the program of GACHR a tremendously valuable and desirable asset. May I, for the sake of the record, reiterate my interest in any observations you may ever care to make.

I look forward with pleasure to the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with you and your staff.

Yours sincerely,

Ernie

Ernest E. Lent, Jr., Director
Dept. of Community Service--USA

EEL:rr

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

February 8, 1962

Mr. Ernest Lent
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Ernie:

I have given considerable thought since you were here to the matter you discussed with me. It represents, of course, a welcome possibility for pushing forward the strength and outreach of the Atlanta Council, and I am greatly interested in seeing that done.

I think that no such step, here or in any state, should be taken, however, without full discussion with and concurrence of the State Council. I think great harm would be done to the vigor of the Council movement if the ties between state and local groups are weakened. Consequently, I would not like to take part in further discussions of the merits of the idea until there is an intention to put the matter before the Georgia and Atlanta Councils for decision.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

File
Unitarian
Ser. Ctte
Gen

March 16, 1962

Mr. Ernest E. Lent, Jr.
Director
Department of Community Services, USA
Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Ernie:

Thank you for your letter of February 20. I hope you and all the family are now recovered from the bugs. I always say that people born and bred in the brier patch have no business contending with the barbarom New England climate; come on home.

I don't know what stage you and your Board are now at regarding the second Atlanta position. Perhaps too far along for my letter now to be helpful; I hope not.

I want to see the Atlanta Council strengthened as much as does anyone. Some recent events convince me that this is not the time to do so by increasing staff. I don't need to recount details. They are more of the same. They add up to a bad time for injecting any more elements to be absorbed.

We have strongly urged (insisted almost) that separate offices be obtained, and that a firm explicit financial plan be negotiated by officers (not staff) of the two Councils. If these things can't be done, I dispair.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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Minneapolis, Minnesota
*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*OXford 7-0248*

FRANK Z. GLICK
*Executive Director*

PR
LD

February 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Forgive my delay in answering your letter. Since I received it I have been out sick and my wife and children have been down with every bug imaginable.

I enjoyed very much the opportunity to chat with you again about our mutual concerns. I left Atlanta feeling very good indeed about future prospects. I know Eliza and Kay are looking forward to a busy and fruitful year and I am confident they will maintain good and close communication with the SRC.

Relative to paragraph 2 of your letter of February 8, please let me hasten to assure you that I am in complete sympathy with your feelings in this matter. I must make it quite clear, as I apparently failed to do in conversation, that the plans I spoke of will be presented as a proposal to the Atlanta Council and as such is subject to their approval and acceptance. The USC is not in a position to, nor would it ever wish to thrust or in any way force the Atlanta Council to accept the proposal. The Atlanta Council is perfectly free to accept or reject the proposal of assistance and if it should choose for some reason to reject it, it would in no way prejudice its relationship with the USC. I hope I will soon be able to officially make this offer of further assistance to the Atlanta Council whereupon its officers may discuss it with the Georgia Council.

I hope that with this clarification, you can view the plan with approval. If you have any further questions about this or any other aspect of USC relation to the Atlanta Council, I trust you will not hesitate to let me know.

If you or any of your associates, find yourselves in the neighborhood of Boston, I would be very happy to see you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ernie

Ernest E. Lent, Jr, Director
Dept of Community Services, USA

vc

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

TKR ✓
MJ - file

# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

*International headquarters*: 9 PARK STREET, BOSTON 8, MASS.
CApitol 7-3660 *Cable address*: UNSERCOM BOSTON

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MRS. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL
Minneapolis, Minnesota
*National Campaign Chairman*

*New York Office:*
*345 East 46th Street*
*New York 17, N. Y.*
*OXford 7-0248*

March 22, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am grateful for your cautionary letter of March 16. I think the points you bring up are most cogent to the developing situation. I have communicated your feelings to Kay Hoffman in a general way. I urged her to request an audience with you and Paul Rilling so that she and GACHR may have the benefit of your wise counsel. I think it is of paramount importance that all potential stumbling blocks be removed from the path of the Atlanta Council before it embarks upon any new course and I conveyed to Kay my feeling that USC is not at all impatient to have their decision upon our offer of further assistance. I much prefer delayed action to lack of preparation.

I quite agree with your feeling that the two Councils must have separate offices; indeed, I urged this when I was there in January. I must confess that I have been rather bemused all along by the difficulties that beset these two organizations in their relationship with one another. I am not so sanguine as to believe that mere physical separation will resolve all contentions but it should at least serve to reduce friction.

I trust Kay will be in touch with you soon and that among you you can plot a positive course to the mutual advantage of all. Please know that your helpful counsel and suggestions are eminently welcome to me. If there is any way in which I can be of service to you in this or any other matter, I trust you will not hesitate to call upon me.

The snow is still three feet deep in some places in my front yard and although the weather has been relatively kind to us of late, I think longingly of the brier patch when I read the daily weather reports in the Atlanta Constitution.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Ernie

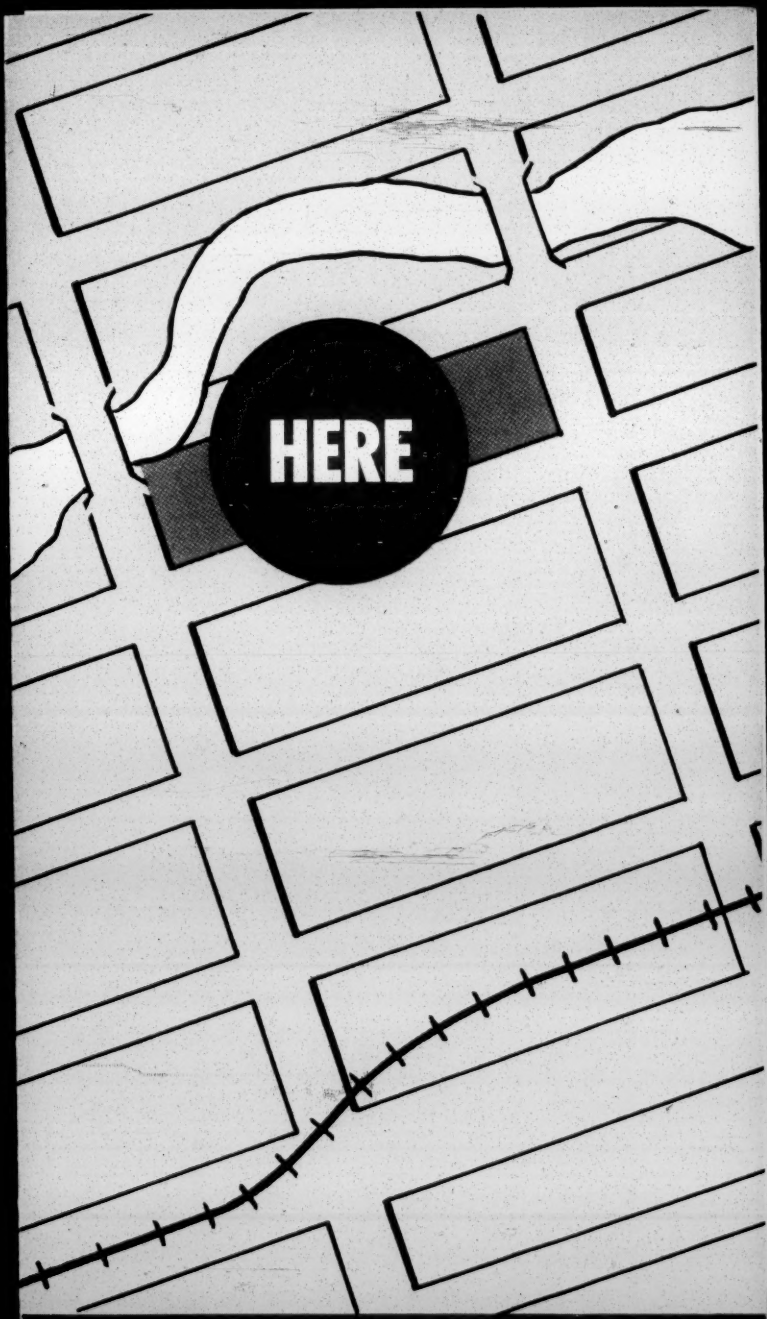
Ernest E. Lent, Jr, Director
Dept of Community Services, USA

vc

P.S. I confided to Kay the fact that I had discussed our proposal with you prior to my final announcement to her. As I told you, I did not wish to raise her hopes and then dash them before the USC Board gave its approval of the proposal.

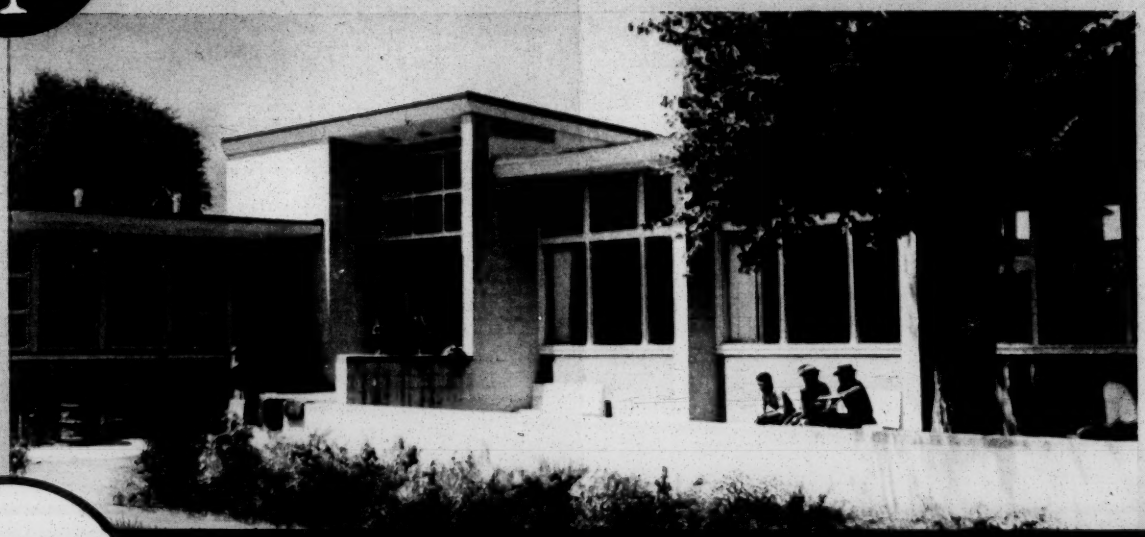
EEL

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.




# AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN GALLUP

# GALLUP INDIAN COMMUNITY CENTER



# HERE ALL PEOPLE

Family Nights
Club Groups—Young adults
Working Girls
Boys & Girls Groups
Overnight hospitality
Showers
Lounge, books, magazines & games
Children's Corner

*A skilled case worker provides:*
- Family centered services
- Counselling & Guidance
- Cooperation with other agencies

*Other specialized staff:*
- Conduct pre-school nursery
- Supervise children's playground & activities
- Extend recreation to teen-agers through local schools
- Hold sewing and craft classes
- Offer a program of career counselling

Young people enjoy square dancing

Navajo mothers learn to shop

# COMMUNITY CENTER

## HERE YOU ARE PART OF

. . . an ever-widening circle of friends and neighbors who come to the Center for counsel, good times and learning opportunities.

. . . the program of the Gallup Indian Community Center, built by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on land contributed by citizens of Gallup.

. . . community and Tribal groups which use our facilities, and other specialized projects, including services of U. S. Public Health.

# PEOPLE FIND

*A skilled case worker provides:*
- Family centered services
- Counselling & Guidance
- Cooperation with other agencies

*Other specialized staff:*
- Conduct pre-school nursery
- Supervise children's playground & activities
- Extend recreation to teen-agers through local schools
- Hold sewing and craft classes
- Offer a program of career counselling

*Education for citizenship includes:*
- Knowledge of Tribal government
- Non-partisan information for voters
- Individual rights and responsibilities
- Civic meetings

Language classes—Navajo and English

Visual aids in health education and economics

Appreciation of cultural backgrounds and arts

**Navajo mothers learn to shop**

**Indian people learn responsibilities and privileges of citizenship**

## the operating agency is the UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE

a private, non-sectarian agency, emphasizing education, social work methods and democratic processes.

Part of the cost of operation comes from income for services; part of the funds are provided through grants from Field & Schwarzhaupt Foundations to USC as well as from USC general funds. Financial needs for the Gallup project are:

### ESTIMATED 1957 BUDGET

| | |
|---|---|
| Operating Expenses | 16,690.16 |
| Salaries for 13, including Social Security | 37,209.52 |
| Insurance, licenses, auditing | 1,200.00 |
| Administration, supervision, and evaluation | 2,493.10 |
| Total | 57,592.78 |

### ANTICIPATED 1957 INCOME

| | |
|---|---|
| From Center Services | 19,090.00 |
| From U.S.C., including Field and Schwarzhaupt grants | 25,902.35 |
| Total | 44,992.35 |

**ADDITIONAL FUNDS NEEDED FOR 1957 OPERATION.....12,600.43**

## YOU CAN HELP TO BUILD

democratic human relations, based on the acceptance of all people and their needs by supporting this demonstration project.

**For additional information on this or other projects, write to:**

**Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.**
**International Headquarters**
**9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.**

## WE SERVE

**THROUGH THE COMBINED SKILLS**

of the trained staff of 13, six of whom are Navajos.

**In the first two years of operation we provided 155,000 services**

**From January through June, 1956 we provided 168,000 services**

**In August, 1956, we provided**

| | |
|---|---|
| overnight hospitality for | 503 |
| showers for | 1963 |
| family or individual services | 96 |

### GALLUP INDIAN COMMUNITY CENTER

*200 W. Maxwell, Gallup, New Mexico.*

### BOARD

Mr. John Eichman, *Chairman, representing Gallup*
Mr. P. J. Vidal, *representing Gallup*
Mr. John Brown, *representing McKinley County*
Mrs. James McDermott, *representing McKinley Cty.*
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Mr. Billie Becenti, *representing Navajo Tribal Council*

### STAFF

Mr. Herbert Leibowitz, Project Director

**Program Associates**

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Miss Phyllis Cahoon
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Mrs. Josephine Quiver
Mrs. Irene Arviso
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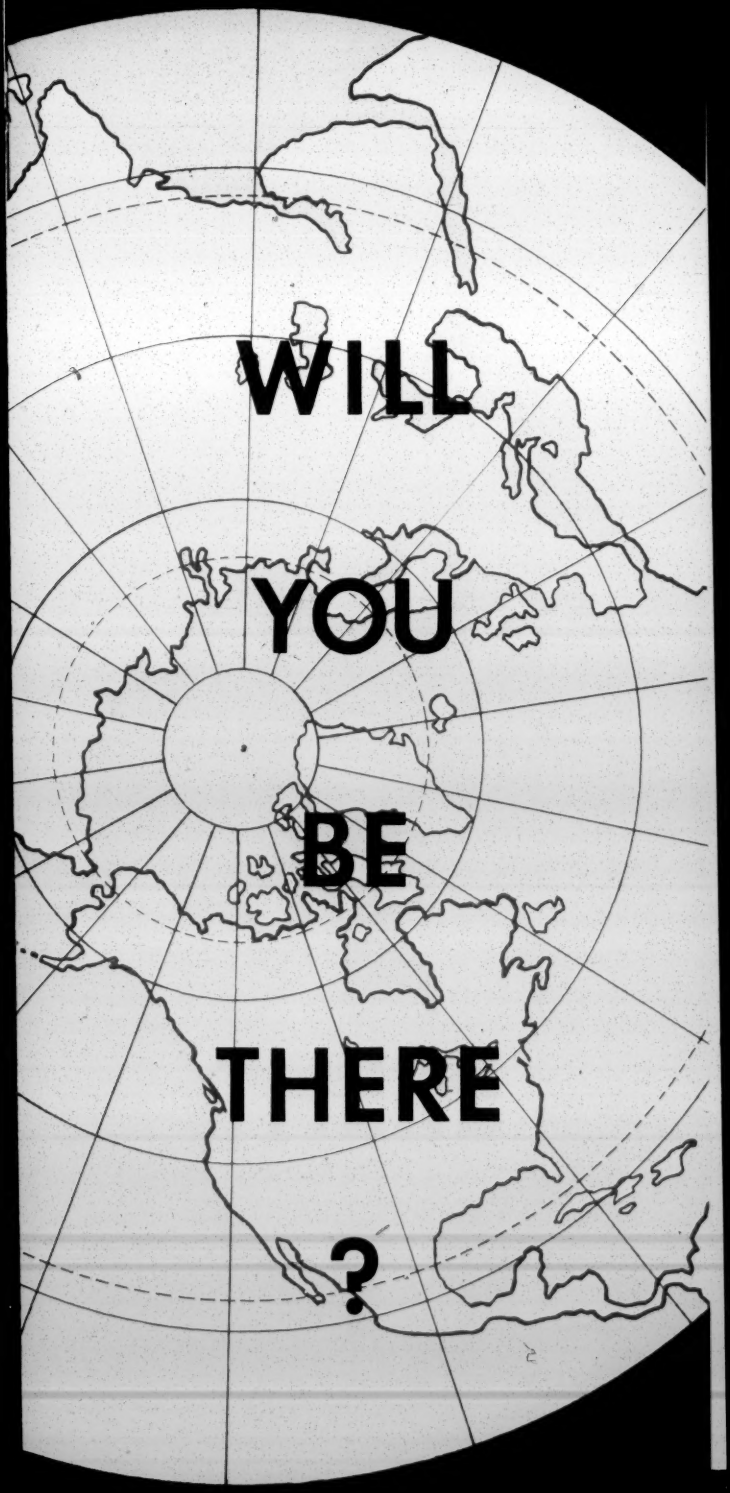
*Trained Volunteers complement the staff.*




Unitarian Service Committee

# WILL... YOU...

## *IN SOCIAL WORK AND EDUCATION OVERSEAS*

### FRANCE

Aid to Spanish refugee families.
Scholarships and apprenticeships for young refugees.

### GERMANY

Bremen Neighborhood House.
Social work training institutes.

### ITALY

Seminars with faculties of schools of social work to introduce new concepts, and to develop teaching materials for publication.

### GREECE

Workshop for in-service training of social welfare and community workers.

### CAMBODIA

Assistance in the development of the first Teacher Training Center, at the request of the Cambodian Government, with funds provided by the International Cooperation Administration.

Gordon Converse
Christian Science Monitor

### KOREA

Introduction of social work education into curriculum at Seoul National University by Korean leaders trained at the School of Social Work, University of Minnesota.

## *IN COMMUNITY SERVICES USA AND MEXICO*

### GALLUP, NEW MEXICO

At the Indian Community Center, work with Navajo people through:
citizenship education, recreation, vocational and family counseling.

### EJIDO EL PORVENIR, MEXICO

Continuing cooperation with village leaders to extend community development and medical services.

### PORTLAND, MAINE

Toy loan library—final stage of project which will become a local community responsibility.

### KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

A professional team, utilizing the knowledge and skills of community organization, group work and the behavioral sciences (social anthropology, social psychology, and sociology) will assist representative local organizations in meeting problems of human relations, particularly desegregation.

### WASHINGTON, D. C.

A neighborhood club for boys of all races, emphasizing group experience, creative skills, and the responsibility of the individual.

### OTHER COMMUNITIES

Guidance from headquarters staff in implementing USC philosophy and methods in local projects.

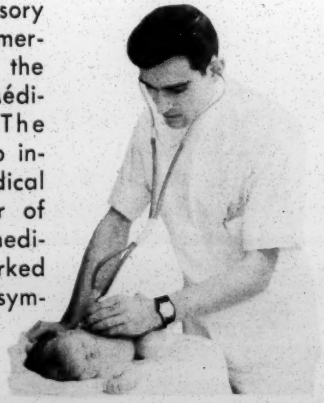
# WITH THE... UNITARIAN...

# BE... THERE?

## *IN INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL PROJECTS*

### WITH INTERNS FROM FRANCE

Sponsorship of 25 French interns in hospitals in the Eastern United States. USC is assisted in this program by an advisory committee of leading American medical men and the Comité d'Echanges Médicaux France-USA. The French endorsing group includes deans of all medical schools and a number of distinguished French medical scientists who worked with USC on the 1955 symposium in France.



French intern at Hackensack, N. J., hospital.

### WITH MEDICAL EXCHANGE TEAMS

Among project plans for 1957 is a nutrition team to visit low income areas in South America. The team includes a number of specialists—in medicine, agricultural economics, rural education and social welfare. This project has been planned in cooperation with the Instituto Internacional Americano de Proteccion de la Infancia, with headquarters in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Physicians Conferring at Symposium in Japan

## *IN REFUGEE ASSISTANCE*

Individualized resettlement of Hungarian refugees in American communities on a non-sectarian basis, in cooperation with local sponsoring groups.

Washington Post Photo

Pronouncing English is difficult. Hungarian refugees get help from volunteer, Arlington, Va.

## *IN DIRECT AID*

Spanish refugee woman tries on donated clothing at USC headquarters, Toulouse, France

Clothing and blankets contributed to USC are channeled to Spanish and Hungarian refugees, and to needy people in Germany and Austria through local cooperating groups.

Shipment is made from the Unitarian Collection Warehouse, 2331 12th Ave. at 133rd St., New York 27, N. Y.

In Vienna, emergency services by two USC staff workers to aid Hungarian people.

# SERVICE... COMMITTEE

# WERE YOU THERE?

to carry out the purposes of the Unitarian Service Committee:

## To face and accept our full share of responsibility for relieving human distress.

1947 USC dental clinic for Nazi victims in Vienna

1948 New shoes for 200 children in Italian orphanages

1947-51 Home for adolescent displaced youth, British zone of Germany

1945-48 School feeding program at Les Andelys, France

1947 Physical and occupational therapy team helps amputees in Czechoslovakia

1955 to date—Emergency services for children of migrants, California

1949 to date—Medical services and community development, Ejido el Porvenir, Mexico

## To revive human initiative, knowledge, and skill, and thus help people to help themselves.

1952-55 Education Team in Korea

1951 to date—Bremen Neighborhood House

1951 Engineering Mission to Japan

1948-50 Work with migrants in Texas

1951 Dentistry team sent at request of schools in Germany

**The Flaming Chalice** symbolizes the spirit of the Unitarian Service Committee, with a flame burning the holy oil of helpfulness and sacrifice, spreading warmth and light and hope. The USC was established in 1940 to help refugees from Nazi Europe, and incorporated in 1948 as a non-sectarian voluntary agency.

## To help restore human dignity where it has been violated, and to strengthen it everywhere.

1948 to date—Social welfare program in Germany

1946-53 Work camps at Highlander Folk School, Tennessee

1945-48 Direction and support of hospital for Spanish refugee veterans, France

1954 School-on-wheels for Navajo Indian railroad workers

1953-54 Group therapy work at camp for emotionally disturbed boys

1948 Workcamp for nursery renovation, Manchester, England

1954 to date—Integrated boys' club program, Washington, D. C.

1953-54 Work camps for students at Wingate Village, New Mexico, developing program for Navajos

## To demonstrate and share in all humility the best of our American heritage in areas of conflict and devastation.

1945 to date—Medical exchange projects in nutrition, surgery, anesthesia, obstetrics, dental education, and medical specialties and public health. Teams have gone to: Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Greece, Finland, Germany, Philippines, Japan, Israel, Iran, India, Indonesia, Colombia and France

1947-49 American medical literature contributed from USC missions forms nucleus for libraries at Universities of Freiburg, Heidelberg, Göttingen and Prague

## To maintain and give expression to the unity of mankind.

## To render service at home and abroad without regard to race, color or creed.

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**The Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.**

**Nine Park Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts**

**OFFICERS**

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Laurence M. Channing, Vice President
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Eva Whiting White, Secretary

# THE MEDICAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM
## OF THE
# UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

**MEDICAL PROJECTS DIVISION**
WILMER M. FROISTAD, *Director*
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

**INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS**
DR. FRANK Z. GLICK, *Executive Director*
9 Park Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE has sponsored medical exchange teams to 16 countries in the past 11 years. The Unitarian Service Committee is a nonsectarian, voluntary agency whose purpose is to promote human welfare through service. Personnel are chosen for professional qualifications and a concern for human needs.

The United States and a few other countries have achieved a tremendous lead in the art and science of medicine. The goodwill of medical leaders in other countries and their sincere interest in increasing exchange between their own countries and the United States is essential to effective sharing of what we know with the peoples of other countries. The host countries determine the theme of the exchange. Each group, usually from 3 to 10, is organized into a closely knit team. The activities of a team may include lectures, informal discussions, ward rounds, clinical demonstrations, and shop talk sessions.

In addition to exchange symposia teams, the USC Medical Projects Division has also worked on plans for long-term projects in underdeveloped areas and hopes to develop a demonstration project in Africa.

*Medical teams of the Unitarian Service Committee, volunteering their time, have contributed tremendously to better international understanding as well as exchange of scientific knowledge. Here, Dr. Paul Dudley White, cardiologist, confers with Czechoslovakian doctors on one of the early missions. Dr. White served as chairman of two USC teams, and helped establish principles for the conduct of medical projects.*

## ANAESTHESIOLOGY TEAM VISITS JAPAN

A good example of the symposia program is the 1956 team visit to Japan. Five American medical scientists participated in conferences with Japanese medical leaders in April and May, 1956, on the basic science aspects of anaesthesiology. The request that the USC send such a team was a direct result of visits in 1950 and 1951 by USC medical teaching missions.

The six-week visit was sponsored by the pharmacological, physiological and surgical societies of Japan and the Universities of Tokyo, Keio, Kyoto, Kyushu and Hokkaido. In addition to symposia sessions, the American doctors had informal conferences with members of the staffs of medical schools and hospitals.

Members of the American team were: Dr. M. H. Seevers, Professor and Chairman of the Pharmacology Department, University of Michigan Medical School; Dr. W. Clarke Wescoe, Dean and Professor of Pharmacology and Experimental Medicine, University of Kansas Medical Center; Dr. Joseph F. Artusio, Associate Professor of Surgery, and Dr. Walter F. Riker, Associate Professor of Pharmacology, Cornell University Medical College; and Dr. Carlton C. Hunt, Professor of Physiology, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University.

In his letter in June of 1955, requesting the Unitarian Service Committee to sponsor this year's team, Dr. Yushi Uchimura, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Tokyo, said in part, "In 1950 and 1951 we were highly honored by the visit to this country of the USC Medical Mission to Japan. On each occasion the Mission left a deep impression on us members of the Japanese medical profession. For us these contacts reaped immeasurable benefit for which we are deeply appreciative. Since then Japanese medicine has shown remarkable advancement, but unfortunately there is yet one branch which lags behind somewhat and is desperately in need of revitalization. This is the field of Anaesthesiology."

*Drs. Hashimoto, Wescoe, Ogata, Kobayshi, Seevers, Hunt and Riker conferring at Tokyo University during USC's anaesthesiology symposium to Japan in April 1956.*

A report is soon to be published on what the 1956 team accomplished. Travel costs for the team were financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

---

*American scientist, Dr. Ernest L. Dobson, discusses some factors controlling phagocytosis at international symposium on the Reticulo-Endothelial System.*

## USC TEAM TO FRANCE

Early in July 1955 in a small French village called Gif-sur-Yvette on the outskirts of Paris, six outstanding American medical scientists sponsored by the Unitarian Service Committee joined with European scientists to hold the first international medical symposium on the Reticulo-Endothelial System. This is one of the present frontiers of medicine and highly important because the RES appears to be man's principal cellular defense against harmful chemical and bacterial elements in the blood stream, some of which contribute to such maladies as cancer, heart disease, and poliomyelitis.

The symposium was sponsored jointly by the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences, established under the auspices of UNESCO, and by the Unitarian Service Committee.

Dr. Charles A. Doan, Dean of the College of Medicine,

Ohio State University, and leader of the USC team, described the meetings at Gif as "a significant contribution not only from a medical point of view but also significant in international understanding and goodwill which cannot but lead to better and friendlier relationships than otherwise would be possible."

## Team Members

Other members of the American team were: Dr. John H. Heller, Executive Director of the New England Institute for Medical Research; Dr. Paul F. Hahn, Director of the Cancer Research Laboratories, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee; Dr. Ernest L. Dobson of the Donner Laboratory, University of California; Dr. Sanford O. Byers of the Harold Brunn Institute, Mt. Zion Hospital, San Francisco; and Dr. Lewis Thomas, Chairman, Department of Pathology, New York University.

European scientists included Dr. Bernard N. Halpern, Director of Research, National Center of Scientific Research, Paris, France; Dr. A. A. Miles, Director of Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine, London, England; Professor Louis Bugnard, Director, National Institute of Hygiene, Paris, France; and Dr. J. F. Delafresnaye, Director of the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences.

The number of scientists participating in the symposium was limited to twenty so that the presentations and discussions could be both informal and intimate with a free and full exchange of ideas. As is the standing practice with USC's international symposia program, the French hosts had invited leading RES researchers from England, Germany, and Switzerland to participate. The French National Center of Scientific Research made its conference center — a beautiful 17th century chateau located in spacious formal gardens at Gif-sur-Yvette — available for living accommodations and the symposium sessions.

During the five-day program, 17 papers were presented, with discussion carrying over through mealtimes, and into the evenings. The symposium was followed by visits to a number of research laboratories in various parts of France for observation and discussion of mutual problems.

## Quotes from Participants

From the many letters Wilmer Froistad, USC's head of medical projects, received from symposium participants some of the following statements indicate how medical leaders in other countries feel about such exchange:

*Scientist Professor Louis Bugnard, acting for the host country, addresses the opening session of the RES symposium in France. Professor Bugnard is Director of the National Institute of Hygiene, Paris, and a member of the Advisory Committee on the USC French Intern Program.*

"Our French colleagues were at first mystified and then filled with admiration to learn that an American lay organization, not directly connected with scientific institutions, was so enlightened as to sponsor a mission of this kind. I think the mere fact of the sponsorship, quite apart from the scientific fruits of the conference, increased the respect of a good many Frenchmen for the American public in general."—Dr. Lewis Thomas.

"This meeting was not an ordinary one, and that for a particular reason. At the usual scientific meeting, everybody lives his own life in his hotel and converses with his colleagues from other countries only during official sessions, thus having only professional contacts. This time, we lived together in the same chateau, surrounded by a great park. We began the day together with breakfast, then we went into a scientific session. We lunched together, we dined together, and during the rest of the free time we had walks together, discussing all kinds of problems. In this manner we got in a few days to be a family, and when the week had passed, we separated as friends. So for the first time, we did not only discuss a little segment of our scientific problems, but we dealt with them all. I came home from this symposium with a feeling of grandeur, as a member of a magnificent international family."—Dr. Peter Miescher, Basel.

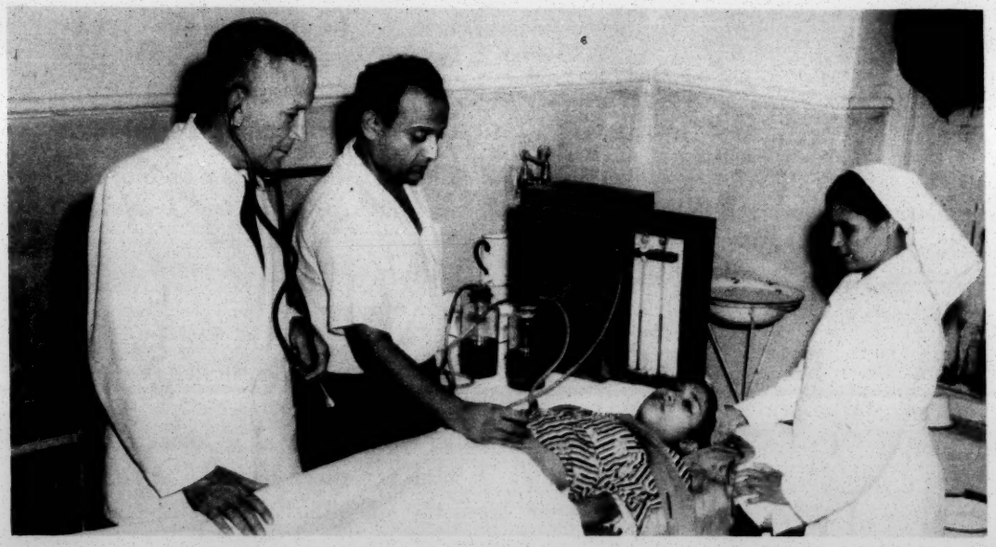
## FRENCH INTERNS PLACED IN U. S. HOSPITALS

In the summer of 1956 the Unitarian Service Committee initiated a program for the placement of nine French interns in American hospitals. Hospital facilities have expanded in the United States much more rapidly than medical training programs. Each year the number of internship positions exceeds the number of American interns available to fill them. In France the situation is the reverse. In sponsoring young French doctors the Unitarian Service Committee is helping to meet a need and to foster better international understanding.

Participating hospitals for 1956 are: Baltimore City Hospitals, Baltimore, Md.; Hackensack Hospital, Hackensack, N. J.; New Britain General Hospital, New Britain, Conn.; Central Maine Hospital, Lewiston, Me.; St. Vincent Hospital, Worcester, Mass.; and Beverly Hospital, Beverly, Mass.

The French committee on selection of candidates is under the chairmanship of Professor Louis Bugnard, Director of the National Institute of Hygiene. The United States advisory committee includes Drs. Dean A. Clark, James M. Faulkner, and William H. Forbes of Boston, and Dr. Alexander M. Burgess of Providence.

## AMERICAN GYNECOLOGIST CONSULTS ON POPULATION RESEARCH IN INDIA AND JAPAN



*Dr. Wesley T. Pommerenke and Dr. R. P. Saksang examining patient in Tis Hazan Clinic, New Delhi, India. Research sponsored by Unitarian Service Committee assisted medical schools in India and Japan on problems related to human reproduction.*

A concern for the alarming growth of population in India and Japan prompted the Unitarian Service Committee's 1954 sponsorship of research in fertility and abortion by Dr. Wesley T. Pommerenke, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, School of Medicine and Dentistry, University of Rochester. Dr. Pommerenke spent several months in India and Japan visiting many of their medical schools to consult with medical researchers, teachers and students. Among the schools he visited were: the Medical School of the University of Madras; Lady Hardinge Medical College, New Delhi, a college devoted to training Indian women doctors; the American University at Beirut; and three medical colleges in Japan.

One of Dr. Pommerenke's reports, "Abortion in Japan," appeared in the April 1955 issue of the *Obstetrical and Gynecological Survey.*

## PURPOSES OF THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE

To face and accept our full share of responsibility for relieving human distress.

To help restore human dignity where it has been violated and to strengthen it everywhere.

To maintain and to give expression to the unity of humankind.

To render service at home and abroad without regard to race, creed, color or nationality.

To revive human initiative, knowledge and skill, and thus help people to help themselves.

To demonstrate and share in all humility the best of our American heritage in areas of conflict and devastation.

December 28, '53

Dear Mrs. Kennedy,

I am sending up the two pamphlets separately. The best one is Questions and Answers - developes the issues without taking sides. The other is for discussion groups that have gone beyond getting acquainted, and are interested in the present differences between white and Negro local schools. Remarkable success, all over the South, in the use of both, but of Q and A especially.

Your group could get hold of the survey made some years ago by the League of Women Voters, was it, on schools in Knoxville, and satisfy yourselves as to the exact present stat of equalization. Next step would be to study residential segregation in the city and vicinity, and puzzle out what schools would be afftected (and which much and which little) by a desegregation rule. Then how many teachers would be affected, and what would be the relative standing, in seniority, training, and experience, of those affected. What are the arrangementson teacher tenure in force in the Knoxville schools, and how would these affect the white and the Negro teachers involved? In short, try to plan out, in detail, the changes that would folow on various possible decisions. Also, what suits, where, would bring Knoxville into line with whatever may come from the Supreme Court. Then there's the whole business of the State in general, and the chance it has, uniquely because of its many thinly-Negro counties, to give a lead to the rest of the South in changing over. M only sugges tion is that your group be so well informed that its views and its members will carry weight.

Do be in touch with Mrs. Spahr, and whatever proceeds towards a second meeting of her group January 12.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

RECEIVED
DEC 23
Southern Regional Council

Little Switzerland Road
Knoxville, Tennessee
December 23, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You may remember that after you spoke at Unitarian House here on December 14 I mentioned that our Women's Alliance would be interested in working on some of the projects you mentioned. We thought the first thing we could do would be to get some of the leaflets or pamphlets you mentioned (I recall you emphasized two particular publications but I don't recall their titles) and distribute them where they might do some good.

We wondered what other suggestions you might have for a group such as ours. There is some feeling that because the Unitarian group is small and branded as "liberal" anything we might do would be more or less futile as compared with the influence that a more numerous and solid group, such as the Methodists, could wield. However, not all of us share that pessimism--enough so that we want to get together and at least <u>try</u>.

If you haven't time to write us any concrete suggestions, would you please send us a sample each of the leaflets you spoke of and let us know how much they are, singly or in quantities, so that we can decide how to order.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Anne M. Kennedy

Mrs. Kenneth R. Kennedy

June 14, 1954

Mrs. Kenneth Kennedy
Little Switzerland Road
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Kennedy:

I am sorry I was away when your letter of June 3rd came, and it is probably now too late to get any useful material to you.

The following is a list of the Southern cities and towns and counties which have quite lately elected or appointed Negro persons to their school boards: Newport News, Richmond, Roanoke, Raleigh, Winston Salem, Darlington, Augusta, Atlanta, Knoxville, and Gainesville, Georgia.

Also Rock Hill, South Carolina has set up a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, mainly to work on the schools problem. The City Council in Charlotte, N.C., has authorized the Mayor to appoint such a committee. And I hear there is interest in Anderson, South Carolina and High Point, North Carolina. Best to do as you have done in Knoxville -- get a representative Negro person on the school board -- otherwise the next things are outlines in the enclosed article for the Journal of Negro Education, which I am enclosing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Little Switzerland Rs.
Knxoville, Tenn.
June 3, 19

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Again we turn to you for help. Our Unitarian Womens group has been meeting to study something about this problem of schools and segraegation and we are asking you this time if you have any material telling what other localities are doing or have done on this score.

We are having a general meeting next week with a couple of T.VA. lawyers a psychologist and a social worker talking on What is the next step...but we would like to hear from your office too. Thank you and best personal wishes,

Sincerely

Anne Kennedy

(Mrs. Kenneth Kennnedy)

February 24, '54

Dear Mrs. Johnson,

Pick your time between March 15 and 20, and I can work it out. I'm due to be going to New York fairly soon, and could stop. But let me know as soon as you can.

If this is too soon, say so, and I'll hope for a trip in May or April.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PS I like to pick up about five new members, at three dollars apiece, for each such speech-making? Without guaranteeing it, do you think it likely? GSM

**First Unitarian Church**
*Floyd Avenue at N. Harrison Street*

*Dilworth Lupton, Minister*
*Manse: 101 N. Harrison Street*

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

*Richmond 20, Virginia*
February 23, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

We have heard glowing accounts of your series of talks at our Unitarian Summer Institute at Blue Ridge in August of 1952, from both the Luptons and the Vockroths of this church. And then the weekly newsletter of our Knoxville, Tenn., Unitarian church told of your speaking there this past December on "The Courts, the Schools, and Segregation: What Will the South Do?"

Is there any chance that you will be traveling this way in March (or late April or May) so that our Religious Education Committee could sponsor you in a similar talk in our church? We would like this to be a public, unsegregated, evening meeting.

Perhaps by that time the final part of the topic would have to be "What is the South Doing?"

At present Richmonders seem to fear an open discussion of this subject. Most of our members feel that it needs thoughtful, informed, talking over.

Last February we had the topic -- worded "Unsegregated Schools -- a Workable Reality?" -- for one of our monthly Discussion Group meetings. To it Mrs. Lupton (on the local NAACP board) invited about a dozen leaders of the Negro community. You will recognize their names, I'm sure: Dean Henderson of Virginia Union, Dr. Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, Mr. Gilliam, of the Negro Organization Society, Mr. Hall, executive secretary of the Urban League, Oliver Hill, etc.

They were scattered about the room, with 46 of our members who turned up that night, and took part in an outspoken but friendly discussion. It was a rare experience for all of us.

If you could get to Richmond we, of course, would want you to have dinner and stay overnight with one of our families.

We know that a talk by you in this city could do a great deal of good.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret H. Johnson

Margaret Hall Johnson
(Mrs. Roger D. Johnson), chairman
Religious Education Committee
1517 Laburnum Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

Marguerite

March 8, '54

Dear Mrs. Johnson,

All right for Friday, March 19, 8.00 P.M. at the Church. If someone will ask me to dinner that evening so much the better. As to sleeping, I belong by rights at Julia Hill's house, but with Julia crippled and Ruth and a nurse there may not be space for me there. So, could you offer me to Ruth Hawes, and if it doesn't quit her, as probably it won't, sell somebody else on having me?

Born in Richmond, 1902. To school in Virginia and South Carolina and Maryland and Delaware. To College in Delaware and at U. of R., from which degree in 1923. Three years at Johns Hopkins, for Ph D in Economics. Three years at Oxford. Six years at Columbia, teaching Economics. Nine years in the New Deal, ending as Assistant Administrator for the Farm Security Administration. A year and a half as Southeastern Regional Director for the CIO Political Action Committee, and since 1945 with the Southern Regional Council, of which Executive Director since 1947. Glossy, needing haircut, herewith.

Will bring literature, and will hope for some helpful new members!

I'll probably be driving, and may spend some of the 19th in Washington, but I'll be on time at dinner; just let me know where.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

# *First Unitarian Church*

*Floyd Avenue at N. Harrison Street*

*Dilworth Lupton, Minister*
*Manse: 101 N. Harrison Street*

*Richmond 20, Virginia*


March 4, 1954

Dr. George S.Mitchell
Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

We are delighted to find that you can arrange to be here in Richmond sometime during the week of March 15 - 20 to give a talk in our church. At a meeting of our Religious Education Committee last night, we chose Friday, the 19th at 8:00 p.m. for the date and hour,hoping that is still convenient for you. One of our members will be glad to entertain you for dinner and overnight unless your schedule does not permit.

Can you send us as soon as possible some biographical material and a glossy print or mat, so that we can publicize your being in Richmond?

Will you also have literature available for distribution? The Religious Education Committee feels that you will have no difficulty in adding five new members to your organization after the meeting.

Sincerely,

Margaret H. Johnson

Margaret H. Johnson

(Mrs. Roger D. Johnson, Chairman,
Religious Education Committee)
1517 Laburnum Avenue
Richmond 27, Virginia

2423 Vail Avenue, Apartment A-12
Charlotte 7, N. C.
December 27, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Forum committee for the ~~Unitarian Church~~ here would like to express its thanks to you and to Mr. Routh for his talk here.

It was very interesting and we have heard a number of good comments on it. We always wish we had a larger audience for such a good talk, but it was an interested group.

Thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Harriet Doar

Harriet Doar
Chairman

Unitarian

November 22, 1954

Miss Harriet Doar
2423 Vail Avenue
Apartment A-12
Charlotte, N.C.

Dear Miss Doar:

Although I am a poor substitute for George Mitchell, I shall be glad to speak to your group the evening of Wednesday, December 15th in Charlotte and I would appreciate your transferring the hotel reservation from Dr. Mitchell to me. I have spoken to the Unitarian Church in Miami on several occasions and the Unitarian minister there, Joe Barth, is one of my good friends and was kind enough to support me in my bid for U.S. Congress this past Spring.

Dr. Mitchell tells me you want some information on my background. Roughly, it is this: I was reared in Coral Gables, Florida, and attended elementary school and high school there. I did my undergraduate work and also received a Master's degree from the University of Miami. I did my doctoral work at the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. For the past three years I was with the Department of Human Relations at the University of Miami. One summer (1951) I taught at the University of Heidelberg, the University of London and at the Sorbonne with a traveling workshop.

In the Miami area I have been active in the community in such things as the Dade County Council on Community Relations, the Greater Miami Foundation for Civic Education, the Coral Gables YMCA, the Cooke Cancer Research Foundation and was president of the Greater Miami United Nations Association. I am a member of AAUP, Florida Academy of Sciences, the Southern Historical Association, Omichron Delta Kappa, Phi Delta Kappa, Pi Kappa Delta.

During World War II I was with the U.S. Naval Reserve in the Pacific Ocean area as Lt. (jg), U.S. Naval Air Intelligence.

Beyond the above information, I am thirty-one and single. I don't think you need a picture of my mug to stick in the local press. It might frighten away some of the crowd which would otherwise come.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director - State Organizations

FBR/rnf

October 28, 1954

Miss Harriet Doar
2423 Vail Avenue
Apartment A-12
Charlotte, North Carolina

Franklin 68845

Dear Miss Doar:

All straight for 8:00 p.m. Friday December 15, for the Unitarian Forum at Charlotte.

All I have to do in Anderson is to make a speech the night of the 14th. I sleep in Anderson and will drive over to Charlotte the morning of the 15th. If you could book a room for me in the hotel, I will want to get some sleep that afternoon because I will have to take a night plane to get to New York the next morning.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

2423 Vail Avenue, Apartment A-12, Charlotte, N.C.

RECEIVED
10/27/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We'd very much like to have you speak to the Unitarian Forum on Wednesday, December 15. Would you like for me to make a hotel reservation for you that night, or would you rather go back to Anderson? I'm glad you are speaking so near and that this fits into your plans...except for the leaves. The committee would like to have you as dinner guest before the meeting, which begins at 8 p.m., if it's convenient.

If you would send me your subject and some material for publicity about two weeks before that date, I'd appreciate it. We will ask Mr. Jones to introduce you and will probably be calling on him later.

Thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Harriet Doar

Harriet Doar
Chairman, Unitarian Forum

Bonington Hotel
Charlotte
Wed Dec 15th
6-6:30 she'll feed me
Speech 8 pm

October 14, 1954

Miss Harriet Doar
2423 Vail Avenue
Apartment A-12
Charlotte 7, North Carolina

Dear Miss Doar:

I am tied up till December with meetings in Boston, Shreveport, etc.

The nearest I could come to it would be to take advantage of an engagement at Anderson, South Carolina, Tuesday, December 14, and go on from Anderson to be with you in Charlotte, Wednesday, December 15.

That wouldn't cost you but about ten or twelve dollars for the travel from Anderson to Charlotte and back from Anderson.

Our people in North Carolina have just picked up Harry Jones. Why not book him as your speaker for any one of those evenings and let me stay at home and rake leaves? But if you want me to leave the leaves, I am willing.

Sincerely,

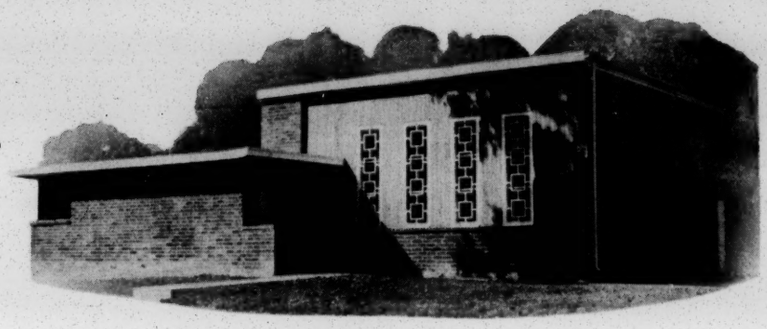
George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

**UNITARIAN CHURCH of Charlotte, N. C.**

1626 East Boulevard Phone 3-2103

Edward Allison Cahill, Minister



October 9, 1954

Nov. 19 - Boston
✓ Nov. 5th - nothing in the file
Dec 3 - Shreveport, La
✓ Dec 17 - nothing in file
ch

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our committee for the Unitarian Forum which this church sponsors twice a month would like to find out if there is a chance that you might speak to the group. We operate on practically no budget and were just hoping that you might be up this way on other business and might have the time and good will to speak to us.

We are particularly interested in the questions connected with the ending of segregation. This is not a large group but it is an interested and concerned one and would very much enjoy hearing you.

At present we still have the dates of Nov. 5, Nov. 19, Dec. 3, and Dec. 17 open. As we are anxious to complete our program we would appreciate it very much if you would let us know if you would be in this neighborhood any of these dates. We usually have the meetings on Friday nights (which those dates are) but can rearrange our schedule for another night if that would fit in better.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Harriet Doar

Harriet Doar

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1954
Southern Regional Council

Please reply to my home address:

2423 Vail Ave., Apt. A-12, Charlotte 7, N. C.

February 28, 1955

Mr. Alfred W. Hobart
Unitarian Church
50 Oak Street
Crestline Heights
Birmingham 9, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hobart:

In 1951 as the result of a series of conferences by a sub-committee of the Board, the Southern Regional Council's Board, and then its membership, adopted the enclosed policy statement, putting us on record against segregation.

I send that statement and some of our recent publications which should be helpful.

I rejoice to see the new spirit moving in Birmingham. Goodness knows good causes have been repressed in the city for long enough.

Do build a local group. We will help in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Under separate cover:
1951 policy statement
Answers for Action
New South (last three issues)
Questions and Answers

# Unitarian Church, Birmingham, Alabama

50 OAK STREET
CRESTLINE HEIGHTS
P.O. Box 9036
BIRMINGHAM 9, ALABAMA

ALFRED W. HOBART
Minister

FEB 25 1955

February 24, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are in the process of organizing a local chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relationships here in Jefferson County, and it has fallen to my pleasant lot to carry the at least initial responsibility as temporary chairman. It seems very important to me that we should as soon as possible draw up a set of principles and purposes so that present and prospective members may know what they are joining. This is especially significant here where we have a committee connected with the Community Chest which is thought to be interested in working mainly within the segregation pattern, whereas our position, as I would think, is to oppose the traditional pattern. I would not be interested in continuing with the Council otherwise.

No doubt you have available some materials which can be adapted or at least will serve as sources of ideas. I would very much appreciate having the use of such material.

We seem to be off to a quite encouraging start here - Lord knows not before it was needed.

Thank you for whatever help you can give.

Sincerely,

Alfred W. Hobart

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

April 13, 1955

APR 15 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Appreciate very much your telephone call and the packet of materials I received yesterday. It was thoughtful of you to have marked some of the items.

I am sure we will be able to follow through on some of your pertinent suggestions.

Sincerely,

Warren Gauerke.

Warren E. Gauerke
Associate Professor

WEG/hh

Watson

April 11, 1955

Mr. Warren Gauerke
Associate Professor
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gauerke:

I send you separately some items that should be helpful.

Mrs. Hamilton thinks that your group will be further along if you begin to dig out the local facts yourselves. You have got a church from whose memberships you can draw people of both races, and our best notion would be that you could use your own people and together draw up the local facts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
Now is the Time - Lillian Smith
School Integration- NCCW
It can be Done - NAACP
St. Louis Integrates its Schools - LWV
A Memo on School Integration - NCLCH
Answers for Action - SRC
Southern School News - Dec., Jan., & Feb.

cc: GTH

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GRACE T. HAMILTON . . .

Suggest that group
subscribe (request) So. School
Memo. Review suggested
in enclosed material —
re practice activities to
extend their own
knowledge — and then
decide what they will
do.
Unless advise re
guests (?). knowledge
contacts & mentors &
the group would seem
a good basis for beginning
(over)

See [illegible]
for (3)

GTH - for advice to GSM.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

APR 11 1955

April 9, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A small group at the Unitarian Church, of which the minister Mr. Canfield is a part, is anxious to obtain suggestions from you regarding some directions in which to move to help carry out the rulings of the courts regarding integration in the public schools.

As chairman of the committee, I would appreciate help from you concerning (1) some specific activities you believe the Church might sponsor to aid in "pushing along" this task, (2) persons who are willing and able to come to meetings at the Church or homes, and (3) suggestions as to materials we may have overlooked.

To save your time, please call me either at DE 1621, Ext. 397, or EV 1001. We will be grateful for your aid.

Most sincerely,

Warren Gauerke.

Warren Gauerke,
Assoc. Prof.

Rev. Paul N. Carnes,
First Unitarian Church,
1208 Vance Avenue,
Memphis 4,
TENNESSEE.

November 28th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Carnes,

I could be with you any day (or evening) from December 13th through the 16th, or in January on dates other than January 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, or January 18th - 23rd. Trouble is somebody would have to scare up the money to pay expenses - only.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

# First Unitarian Church

1208 VANCE AVENUE

MEMPHIS 4, TENNESSEE

PAUL N. CARNES, MINISTER

PHONE 2-1880 OR 33-4124


November 23, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Several months ago we formed the Memphis Council of Human Relations, as a branch of TCOHR. But we have been having a difficult time getting off the ground.

Would it be possible for you to pay us a visit? We would like to have you before Christmas, if possible; if not, after the first of the year.

Yours cordially,

Paul N. Carnes

Paul N. Carnes

January 30, 1956

Mr. and Mrs. Dilworth Lupton
1518 North Abingdon Street
Arlington 7, Virginia

Dear The Luptons:

Very nice to hear from you. I go back through the Hills, as you know, to Mr. Pratt and a long time ago in the Richmond Unitarian Church. And we all praise the Canfields here. I hang by the skin of my teeth to being some form of Trinitarian.

This office abounds in just such books as will be helpful and I send you some as a present. They are sent to us foundationally in order that we may get them to people who will read them.

The best writing on race matters these days is coming from the pen of J.M. Dabbs in Presbyterian Outlook (its address in Richmond: 1 North 6th Street, Richmond 19, Virginia). Dabbs is a sometime professor of English at Coker who unexpectedly inherited a plantation and quit professing and began raising lettuce. Devout Presby, and the professing urge comes out in this form. One of those mountain peaks of character which occasionally sticks up in South Carolina (and used to stick up in Virginia!)

I did a little article recently for a Catholic publication on how non-Southerners should behave in these latitudes. A copy herewith.

I will be spending this coming Sunday night, February 5, at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. - on my way North. If we have cause to converse by phone or otherwise, leave a phone note at the Club.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

*Dilworth and Lisa Hall Lupton*

*1518 North Abingdon Street*
*Arlington 7, Virginia*

RECEIVED JAN 30 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell –

Mrs Lupton and I had the pleasure of hearing you speak at the Blue Ridge Conference. At that time I was minister of the Unitarian Church in Richmond.

Now I'm retired and plan to help all I can to further desegregation through news articles in this area, using five years experience as a daily columnist in the Cleveland Press.

Would like some advice about reading material. I take the New South, the Crisis and the Christian Century. Are there other periodicals I need?

My books on the subject are scanty. I have ordered Walter White's book, also Ashmore's. Would you advise my getting others, say 3 more?

In the Richmond Unitarian Church they now have 8 or 10 Negro members, mainly educators.

The New South I find particularly helpful.

Wish I were a Southerner like you, for these Virginians look on me and all others not having Dixie "blood" as "outsiders" and call us such.

*Dilworth and Lisa Hall Lupton*

*1518 North Abingdon Street*
*Arlington 7, Virginia*

RECEIVED MAR 1 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell.

Your "How to be Helpful through Northern" reads as though you were talking and carries a powerful amount of TNT rolled up harmless-like in cotton batting.

Many thanks for the books. Ashmores' "The Negroes and the Schools" is especially helpful.

I, too, knew Mr. Pratt years ago. To be exact in 1914 when he had charge of the Unitarian House at Chautauqua, N.Y.

Glad you like the Carfields.

Mr. Lupton joins with me in sending congratulations about your work — we read "The New South" from kiver to kiver.

Sincerely,

Dilworth Lupton.

2/24-56

July 17, 1956

(Dictated July 16th)

Mr. Stillman P. Williams
9 Sheridan Street
Lexington 73, Massachusetts

Dear Stillman:

Very nice to hear from you. We cherish you both.

Josephine, by the best of my knowledge, is in Florida, and a couple of letters I had fired at her lately have had no response. If you succeed in bringing her to activity, more power to you.

You can reach Lillian directly at Clayton, Georgia. My information is that she has lately accepted very few engagements.

I have a nominee. Excellent liberal, not noisy, Southern Presbyterian parson, named Jack Marion, who runs the Virginia Council on Human Relations at 100 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va. He is my most Northerly outpost, and therefore does a certain amount of getting about to Northerly points. Able speaker; minutely informed; judicious; 43 or 44; pleasant personality; altogether a good egg. There's a sensible and well informed woman in Cambridge, Massachusetts who runs some kind of human relations show for Cambridge. Her name is Mrs. Catherine T. Johnson, 38 Kirkland Street. She would do you a good job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

P.S. Josephine just materialized. In good working order.

STILLMAN P. WILLIAMS
9 SHERIDAN STREET
LEXINGTON 73, MASSACHUSETTS

13 July 1956

RECEIVED JUL 16 1956

Dear George and Josephine:

We have an inquiry to direct to both of you so are writing this letter in duplicate. Will you be so good as to reply within the next 10 days, if that is possible from your respective locations.

Stilly, Lindsley, and I have just returned from our 4th annual "vacation" at the Isles of Shoals, off of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where we participated in a Unitarian family conference. This is always a very happy affair among congenial people, and is attended by about 230 persons. This year about 118 of this number were children. The purpose of such a week is to afford an inexpensive vacation for whole families, but at the same time intellectual stimulation is provided for the adults through daily, morning lectures-discussions given by someone prominent in his/her particular field. The children are divided up into age groups, with activities arranged accordingly. Afternoons are usually spent in swimming, tennis, baseball, trips about the island, arm-chair loafing and chatting, sun-bathing, reading--as you like it. Various kinds of entertainment--square-dancing, stunt night, movies--take place in the evening. The days begin and end with a simple chapel service. All of these activities are made available; no one is expected to participate in more than he wishes.

The organization of the conference is under the chairmanship of one couple elected each year; they choose their committees, speaker, staff, etc. You both know all about volunteer groups--this is no different. Some of the people responsible for parts of the children's program receive room and board free, but no cash recompense in addition. Speakers are also paid in the same chary way--room and board for family and boat transportation from Portsmouth, round trip.

It is with regard to a speaker for next year that I am writing to you. Do you think Lillian Smith might conceivably be interested in filling that spot? It would be for one week, ~~July 6 to 13~~ June 29 to July 6. As she has no family the conference, we believe, would instead guarantee her transportation costs, round-trip, and of course provide the board and room. But there could be no cash in addition.

On the non-cash, credit side of the ledger, she would find a stimulating audience each morning of from 60 to 90 persons, probably ranging in age from 28 to 70, with the greater portion somewhere, like ourselves, in between. Almost all of them would be Unitarians, and most of them from the Middle Atlantic and New England states, with a good representation from the Montreal church. They would be people active in community groups at home, as well as in their local churches. Almost all of them would be parents and have the problems of child-raising actively before them.

At one of the chapel services I read an excerpt from her book, The Journey. Her searching out of people, as she did in that book, impressed the group very much. And of course we were able to add, in conversations, some bits of biography that these people were unfamiliar with, such as the camp in North Georgia. The three aspects of Lillian Smith that we think make her an excellent choice for a speaker for this particular group are:

(1) Her interest and studies into personality
(2) Her interest and knowledge of children and their behavior patterns
(3) Her own liberalness against a conservative background

We have heard her talk on two different occasions in Atlanta, and both times were terrifically moved by her abilities, her human-ness, her sincerity, and her clarity. But we don't feel knowledgeable enough to write her directly without some encouragement (I might add, considerable) from you. Neither do we know her address nor what kind of commitments she has at the present time.

This letter is being written to you at our own suggestion but with the knowledge and forceful assent of next year's conference chairmen. On the basis of your replies they would then write to Miss Smith directly, assuming encouragement from you. The conference chairmen are Vera and Oscar Weiner, Akron, Ohio. He is director of a child-care institution in that city.

Previous speakers at similar Family-Week conferences have been: Francis Russell, U. S. State Department; Harry and Bonaro Overstreet; Donald Harrington; Norman Cousins; Dr. Sam Bois (Montreal); and this year Rev. Harry Scholefield, Minister of the Unitarian Church in Philadelphia.

The conference site is Star Island, one of about 10 small islands comprising the Isles of Shoals, approximately 10 miles due east of Portsmouth. The physical plant leaves much to be desired, consisting as it does of one very large wooden hotel, several adjoining cottages, several new "motel" units, and several very attractive buildings built of native stone. But as one former guest aptly phrased it, "Tis a place where the principles are more important than the plumbing." We think Miss Smith would be more interested in the former than the latter! Would you agree?

Please feel free to be as frank in reply as you wish to, and to make any suggestions you feel relevant. We do appreciate your considerations.

Sincerely,

Muriel and Stillman

Muriel and Stillman

Unitarian

October 9, 1956

Mrs. Bill King
1416 Pinehurst
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mrs. King:

My people have delightedly sent on the things you wanted.

I notice in our press that Miami is going to take our good Unitarian parson, Canfield. Good man, and has a good wife.

I expect our people here were over-enthusiastic as to probable purchasers at your October 10th meeting. I see they sent twenty-five of most things, and thirty of the free ones.

The manufacturer's recommended resale price is as follows: Changing Patterns 25¢, Three Views 10¢, Baltimore Report free, Next Steps 20¢, What the Courts Said 10¢; postage came to $1.69.

I would recommend your being kind enough to send back to us any proceeds that you may think properly due to us. And the surviving surplus of pamphlets you might either dispose of usefully thereabouts without charge, or mail for cheapness of postage to Bill Williams at the Florida Council on Human Relations at 324 South Beach Street at Daytona Beach.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RHA
Mr. William Williams

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

Please Send on Consignment
to: Mrs. Bill King, Secretary
Unitarian Fellowship Group
1416 Pinehurst
Orlando, Fla.

25 copies each of -
25 Changing Patterns - .25
25 3 Views - .10
30 Baltimore Report - free
25 - Next Steps .20
25 - What the Court Said .10

$1.69 postage

sent 10/2/72

1416 Pinehurst
Orlando, Florida
October 1, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On Wednesday, October 10, the Fellowship Group of the First Unitarian Church of Orlando is having a meeting on Public School Integration. Our program is set (one of the outstanding Negro women of our community will speak), but we do not have available any quantity of literature--phamplets, newspapers, mimeographed material, or paper-back books--on the subject. If you have such material which we could have on consignment, to be returned to you if not sold? The quantity of each item would be small. We do not expect more than 20 to 30 people to attend, and only 1/4 to 1/2 of these will be interested in doing any additional reading.

Because of the lateness of the date, will you please go ahead and mail to me any material relating to the subject if you have such available? Thank you very much.

Mabel H. King

Mrs. Bill King
Secretary
Unitarian Fellowship Group

RECEIVED OCT 2 1956

Unitarian

10/16/56

FBR:

Here's a letter from Mrs. King in your state. I was incompetent to answer the last part of page 2.

Can't you write her and tell her what there is. The part with the penciled line around it I had copied and sent to Myles for his private joy.

Encls.
GSM/eab

October 16, 1956

Mrs. Bill King
1416 Pinehurst
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mrs. King:

We are most grateful for the check which concludes the whole matter with profit to all. Quite right to do what you did with the tiny surplus of pamphlets.

I am so glad you went ahead with the local meeting. That's the right way to make things move.

I am inexpert on the question of materials for the teen-agers, but Fred Routh is knowledgeable in that matter, and I am asking him to write you when he comes back from a quickie vacation in Canada.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: FBR

Return to Eah

RECEIVED NOV 16 1956

Mrs. P. L. Miles
55 Hibiscus Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Mr. C. H. Parrish
976 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, President of this Fellowship has urged us to invite you to speak before our group.

We would like very much to have you come for Sunday Morning December 23. We are suggesting that you tell the Louisville Story for we feel that the presentation of that attainment by you is most fitting to commemorate the birth of Jesus.

Our meetings are held at 11 O'clock ; so no doubt you will plan to arrive on Saturday afternoon.

We will pay your expenses from Atlanta to Daytona and return. If you have no plans for spending the night with freinds, one of our members would like to offer you hospitality.

I have notified Mr. W. K. Williams of our intention of inviting you to Daytona Beach and he advises me that the Florida Council has some plans for you.

Although the date we have selected is quite close to Christmas, I am in hopes that you will be able to be with us. I shall appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

Frances W. Miles

Frances W. Miles
Program Chairman

copy to:
Mr. W. K. Williams
Mr. G. S. Mitchell

November 2, 1956

Mrs. P. L. Miles
55 Hibiscus Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Miles:

The answer of both Mr. Parrish and George Mitchell is that if you want either of us for a set date, it will need the payment of travel expenses (nothing more) from Atlanta to Ormond Beach and back to Atlanta.

Mr. Parrish is frequently in Atlanta on SRC business, and I should think it would be manageable with him to persuade him on some intending visit to Atlanta to go on down to serve you. Work it out with Mr. Parrish, whose address is 926 South Sixth Street, Louisville, Kentucky. SRC probably could cover the Louisville-Atlanta-Louisville leg of Mr. Parrish's journey as we would have that in any case. Remote possibility that Parrish or Mitchell, or even in some cases both, may be inspecting around in your neighborhood, in which case on short notice we could tell you that one or the other of us will be around. I expect that if you got hold of Mr. Bill Williams over at the Florida Council on Human Relations, 324 South Beach Street in Daytona Beach, you could persuade him to help you out on some modest fraction of the travel expenses. He has been asking me to come down, but I am so chinchy that I never move unless somebody else pays for it.

Honored by the invitation, and would like to come. And so, I am sure, would Mr. Parrish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

# The UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP of DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO:
Mrs. P. L. Miles
55 Hibiscus Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Ormond Beach, Florida
October 29, 1956

George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georiga

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This letter is being written at the suggestion of our President Mr. Herbert M. Davidson to find out if you might be coming to Florida this winter and if so if you would be willing to address this Fellowship on Sunday morning?

Mr. Davidson also suggested that I ask about the possibility of Dr. Parrish of the University of Louisville also being in this area and if he would be willing to speak for a Sunday service.

Mrs Florence Small of Bethune Cookman who is one of our members also urged me explore these program possibilities.

We have an open date December 23 which might work out for Dr. Parrish during his Christmas vacation.

I am certain you appreciate the time it takes to arrange a year's program; so I shall consider it a favor to hear from you as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

Frances W. Miles

Frances W. Miles
Program Chairman

January 14, 1957

RHA:

I puzzled over this, but I think it is all right.

This is the church lady (Unitarian) advising the Florida Council to pay its half of the run Atlanta-Ormand Beach-Atlanta, and evidentally the church lady is to pay the other half of that run.

So between the two, we should be made whole in the sum of $48.84.

GSM/eqb

Religious - Unitarian

March 20, 1957

The Reverend Mr. John Fuller
First Unitarian Church
Orlando, Florida

Dear John:

We have received your check for my expenses in coming to Orlando. I am glad that you all thought it was worth while for me to come at such a cost.

Were there any letters-to-the-editor or editorial comments about Pat's story on my speech? If so, would you please forward us copies of them? If you have material you want returned we have a reproducer and can make copies for our files and return the originals to you.

I hope your stop-over in Atlanta will be concurrent with one of my stop-overs in Atlanta. Actually, I'm not out of town quite that much.

Again, many thanks for everything.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

July 23, 1957

Dr. Luther W. Kelly, Jr.
The Nalle Clinic
412 North Church Street
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Kelly:

This is to acknowledge your recent letter asking the Council's help in securing a speaker for the Unitarian Forum to be held in September.

We will be delighted to give any assistance we can, though we are limited by the fact that our budget makes no provision for supplying speakers. It occurs to me, however, that the President of SRC, Mr. Marion A. Wright, lives nearby -- at Linville Falls -- and might be a suitable choice. As perhaps you know, Mr. Wright is a man of parts and a very effective speaker. We would be glad to meet whatever modest expenses a trip by him to Charlotte would involve.

It may be that you have in mind someone with specialized experience in school desegregation, in which case the problem would be more difficult.

Enclosed is a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Wright. If you are interested in securing another type of speaker, let me know and perhaps we can advise further.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Marion A. Wright Biographical Sketch

Dear Dr. Kelly:

This is to acknowledge your recent letter asking the Council's help in securing a speaker for the Unitarian Forum to be held in September.

We will be delighted to give any assistance we can, though we are limited by the fact that our budget makes no provision for supplying speakers. It occurs to me, however, that the President of SRC, Mr. Marion A. Wright, lives nearby -- at Linville Falls -- and might be a suitable choice. As perhaps you know, Mr. Wright is a man of parts and a very effective speaker. We would be glad to meet whatever modest expenses a trip by him to Charlotte would involve.

It may be that you have in mind someone with specialized experience in school desegregation, in which case the problem would be more difficult.

Enclosed is a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Wright. If you are interested in securing another type of speaker, let me know and perhaps we can advise further.

Sincerely yours,

HCF

enc
MAW biographical data

THE NALLE CLINIC
412 NORTH CHURCH STREET
CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

INTERNAL MEDICINE
L. G. GAGE, M. D.
L. W. KELLY, M. D.
W. B. MAYER, M. D.
R. S. BIGHAM, JR., M. D.
L. G. GAGE, JR., M. D.
L. W. KELLY, JR., M. D.
GENERAL SURGERY
E. R. HIPP, M. D.
W. C. HILDERMAN, M. D.
E. R. HIPP, JR., M. D.
OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY
J. A. CROWELL, M. D.
E. F. HARDMAN, M. D.
ORTHOPEDIC SURGERY
A. R. BERKELEY, JR., M. D.
OTOLARYNGOLOGY
J. S. GORDON, M. D.
PEDIATRICS
J. R. ADAMS, M. D.
J. S. CLARKE, M. D.
UROLOGY
PRESTON NOWLIN, M. D.
RADIOLOGY
ALLAN TUGGLE, M. D.
F. E. WISE, JR., M. D.

July 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to request your help in obtaining a speaker for our Unitarian Forum to be held at the Unitarian Church of Charlotte Friday, September 13, 1957.

Since our school year will be beginning at this time, we felt that it would be beneficial to have a forum on school desegregation problems with an out-of-town speaker. Unfortunately, our church does not have sufficient funds to defray expenses for such a speaker, but we hope that the Southern Regional Council would have someone who would be in this area or could send someone to us for this occasion.

As a board member of both the Charlotte and North Carolina Council on Human Relations, I discussed this with our president, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, and thought it would be well to arrange an additional meeting through the local council for that same week-end if we are able to obtain a guest speaker.

We will certainly appreciate any help that you can give us in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Luther W. Kelly, Jr., M. D.

LWKjr:cw

Religious Organizations (Unitarians)

September 16, 1957

Reverend Glenn O. Canfield
First Unitarian Church
Dixie Highway at S. W. 29th Road
Miami 36, Florida

Dear Mr. Canfield:

Since Mr. Fleming is out of the office for several days, I thought I would send you some material on Washington, D. C. which you requested. Enclosed are three pamphlets which may help you. I will pass your letter on to Harold as soon as he gets back into the office and he may have some additional material to suggest.

With sincere best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

Enclosures:

Miracle of Social Adjustment...

"The Right of Every Child"

Working Together

RECEIVED SEP 16 1957

# FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

DIXIE HIGHWAY AT S. W. 29th ROAD
MIAMI 36, FLORIDA

GLENN O. CANFIELD
MINISTER

HELEN F. WILLIAMS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FRANKLIN 4-7472

Sept. 13, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming-

You will perhaps remember me as a former chairman of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

While there, about a year ago, I talked with Miss Irene Osborn about her work in Washington D.C. to speed up the integration of the public schools.

Has anything ever appeared in print giving in some detail the steps which she and her group took in that project, as well as the various facets of the problem which they worked upon ? I have looked through each edition of "New South" of the past year, and find nothing except the lead article in the March 1957 issue, "Miracle of Adjustment," which bears upon the "Washington Story."

Our newly-revived social issues group in this church would like to have an account of what was done in Washington. Do you have such an account, or do you know where I may get one ?

Let me congratulate you, though belatedly upon your election as Executive Director of the SRC, and to extend my good wishes for continued success.

Cordially,

Glenn O. Canfield
Minister

P.S.- If sometning could be done to keep rabble-rousers like Marvin Griffin out of Little Rock and John Kasper out of Nashville, the integration process would go on much more smoothly! GOC

88 copies Sept. N.S.
" " Ashmore reprint
" " Publication Listing

September 22, 1958

Mr. J. Ray Shute, President
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
P. O. Box 24
Monroe, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Shute:

Thank you for your letter of September 15, concerning NEW SOUTH and the Ashmore reprint. Under separate cover we are mailing you the copies you requested plus some copies of our Publication Listings.

We hope these will be of some aid to you and we appreciate your interest.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Stop for organizing D.C.

8 lbs.

# Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice

~~APT. 16~~
133 N. ~~DITHRIDGE STREET~~
~~PITTSBURGH~~ 13, PA.

P.O.Box 24,
Monroe,N.C.,
15 Sept.1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

As the new president of UFSJ,being a native-born Carolinian,I would like very much to familiarize our chapters throughout the nation with your council and the NEW SOUTH. As a member of Council on Human Relations ( a V.P.) I receive and appreciate it,but many of our members working in the field of integration do not know of it.

As is true with most of our groups in social action, we have too limited funds to buy the many publications we need. Hence, I am unable to offer to purchase anything! We maintain a lobby in the capital in charge of Mrs. Paul Blanshard and one at UN in charge of Mrs. Elvira Fradkin and try to help in integration as much as possible.

Would it be possible for you to send me 80 copies of the current issue of NEW SOUTH,together with the Ashmore reprint,for distribution to our chapters? If so,we will mail and recommend to our chapters that they subscribe. "'Tis the best we can do!"

With appreciation,
Very truly yours,

J. Ray Shute

J. Ray Shute, President

**President**
~~MISS LOIS McCOLLOCH~~
~~Pittsburgh, Pa.~~

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Wollaston, Mass.

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WASHINGTON WORKSHOP FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERALS
MARCH 10 and 11, 1958

October 13, 1958

Mrs. George R. Otto, Jr.
Office Secretary
The First Unitarian Church
5015 Waterman Boulevard
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Otto:

Your letter concerning the George Mitchell film has been referred to me. We have two copies of this film but they are distributed through the Anti-Defamation League office here in Atlanta.

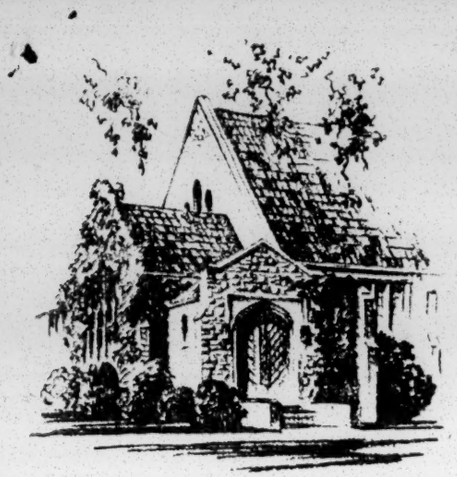
Since the fee is only $1.50 I have taken the liberty of asking the ADL secretary here to schedule the film for your organization on October 26. You will receive a confirmation of this from the ADL office. If by any chance this arrangement is unsatisfactory to you, please drop the ADL office here a note and tell them when you would be interested in the film.

Incidentally the name of the film is "The Face of the South."

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec



# THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

5015 WATERMAN BOULEVARD - SAINT LOUIS 8, MISSOURI

October 9, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are interested in obtaining your film, The Problem in the South narrated by George Mitchell, to show to our high school and post college groups. Since we do not know what your procedure is on this or what the charges are, would you send us this information along with dates that the film would be available - if any? If possible, we would like it for our October 26 meetings; however, a later date would be acceptable.

Because we will need to know your answer as soon as possible in order to prepare our programs, we are enclosing a stamped (airmail, special delivery - as you can see, we have procrastinated and now must ask for an immediate reply) self addressed envelope. We would appreciate your help very much.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Joyce Otto

(Mrs. George R. Otto, Jr.)
Office Secretary

July 14, 1959

Rev. James Brewer
First Unitarian Church
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Jim:

Several weeks ago Harold Fleming received a letter from a Mrs. L. E. Adair of 1302 Elm View Avenue in Norfolk. Mrs. Adair is apparently a member of the Public School Committee and had had some conversation with Fred Routh at a Washington Conference concerning possible financial support for the Public School Committee. She has since read that Fred Routh has gone to Michigan and wrote to Harold hoping that he might be of some assistance. Harold is writing Mrs. Adair telling her that we are in touch with you and have been exploring the matter. You might want to follow this up by calling Mrs. Adair or speaking to her in the near future.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

August 18, 1959

Reverend Richard Henry
First Unitarian Church
1400 LaFayette Street
Denver 18, Colorado

Dear Mr. Henry:

You may obtain the film, "The Face of the South" from the Anti-Defamation League at 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Service charge is $2.00.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
1400 LAFAYETTE STREET
DENVER 18, COLORADO

RICHARD HENRY
MINISTER

August 12, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you be good enough to inform us where we can secure the film, "Face of the South," based on George Mitchell's chalk talk, and the rental fee involved?

Sincerely yours,

Richard Henry

Richard Henry
Minister

RH/g

August 25, 1959

Rev. James C. Brewer
The Unitarian Church of Norfolk
15th Street and Moran Avenue
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your recent note. I must confess that I have been back to Virginia for a few days to help settle Dan Bowers in my old chair. I took him around to visit most of our organized groups and we had every intention of getting to Norfolk. On the last day, however, we had a crises call from Front Royal and went up that way instead.

I have suggested to Dan that he get to Norfolk fairly soon. I will do likewise on my next Virginia trip which may not be for a month or two yet. Keep the pipe as added incentive. How is the organization effort going in Norfolk?

We were most impressed with the political showing in Norfolk. Keep me informed on how things are going and find me an excuse to get back as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

Sent. 10/19/59
file

**UNITARIAN CHURCH** of Fort Worth

JEFFERSON 6-1492

2800 PURINGTON AVE., FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Todd James Taylor, Minister

October 14, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Your recent letter in response to our inquiry about the film, "The Face of The South," made mention of a film bibliography, but it was not sent as an enclosure. There was enclosed, possibly by error, a Selected Bibliography of Literature.

We are happy to have the literature list, but also would appreciate receiving the bibliography of films.

Our sincere thanks.

Cordially,

Todd James Taylor

Todd James Taylor

October 6, 1959

Mr. Todd James Taylor
Unitarian Church of Fort Worth
2800 Purington Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Thank you for your request concerning the film "THE FACE OF THE SOUTH."

Enclosed is a copy of our film bibliography which gives you information on how to obtain this particular film plus additional ones in which you may be interested.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bec
Encl.:

**UNITARIAN CHURCH** of Fort Worth

JEFFERSON 6-1492

2800 PURINGTON AVE., FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Todd James Taylor, Minister

October 1, 1959

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A year ago I saw a film entitled "The Face of the South" or "The Changing South" which analyzed the various geographic regions of the southern states, showing their recent agricultural and industrial development. Approximately thirty minutes in length, it also noted sociological changes that have taken place in recent years.

It is my understanding that your council either produced the film or is responsible for its distribution. Do you know about this film, and is it available for showing on a rental basis? Any information you can send me will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Todd James Taylor

Todd James Taylor

Todd James Taylor
Unitarian Church of Fort Worth
2800 Purington Avenue
Fort Worth 3, Texas

FYI - Liz P.

Read 6/20/60

WILL ATLANTA COMMIT SUICIDE?

A transcript of a sermon
delivered by the Reverend Edward A. Cahill
at the United Liberal Church of Atlanta, Georgia
January 3, 1960

The title of this sermon, "Will Atlanta Commit Suicide," is not meant to imply that this city is about to die, for this would be an overstatement. The term "suicide" is used as a figure of speech implying the termination of hope for a healthy, well planned, growing city interested in the welfare of all its citizens. The specific stimulation was the action taken by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Atlanta in refusing to rezone the Egleston Hospital site for use by the Atlanta Housing Authority for the building of 350 Negro housing units. The decision by the Aldermen, in my opinion, is much more important than the 350 units involved. The Board of Aldermen has reversed itself and agreed to reconsider its adverse vote. Hence this sermon, as the rezoning of the Egleston site is now an open question.

The problem which has come to focus on the Egleston site has been long in the making, and like most serious problems, it has a complicated background. The purpose of this sermon will be to present the background and the chronology of events which have led to the critical situation in which the city finds itself. Further, I shall attempt to point out the implications of the alternatives which we face. It should be clear at the outset that I have a position which might be described as partisan. I make no apology for this and I invite those who do not share my position to freely express themselves in the talkback discussion period which follows the sermon. In the meantime I shall try to be as objectively partisan as possible.

Atlanta is not unique in the kinds of problems it faces. All cities in the United States are facing similar situations. During two generations or more the crisis

facing American cities has been building up a head of steam to the point of explosion. Urbanization in this country has proceeded in almost direct proportion to its industrialization. The depopulation of the country and the overpopulation of the cities are two sides of the same coin.

Our ability to industrialize a great nation is a manifestation of our technical ability to organize external material things. Ironically, it has been accompanied by an aimlessness, a planlessness, a lack of logic in the expansion of our cities. The tremendous movement into our cities during the past fifty years has been aimless. Great dormitory areas have been piled one on top of the other. Students of urban sociology have written volumes describing and evaluating the process. Our cities have expanded as a result of the interplay of a variety of forces. An industrial society has demanded a concentration of labor, a concentration, therefore, of population. This has accelerated the shift from the country to the city. Then, there has been what some people call the "population explosion." This general increase in population has concentrated in the cities.

Without going too deeply into the subject of urban sociology we can summarize, for our purposes, as follows: American cities have expanded at a tremendous rate. Existing dwelling structures, particularly during the depression and World War II, were allowed to deteriorate. Large areas in our cities became run down and sick. Since World War II our expansion has been, for the most part, aimless and unplanned, creating standardized slums where none previously existed. So far, I have not used the term "growth" in relation to the expansion of our cities, for growth implies a certain logic or plan or rational evolutionary development. There has been no logic in the expansion of American cities. Mistake has been piled on mistake and errors have been compounded.

The overpopulation of our cities has produced an intensification of all our social problems -- crime, poverty, dirt, lack of sanitation, poor public health, an accumulation and concentration of unemployables and derelicts, high taxes, deteriorating and overcrowded dwelling areas. These have become characteristic of our overpopulated cities.

During the process of expansion two opposite, but not unrelated, effects have occurred. The first is a centrifugal movement of people from the center of the city to the perimeter into new developments and suburbs. This, in effect, has been a "flight from the city." In city after city we can see evidence of this movement to the perimeter. This has been accompanied by another movement -- a centripetal movement into the heart of the city. The inmigrants, displaced from bankrupt farm communities, move into the space which has been vacated by those who have gone to the perimeter. In the center of the city we find a growing concentration of depressed newcomers, and the minorities who are forbidden migration to the perimeter. As a result of the general overpopulation of cities we find a concentration in the heart of the city of low income families, depressed groups, the unemployables and the oppressed minorities who are forbidden the opportunity of moving anywhere else. If this process is allowed to continue, one does not need to be a prophet to proclaim the inevitable fact that our cities will decay and disintegrate. We can see this in old cities like Boston, which is sick almost unto death. Atlanta is a relatively new city, but it has made and is making all of the old mistakes.

The flight from the center of the city has ringed Atlanta with concentric bands of restricted all-white residential areas. The narrow corridor to the west is the one exception. This corridor has opened up a limited area to high class and middle class Negro housing. With this statistically insignificant exception Atlanta's Negro population -- roughly one-third of the total population -- has been compressed into the central

city, the sick section of the city. It should be noted here that decay and blight is not a racial matter. Northern cities with no racial problem have these same sick, decaying, disintegrating sections occupied by white people. Disintegration and decay is not a characteristic of race. It is a product of the vicious circle of overcrowding, poverty and lack of opportunity.

No city can solve this problem by itself. To be sure, Atlanta has unique characteristics. But in general its problem is that of all cities in America. The federal government has recognized the national importance of restoring our cities to health. The program of urban renewal has been initiated to help cities solve this problem. The federal government provides capital and shares the cost of tearing down blighted areas and of making them available for reuse on a planned rational basis. Atlanta has been one of the most progressive cities in the United States in making use of public housing and urban renewal assistance from the federal government. The first public housing in the United States under the New Deal was initiated here. I am told that Atlanta's five urban renewal projects currently active is the largest program in the United States for cities of comparable size. The City administration has been alert and progressive in trying to meet its problems and has taken maximum advantage of opportunities for outside assistance. When, and if, the urban renewal projects now under way are completed, the central city of Atlanta will be rebuilt according to a rationally conceived plan. Many of the mistakes of the past will be corrected and the city will be beautiful, healthy and better able to serve its growing population.

We come now to the Egleston Hospital Project. The Egleston site is an important part of the entire urban renewal program. Why are 350 Negro homes so important to the future of Atlanta as to cause all this fuss? The federal government does not make investments in urban renewal projects without the fulfillment of certain basic minimum conditions. The federal government is interested in the welfare of all its citizens,

and it will not permit its funds to be used for the exploitation of any minority group. It is a fundamental requirement of the Urban Renewal Program that when land is cleared those who are displaced must be adequately relocated. It is a fact that the majority of those who will be displaced from the five urban renewal projects in Atlanta will be Negroes. And they must be relocated, not just anywhere, for renewal cannot be used to get rid of people. The Negro population occupying the blighted areas of this city are citizens of this city and the federal government demands that their welfare be protected. Before the projects can proceed they must be adequately relocated and this means in areas reasonably close to their churches, social institutions, schools and their business community. Because Atlanta is a rigorously segregated city this is a crucial problem.

Let me illustrate. There are millions of dollars invested in Negro business, churches, banks, insurance companies in the area in or adjacent to the Butler Street Urban Renewal Project from which Negro families are being displaced. Relocation of these families must take this factor into account. Federal funds cannot be used to bankrupt Negro business by dispersing or scattering its natural market.

The Egleston site fits all the requirements. It is near the Butler Street area. It is open land. It is surrounded by a Negro residential area and therefore has schools, churches and social institutions readily at hand. The Atlanta Housing Authority, charged by the Board of Aldermen to find relocation sites, announced last April its intention to purchase the Egleston site for Negro housing. Only one call was received by the Housing Authority in opposition. The Egleston site was cleared by the Board of the Planning Commission, by the Federal Urban Renewal Agency, by the Federal Public Housing Authority, which advanced the money for its purchase, and by the Citizen's Commission on Housing. Rezoning, after all this, was thought to be a matter of routine, since it involved a shift from commercial to residential.

The opposition has been powerful, but the motives are obscure, for the arguments against the site just don't make sense. A fear has been expressed, for instance, that three nearby white schools will be subject to more rapid desegregation, when desegregation occurs, because of the threatened Negro overcrowding. I am informed that there will be a deficit of 380 Negro families in the area when the Butler Street project is completed. In addition, the plans call for a new Negro school in the area. In fact, there will be fewer Negro families and more Negro school space.

It is reported that the Georgia Baptist Hospital is upset because it says it was promised that the area would be industrial when it decided to build its new buildings on Boulevard. This is clearly irrelevant, and all it proves is that whoever made such a promise was not a good prophet. For the area, without any reference to the Egleston site, is now a predominantly Negro residential area.

However poor the arguments, the opposition succeeded in blowing up a storm. A prominent attorney was employed to map the campaign -- and the schools were flagrantly exploited. Circulars were distributed, I am told, to the children of the white schools nearby and the public address system was used by, or with, the permission of the school administrators, to urge the children to take the handbills home. As a result of this kind of campaigning, to quote the Atlanta Constitution, a tremendous groundswell of opposition was felt by the Aldermen. The Aldermen, panicked by this demonstration, put the matter on the agenda in an unprecedented fashion and proceeded in the name of all the mistakes of the past to repudiate the best advice the City had to offer. In the calm after the storm the Aldermen have voted to reconsider, and the matter is still an open question to be settled sometime in January.

Egleston is important as a test case. Urban renewal can only proceed if the City of Atlanta demonstrates its willingness to provide adequate relocation for those who are to be displaced. If Egleston, which is open land in the middle of a Negro residential area, cannot be approved, what kind of site can be approved? This is why Egleston is crucial. No one has threatened anyone, but the facts are clear. Do we want urban renewal -- the rebuilding of the blighted part of our city? Or do we want to pile mistake upon mistake and contribute to the further decay and disintegration of our city? The alternatives: Living growth or expanding death. The choice is Atlanta's.

Unitarian

April 6, 1960

Mr. Gene Bridges
The Unitarian Church
South 12th & Bantz Boulevard
Tacoma 66, Washington

Dear Mr. Bridges:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the two copies of the student protest report.

We are placing your name on our mailing list which will enable you to receive, free of charge, a single copy of most of our material. This does not include our monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, which is described in the enclosed leaflet.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

SOUTH 12th & BANTZ BLVD. • TACOMA 66, WASHINGTON • SKyline 2-5050

ZC

April 1st

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have just received a copy of your special report on the student protest movement. I would like to have two more copies if they are available. If you could send them to me, I will be happy to pay any charges by return mail.

There is another matter I would like to inquire about. I assume that you have regular mailings, and I would like to be on the list of those receiving them. Could you advise me of the method and expense involved?

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Gene Bridges

Gene Bridges

GENE BRIDGES — MINISTER • 1032 FIR PARK LANE • TACOMA 66, WASHINGTON • SKyline 2-8552

April P/S

May 13, 1960

Mr. Gerald E. Scorse
Secretary, UFSJ
Unitarian Fellowship For Social Justice
San Antonio Chapter
P. O. Box 11416
San Antonio 9, Texas

Dear Mr. Scorse:

Your letter concerning news releases has been referred to me. I am placing you on our mailing list for our news releases, but this does not include our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed.

We will be glad to receive your news release and I am sure we will find it helpful from time to time.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
SAN ANTONIO CHAPTER
~~217 PERSHING AVENUE~~ SAN ANTONIO 9, TEXAS
P.O. Box 11416

April 12, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

The San Antonio Chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice would like to exchange news releases with your organization. We publish a monthly newsletter, UFSJ News, which we would be happy to send to you. Some back issues are enclosed for your inspection.

If the proposal is agreeable to you, please let us know and we will place you on our permanent mailing list.

We think your publications will be helpful to us, and possibly our newsletter might have a corresponding value to you.

Sincerely,

Gerald E. Scorse

Gerald E. Scorse
Secretary, UFSJ

October 5, 1960

Mrs. Paul Blanshard
Executive Director
Unitarian Fellowship For Social Justice
245 Second Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Blanshard:

As Director of Information and Editor of New South, your September 30th letter to Mr. Dabbs has been referred to me. We are mailing you, under separate cover, the copies of School Desegregation: the First Six Years which you requested. Since you propose to use these for your individual chapters, there is no charge.

We appreciate the kind comments concerning New South and the Council; and if we can be of any additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
cc: Mr. Dabbs

UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
*National Headquarters*
245 SECOND STREET N.E. WASHINGTON 2, D. C.
LIncoln 7-0254

September 30, 1960

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Southern Regional Conference Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Do you by any chance have a quantity of your May, 1960 New South on hand? Our organization, alas, is a poor one, so we could not afford to buy extra copies, but we would be delighted to send 100 copies to our chapters throughout the country, if by any chance you have extra copies on hand of School Desegregation. It was a magnificent study which you made, and we would like to have our chapters read it.

Thank you very much if you can afford to be generous, and thank you anyway for the fine work you are doing!

Sincerely,

Mary H. Blanshard

Mrs. Paul Blanshard
Executive Director

MHB:mh

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March 15, 1961

Rev. C. D. Moore
Chattanooga Unitarian Church
1211 Dodds Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Moore:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, some information concerning theSSouthern Regional Council. We do not maintain a general mailing list but a subscripption to NEW SOUTH, a sample copy enclosed, would keep you abreast of most of our other materials.

If we can be of additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encl.

Chattanooga, Tenn.
March 14, 1961

Dear Sir:

Please send me information about your organizations work. I would also appreciate your placing my name on your mailing list to receive your published materials.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

CHATTANOOGA UNITARIAN CHURCH
1211 DODDS AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE
Rev. C. H. Moore

March 21, 1963

Reverend Kenneth R. Mochel
Unitarian Society of Daytona Beach — free Unitarian
56 North Halifax Drive
Ormond Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Mochel:

It was very thoughtful of you to write, and I am most grateful for your comments about my talks last Sunday.

I believe I mentioned to you that the new director of the Florida Council will make Daytona Beach his residence and headquarters. I think you will find Lew Mitchell an excellent man to work with; he will probably be arriving sometime in June.

Come to visit us please if you are in Atlanta. I enjoyed greatly my time with you and your congregation.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF DAYTONA BEACH
56 NORTH HALIFAX DRIVE • TELEPHONE 677-6172
ORMOND BEACH, FLORIDA

KENNETH R. MOCHEL, *Minister*
HOME: 677-5448

March 18, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for doing extra duty by speaking to our group last Sunday. The things you said to our congregation were very well spoken and needed to be said. Personally you gave me some things to think about and started my mind rolling such as no speaker has done for some time. Both your Sunday morning and afternoon talks were firm and hard-hitting, yet fair and honest in my opinion. I hope you will be able to return to Daytona Beach soon.

Your personal appearance here has given my wife and I new admiration and respect for the Southern Regional Council and has made it more alive in our minds. I hope that we will be able to make a contribution of effort and accomplishment with our local and state Human Relations councils that will worthily supplement the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Again, thanks and continued good wishes.

Very sincerely, yours,

Ken Mochel

Rev. Kenneth R. Mochel

PA ✓
SB ✓
ML ✓
MA ✓

you all may be interested in this exchange

MJ - file

April 23, 1963

Mr. Robert E. Jones
Executive Director
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
245 - 2nd Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jones:

I have read your letter of April 15 very carefully. It is probably more beneficial to me than you might imagine to have this kind of exchange.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

# UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

*National Headquarters*

245 SECOND STREET N.E. WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

FOUNDED IN 1908

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*Executive Director*
ROBERT E. JONES
Washington, D. C.


April 15, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sorry we didn't have an opportunity to talk over, sans audience, the question of "witnessing" and its effectiveness. I appreciate your writing me to amplify your views. I respect your views since, after all, you are the man on the job, working day after day at solving these problems.

Since the Albany Prayer Pilgrimage of last August, I have been trying to evaluate this experience and put it into perspective. I know that for me it was one of the great emotional experiences of my life, indeed, a great religious experience. Those of us who took part will never forget the thunderous reception accorded to us as we entered the mass meeting in the church the night before our demonstration. We were swept up in a great overflowing of love and brotherhood. To hear these people singing and to join them in one tremendous friendship circle at the conclusion of the meeting, was to literally send shivers up and down the spine.

I cannot, in truth, say the jail experience was pleasant, Baker County Jail being what it is. However, there were some genuine moments of beauty when, for instance, after the jail doors clanged shut, we stood in a circle in the twilight and each man said a prayer from his own tradition. There is a fraternal bond between us now as a result of this experience which has great meaning for us.

I know the demonstration and the jail experience did the demonstrators, personally, some good. As I expressed it at the conference, I feel I have a much better understanding of the Negro freedom movement and am now a more effective worker for civil rights. I think too, the Pilgrimage was useful in dramatizing to the world the moral and religious issues involved and I feel that it did give a boost to the sagging morale of the Negro community to have a group of clergymen and church people, white and

Negro, for other parts of the country express solidarity with the Albany movement.

But what of permanence did we accomplish for the goal of integration of public facilities in Albany? I don't honestly know. I do know that the Albany Movement has stalled with only very minor success.

Last week I was placed "on call" by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to participate in another prayer pilgrimage, this time, in Birmingham, Ala.. I had to write Dr. King and inform him that I thought this was poor timing; that I felt with the defeat of Bull Connor for Mayor, the moderates in Birmingham had spoken and it was time for reconciliation and negotiation. I fear that the movement has been injured by too soon resorting to sit-ins, boycotts and street marches. I think an opportunity for progress in Birmingham has been missed.

I told Dr. King that I could not join a prayer pilgrimage to Birmingham and could not advise others to do so.

I believe in a proper "mix" of legislation, court orders, negotiation and direct action. I think the direct action and economic withdrawal techniques have to be sparingly used. It seemed that in Albany, all avenues to negotiation had been closed by the white leadership and that direct action and boycott were justified.

If I had any criticism to make of our Albany Pilgrimage it would be that we did not stay in the community long enough to , as you say, "contribute to public enlightenment." Though it had been announced that the Northern clergy would try to contact their Southern counterparts, very little of this was actually done. And an invitation by telegram to the Albany white ministers and public officials to meet with the pilgrims, was not a courteous approach and it is no wonder we were rebuffed.

We failed to reach the responsible, moderate elements of the white community, which was one of our avowed aims. I do value the importance of obtaining white consensus in support of change. It may only be a grudging approval but I agree it has to be there or there will be violence. I think, however, in obtaining white consensus, a steady pressure has to be applied and this may take the form of direct action. The example of the history of organized labor in this county is instructive. Management has only come to accept unionism through a combination of tough organizing and striking (direct action elements here), political pressure and a change in the attitudes of the courts, Some of the early organizing efforts were pretty bloody as unions and management did not go by Gandhi's principles of nonviolence. We are fortunate that the Negro leadership has, for the most part, been following nonviolent techniques.

I am sure you are right about the difficulties of protest demonstrations by strangers. Almost any locality in the country would resent outsiders coming in to protest local conditions. I think the leaders of SCLC thought that a protest by clergymen, however, would be of a different category in view or the Southerners attachment to religion and the general respect for the

clergy. Is there validity in this?

It was awfully good of you to write and express to me honestly your reservations. It has been most helpful to me to hear from you and to receive the frank views of one who is doing the hard job of knocking down the barriers to reconciliation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Jones

Robert E. Jones
Executive Director

np/REJ

April 10, 1963

Mr. Robert E. Jones
Executive Director
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
245 2nd Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jones:

Harold Fleming apparently decided that the discussion had gone far enough, and so I did not get a chance to comment on your response to my remarks about "witnessing," during my talk at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference. It means something to me, however, that you should understand my views.

I feel genuinely diffident about stating an opinion on some subjects of racial relations, and this question is one of them. As one who has never, himself, risked arrest or public violence, I am doubly hesitant, usually, about expressing a personal view. In my Washington talk, I had to make, within the logic of the talk, a comment. Having defended the right of Negro groups to set the pace and the timing, I felt that I had to, in candor, make reference to our earlier reservations about the Freedom Ride, and to do so required some explanation of that.

But on the merits of the matter, I do have doubts as to the practical value of what, that day, we called "witnessing." As I hope I made clear then, we have no regional chauvinism on this matter.

Northerners who have come down here to work have been, some of them, extraordinarily valuable; Bob Moses of SNCC, Vincent Harding of the Mennonites, and Dick Shapiro of the ADL are three good examples. But my observation has been that the Northerner -- or, for that matter, the Southerner -- who goes into a strange locality, takes part in a demonstration, and then goes home, does not contribute to public enlightenment on the issues. He may, as you said, bolster the morale of the Negroes; of this I am not sure.

The white South has always been quick to blame "outsiders" for any kind of stirring. One of the great things about the sit-ins of 1960 was that this couldn't be done; the white South started to do so, but then took a second look, and recognized the students as their own. In my own mind, I am fairly sure that this was an important factor in the action of 100 or so cities who desegregated lunch counters that year, almost the first time the South has ever moved without federal compulsion. The sit-ins of 1960 created, in my observation, a moment of true communication between Negroes and whites; it almost had never happened before and it didn't last, though some of the flash of it lingers and sustains us.

Now you may, as I said in my talk, not value highly the achievement of whire consensus in support of change. As a matter of fact, I believe you can validly reject this as a value. I happen not to. Therefore, I am uneasy about forms of protest which frustrate, as I observe it, the ability of whites to hear. And when strangers come in, merely to stage or take part in a demonstration, this tends to confirm what the whites want to believe anyhow. And the very defensive white South can counter -- and with no illogic -- with the question of why these visitors are not home working on their own problems. I say this ia a logical and permissible question, and though it has little substantive merit it produces widespread, knowing nods.

My attitude about this is not categorical. I told John Morris -- I was never sure, though, that he believed me -- that I thought the "pilgrimage" of

Episcopal priests during 1961 was valuable. Here were priests visiting Episcopal churches and schools to see how they were doing. Getting themselves arrested in Jackson seemed to me to diminish the effectiveness of what they were about, but they were, on the other hand, in travel.

At any rate, these are my views. I can't and don't claim for them anything more than that.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST

# ACTION

*Rev. O. Eugene Pickett, President*

*Robert E. Jones, Executive Director–Editor*

## Liberals Frustrated As Congress Packs

□ Congress finally packed its bags and went home on October 13 — a very late adjournment for an election year.

It has been a long, frustrating session for those interested in the passage of liberal, humanitarian and internationalist legislation. For a time it looked as if the President would suffer one long succession of defeats, beginning with the ill-fated Urban Affairs Department proposal which got tied up with an obvious appeal for the Negro vote.

After Secretary of Labor Goldberg's job retraining bill was signed into law in March, there was a long drought period through the spring and summer as the ancient committee system laboriously held hearings, studied, or simply sat on the various New Frontier measures.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman's farm subsidy reform bill was decisively defeated with the Farm Bureau assisting in its demise. Some of it was salvaged in the bill passed on September 20. The President's Medical Care pro-

(Continued on Page 2)

## THREE UNITARIANS AMONG CLERGY JAILED IN ALBANY INTEGRATION DEMONSTRATION

*by Robert E. Jones*

□ Albany, Ga. is the focal point of the American Negro's struggle for equality. For the past 11 months the Negroes of that Deep South city of 58,000, have demonstrated, prayed and gone to jail in a genuine mass effort to desegregate all public facilities.

Late in August, Dr. W. G. Anderson, president of the Albany Movement, and Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called on Northern clergy of all faiths to make a Prayer Pilgrimage to Albany to demonstrate that segregation was a moral and religious problem and that the Albany Movement had the support of religious leaders and churchmen throughout the nation.

I was privileged to join the Prayer Pilgrimage in company with some 75 Protestant ministers and divinity students, rabbis and Roman Catholic laymen, including two other Unitarian Universalists — Rev. John Papandrew, minister of the Unitarian Universalist Church of Portsmouth, N.H. and Rev. Hugo P. Leaming, minister of All Souls' Unitarian Church of Chicago.

We were arrested at 2:20 in the afternoon of August 28 while conducting a Prayer Vigil on the sidewalk in front of the Albany City Hall. Police Chief Laurie Pritchett ordered the entire group of churchmen jailed after we refused to obey his order to disperse. A Negro clergyman and the director of the Hillel Foundation at Yale led us in prayers before our arrest.

Mr. Papandrew and I spent about 30 hours in jail and Mr. Leaming, refusing to be bailed out for six days, fasted for the duration of his imprisonment.

### Baker County Jail

I was taken with 15 others to the notorious Baker County Jail in Newton, Ga. I say notorious because it was here on a January night in 1943 that a young Negro named Bobby Hall was

(Continued on Page 3)

## UFSJ MEMBERSHIP DRIVE KICKS OFF – HAVE YOU PAID YOUR 1962 DUES?

The Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, with this issue of ACTION, kicks off an all-out drive for new members.

"The continued vitality and effectiveness of UFSJ depends on the success of the membership drive we are inaugurating this month," said Rev. Eugene Pickett of Atlanta, Ga., president of UFSJ.

"UFSJ needs more individual dues-paying members and it needs more chapters if it is to carry forward the ambitious program of representing the social conscience and international concern of Unitarians and Universalists in Washington, at the United Nations and in our states and local communities," he declared.

President Pickett continued: "This means that those persons who are members should look around them, seek out like-minded individuals and urge them to join. Form chapters in your local

(Continued on Page 4)

## Seattle UFSJer Serves 30 Days For Sit-In at N.C. Restaurant

Jon Schaefer, secretary of the Seattle Unitarians for Social Justice, was released on September 1st from 30 days sentence on the road gang in North Carolina as a result of his participation in a sit-in test of a Howard Johnson restaurant in Durham.

Mr. Schaefer attended a Housing and Employment Workshop in Columbus, Ohio in the latter part of June. At Columbus, he decided to go on the Freedom Highways campaign of the

(Continued on Page 3)

*Unitarian Universalist Action is published monthly in Washington, D.C., by the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice* OCTOBER 1962

## Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

gram for the Aged under Social Security was another prominent casualty as Southern Democrats teamed up with Republicans to kill it in the Senate.

### Seats of Power

The power of key Congressional committee chairmen was amply demonstrated in the fates of the Medicare Bill and the President's Trade Expansion Act. Medicare was probably the Administration's most conspicuous failure. The Trade Act was its greatest success. The two men having the most to do with these two pieces of legislation were Representative Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of House Ways and Means Committee, and Senator Robert S. Kerr (D-Okla.), not the chairman but a most influential member of the Senate Finance Committee. Both men were opposed to Medicare. Mills said he would not oppose it but would do little to promote it. Kerr led the fight against the bill when it was brought in as a rider on the public welfare bill.

The Trade Bill was another story as Mills worked hard to win a tremendous victory in the more conservative House by a vote of 298 to 125. Similarly, Kerr held the line against the protectionists in the Finance Committee; no crippling amendments succeeded, and the Trade Bill passed the Senate intact by the astounding margin of 78 to 8.

UFSJ was one of several score national organizations which worked for passage of the Trade Act. We submitted statements to both House and Senate committee hearings and joined in promoting the legislation at a mammoth June 17 conference-rally addressed by President Kennedy.

### Anti-Internationalist

On other pieces of legislation affecting world peace and the Cold War, results were not as satisfactory. Starting with a proposal for a $100 million loan proposal to the United Nations, the Administration allowed this to be whittled down, first in the Senate to a $25 million purchase of UN Bonds and matching dollar for dollar whatever other nations put up, to a limit of $100 million for the U.S., and then coming out finally with the House version — a straight matching formula where the U.S. will only match dollar for dollar the actual purchases of other UN members.

This put the U.S. in the position of following rather than leading the other nations and with only $27 million actually purchased by other nations thus far, the UN's financial crisis is still a long ways from being resolved.

UFSJ members all over the country responded admirably to an appeal for letters to their Representatives. According to the tear-off cards returned to National UFSJ, over 140 members wrote Congressmen in 28 states; some persons writing three letters — to the chairman of House Foreign Affairs, the ranking Republican on the committee, and their own congressman. Nearly 8% of our mailing list wrote letters which is a fair response to direct mail, but in view of the social and political awareness of our members, could stand improvement.

### Migrant Breakthrough

One major triumph was chalked up in the field of migratory labor legislation. Senator Harrison Williams, New Jersey Democrat and Unitarian layman, saw his long struggle as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, finally pay off in the passage early in September of the first Federal legislation to aid the migrants — the Health Services bill, S. 1130. Four other bills — crew leader registration, migrant education, child labor and migratory labor advisory council — had been reported out of committee but no action had been taken by the House when this newsletter went to press.

Senator Williams called the health care bill "a triumph for the conscience of this nation" and "a landmark in the history of American social reform." Contagious diseases have been one of the most serious problems of migrants and epidemics of diptheria, typhoid fever, hepatitis and Asian flu have been discovered to originate in migrant barracks. The bill authorized up to $3 million a year for the next three years to finance local health services for migrant families by grants to public or non-profit agencies.

UFSJ for the last two to three years has kept up pressure for migrant reforms and will continue to do so. All five migrant bills were passed a year ago by the Senate. Senator Williams has introduced a Migrants Sanitation Bill, S.3382 to attack this health problem. Hearings were held before his committee on July 26 and August 8.

### UFSJ Victory

Friends of District of Columbia home rule were unable to obtain discharge of the legislation from the Southern-dominated House District Committee. However, a signal victory was achieved in the bill which passed in late February, authorizing the President to appoint two additional District Juvenile Court judges to clear up the logjam in the Juvenile Court docket. UFSJ rallied other D.C. groups to sign a joint telegram which went to each member of the House and, coupled with a heavy turnout of Congressmen to greet Astronaut John Glenn's appearance before Congress, resulted in passage of this long overdue reform.

### Aid to Education

Federal aid to education went down the drain in this Congress, sucked under by diverse fears. In the last days, House and Senate conferees broke a 3-month deadlock on aid to higher education, only to have the bill killed by a 214-186 vote on the floor on September 20. A combination of conservatives opposed to scholarships and Congressmen mindful of the church-state separation tradition, beat the bill.

To try and meet the objections to aid to church-connected schools, the conferees' bill had limited all grants to construction of science and engineering buildings and libraries. None of the President's other proposals for aid on other educational levels got out of committee.

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## United Nations Week

Is your church or UFSJ chapter going to celebrate United Nations Day, October 24 or United Nations Week, October 21-27? UFSJ has traditionally observed October 24 as the birth date of the UN.

**LEGAL DEFENSE FUND**

The three Unitarians who went to jail in Albany, Ga. as a result of protesting segregation, each had to pay, from his own pocket, $200 bail to be released. A Legal Defense Fund has been set up to help these men. Contributions may be sent by check to "Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice — Legal Defense Fund" at 245 Second St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C.

First contribution to the Fund came from the Defense Fund of the Fairfax County, Va. Unitarian Church.

Any excess above the legal costs will go into a permanent fund.

## SEATTLE UFSJer

(Continued from Page 1)

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), testing the Howard Johnson chain in North Carolina. CORE's objective has been to desegregate the 12 H-J restaurants which, at last report, still exclude Negro patronage. Eight others are integrated.

Among the first arrested during the drive were Mr. Schaefer, a clergyman, a Duke University divinity student and two young girls from Durham. This occurred on August 6 on a trespassing complaint filed by the restaurant, according to Don Matson, integration chairman of the Seattle UFSJ chapter. Mr. Schaefer was tried on the next day and found guilty; his punishment to be either a $25 fine or 30 days. He chose 30 days as a further protest. He was then put on the road gang. Jon is currently in Statesville, N.C., carrying on the desegregation struggle.

CORE and NAACP have cooperated in the Howard Johnson's integration drive. About 30 persons have been arrested at Charlotte and another 24 at Statesville. Mass protest rallies were held in August in Durham, Raleigh and Statesville, with over 1,200 attending the Durham rally addressed by James Farmer, CORE director and Louis E. Austin, editor of the Carolina Times.

## Three Unitarians

(Continued from Page 1)

beaten to death by blackjacks wielded by the sheriff and two other "law enforcement" officers, following his arrest on a spurious charge. Hall was an "uppity" Negro who had offended the authorities by going to court to recover a pistol the police had confiscated.

We were crowded, 15 men into an eight-bunk cell block called the "bull pen" with 13 matresses among us. During the night two drunks, who happened to be Negroes, were thrown in with us. We welcomed them to join us in our hymn singing and prayers and it was our proud boast that we had succeeded in integrating at least one public facility in South Georgia — the Baker County Jail!

The jail was dirty. The mattresses were grimy. Half the men had to lie on the mattresses spread on the cement floor. There was little rest since the guards made the rounds nearly every hour and sadistically taunted the Negro prisoners. Townspeople, at one point that first night, milled around the gate and guards told us: "People down here hate you. They'd kill you if they had a chance."

### Interfaith Camaraderie

With all the discomfort and apprehension, however, a close camaraderie grew up among the Methodists, United Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Unitarian and Jewish inmates. A Methodist clergyman from New York was chosen our spokesman. He was a wise leader and one of the strongest figures in the delegation as he fasted through the entire six days.

The rabbis sang their beautiful Hebrew songs. One rabbi recited Shakespeare's *Henry V* — the speech at Agincourt which Emily Taft Douglas used for the theme of her National Workshop address last March — "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers . . ." It seemed appropriate for the occasion.

There was much praying and singing in the cells. One of the most moving religious experiences of my life occurred when we had just been locked in for the night and dusk was drawing about us. The fifteen were standing about in a rough circle and our leader, Rev. Robert Forsberg, suggested we each give a prayer, according to our own traditions. Some said prayers from memory; several improvised prayers to express their feeling about the integration struggle and their aspirations for brotherhood. When it came my turn I asked my cellmates to join in the 23rd Psalm, common to all our traditions.

### What Did We Accomplish?

What did we accomplish in Albany, Ga.? Did it make sense for clergy and laymen from New England, New York, New Jersey and Chicago to go to the South and tell the citizens of Georgia how to run their affairs, as the critics express it?

The presence of so many ministers, rabbis, divinity students and lay churchmen, I believe, gave a tremendous lift in morale to the Negroes engaged in the Albany Movement.

Martin Luther King told a group of us after it was over — "The Pilgrimage had a great moral impact. It was an aid to the Movement in many ways."

For a few days the attention of the nation and, indeed, of the world, was riveted on Albany, Ga. and on the shame of that city's white leadership which has truculently resisted all efforts of the Negroes to gain equal treatment and to negotiate humane solutions.

In the words of one of the songs of the Albany Movement, we demonstrated to the Negroes that "We are not alone," and we shared in their sacrifice. Over 1,200 persons have gone to jail in Albany as a result of peaceful, non-violent demonstrations against segregation since the day in November 1961 when a student was jailed for sitting in the front of a segregated bus.

### Failed to Reach White Community

Our great disappointment was that we failed to make significant contact with the responsible, moderate whites in the community. The all-white Ministerial Association refused to meet with us and the mayor and City Commission ignored our request for a meeting. We learned that a minority of the white ministers were willing to talk with us

(Continued on Page 4)

## United Nations – 1962

*by Rosalind W. Harris*

109 flags — Algeria's the latest — now fly briskly in the cool, clear breeze along First Avenue as the General Assembly sets its ponderous machinery in motion, but there is a general air of waiting to see where the lines will be drawn in the battle of the "two giants." The opening moves have been routine but those who seek for symbols have found some new ones.

The dais of the General Assembly is occupied by men from three Asian countries — an impossible situation in the early years. Sir Muhammed Zafrullah Khan, the elegant and distinguished representative of Pakistan, who is President of the 17th session, combines a judicial manner with an instinct for conducting meetings with dispatch. Unfortunately he is frequently frustrated and thwarted in his efforts along this line. When asked to comment about the presence of three Asians, he added the fact that all three had, until 1936, been citizens of the same country or colony, India. Today, on the dais, although citizens of Burma, Pakistan and India, they regard themselves as servants of the UN.

U Thant, the Acting Secretary General, sits on the right of the President and is this year in a difficult position. His term of office expires in April, so the Assembly must elect a successor. He has refused to make a decision on whether he will stand for re-election saying that his availability will depend upon an early settlement of the Congo, prospects for stability of the Organization and the prospects for his role in easing tensions and bridging the gap between the two giants. He too is waiting to see how the debate develops. The Assembly did manage to cut red tape and move a step forward, with rapid action on the West New Guinea agreement. For the first time in its history the UN will be the administering authority of a territory. Although it is for a brief interim period before turning the authority over to Indonesia it is a precedent which may be useful in dealing with other colonial problems.

## AID Religious Policy

UFSJ has been assured by the Agency for International Development (AID) that the Agency in administering funds for which it is responsible "will do so in full accord with the traditional constitutional principles that are applicable in this area."

AID had withdrawn a controversial policy determination paper which Protestant groups protested would make it possible for foreign aid funds to be used to assist religious schools in other countries.

In response to a letter from UFSJ expressing our concern over the policy paper, John L. Salter, assistant administrator, AID, explained that the paper "gave rise to misconceptions concerning Agency policies and it has been withdrawn by the Administrator. Henceforth, the Agency will continue to pursue on a case by case basis the same policy that it and predecessor agencies have pursued in this regard during the past years."

## Three Unitarians

(Continued from Page 3)

but were over-ruled. Perhaps the proper approach was not made.

We came back from Albany, however, greatly enriched in our appreciation of the social changes underway in the South. For the first time, Negroes are demanding their rights on a broad front and demanding these rights, *Now!*

"We've got a new Negro in the City of Albany," declared Dr. Anderson, leader of the Albany Movement.

## UFSJ Membership

(Continued from Page 1)

churches. Urge existing social action committees to affiliate.

### Wanted: Dollars

"Frankly, UFSJ needs dollars to operate. The Washington office performs many services — lobbies for national legislation, serves the chapters with packet mailings, serves as a clearing house of information through the newsletter, provides chapters and members with needed information and guidance — and we want to do more.

"But we can't do more if the dues don't roll in better than they are at the present time. Nearly half of our membership is in arrears in dues payments, despite notices sent regularly by the national office. Mailings cost money. The national office will carry the delinquents for a time only because we have that eternal optimism of liberals. But our patience can be exhausted!

"Members are urged to promote UFSJ in their churches and fellowships. If you wish to distribute promotional material, write us and we will send whatever quantity you can reasonably be expected to distribute. Ask your minister or board to hold a Social Justice Sunday. Most of our clergymen are talking on social themes. Have them tie in their sermon with UFSJ and its purposes.

"The prophetic voice of social conscience for Unitarians and Universalists must speak out and be heard. It is up to the members to see that UFSJ continues to perform this historic function."

Unitarian Fellowship
for Social Justice
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.

U.S. POSTAGE
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Permit No. 20

Non Profit Organization

File Religious orgs Unitarians, gen

MJ: Is this your research for files?

1559 Harbor View Road
Charleston, S. C.,
August 28, 1963.

Dear Fellow Churchmember:

For a long time I have been troubled by trends in our beloved Church and especially in the UUA. Within recent months, certain incidents have occurred which I believe must be dealt with by the Congregation. These have put our Church in the position of encouraging integration activities without our consent and against our legitimately expressed wishes, as indicated by a church-wide poll conducted in the Fall of 1961.

When Mr. Spencer Lavan was being considered in June 1962 for the position of minister to the congregation of the Unitarian Church in Charleston, S. C., the results of this poll were made available to him and the issue of racial integration was put to him fairly and squarely. The pulpit committee and the Vestry received what were considered adequate assurances that no attempt would be made to align our Church with forces promoting integration activities or with "civil rights" agitation.

A number of needlessly overt remarks from the pulpit in favor of integration, however, have occurred from time to time, the most noteworthy being the praising of Martin Luther King, Jr. from the pulpit and after the Church had closed for the summer, Reverend Lavan mailed a letter on church stationery to Mr. Graves, Manager of the Fort Sumter Hotel, in protest of this hotel having refused to integrate its dining facilities in June 1963. A photographically reproduced copy of that letter is enclosed. Mr. Graves simply wrote that he would not deign to reply to such a letter.

Mr. J. C. Long, a stockholder of the Fort Sumter Hotel and a member of our Church for many years, also replied to Mr. Lavan. A photographic copy of his letter is also enclosed. I wish to go on record as agreeing with Mr. Long's basic position.

When Mr. Lavan was ordained on October 24, 1962, a responsible adult who was present at the ordination service informed me that one of the participants, while still in the sanctuary at the end of the ceremony, slapped our new minister on the back and exclaimed, "Well, Spencer, let's hope that you can get this Church integrated real soon!" Jokingly? Perhaps. In any case, it is clear to all of us that the Association's position is actively pro-integration.

The question which I wish to raise is whether the UUA is sending to our Church ministerial candidates who are deliberately instructed to integrate us against our wishes. I understand that the Vestry passed a resolution on July 8 that the Minister should not

take a position on controversial issues on church stationery or otherwise represent himself as speaking for our Church without the consent of the Congregation or Vestry. Are we going to fall in line with the UUA's position on integration and "civil rights" or do we still feel the way we did at the time of the poll in 1961?

I am sending you these letters now solely as a concerned church member in order that you may decide for yourselves whether your Church will maintain true local autonomy in all matters or through your silence be more or less governed by policies of the Association in Boston.

Very truly yours,

H. L. Muller

H. L. Muller

"The Oldest Unitarian Church in the South"

# The Unitarian Church

in

## Charleston, S. C.

Minister
Spencer Lavan,

MINISTER'S OFFICE
8 ARCHDALE STREET
CHARLESTON 13, S. C.

June 14, 1963

Mr. Wesley Graves
Manager, Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, S.C.

Dear Mr. Graves:

It is with regret that I must write to you to deplore your action and that of the owners of the Fort Sumter Hotel with regard to making your hotel facilities availible to anyone who wishes to use them. The attainment of equal rights and priveleges and freedoms for all citizens in Charleston is long overdue. Many of the city's hotels have taken constructive and positive steps at this time when racial tensions are high. These hotels have opened their dining facilities to all who are properly attired and who can pay for their use.

I recently wrote to one of our summer guest preachers suggesting that he and his wife stay at your hotel while they were in Charleston. Because of the most unfortuneate precedent which you have set by calling in the police to arrest Negros desiring to use your facilities, something which neither Mrs. Lavan nor I can morally condone, I have written to this man asking him to stay at the Francis Marion Hotel.

In addition, I have been authorized by the Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Universalist Ministers Association, who have enjoyed the hospitality of your hotel for several years during their January meeting, to reverse their decision to return to the Fort Sumter in 1964 and to arrange to use the facilities of the Francis Marion Hotel. I do not need to remind you that our gathering has brought close to $500 to your hotel annually nor do I need to remind you that personal affairs which I have arranged at your hotel have given you at least $200 worth of business. If the present state of affairs is not changed I will personally be forced to urge as many people and groups as possible to avoid using your hotel facilties.

I do not wish to appear vindictive in face of good service received in the past. I merely wish to point out, on behalf of the TJUUA that since segregation barriers have been broken in Charleston, we cannot condone their continuation at any level or in any place of public accomodation. It is with regret that I write this. I sincerely hope that you will reverse yourselves and take some positive action to remedy the situation as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Spencer Lavan

Spencer Lavan

P.S. When positive action is taken to desegregate facilities, we will be most pleased to use the Fort Sumter once again.

PHONE RA 2-2615 REFER TO

J. C. LONG
ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW
90 BROAD STREET
CHARLESTON, S. C.

June 26, 1963

The Reverend Spencer Lavan
The Unitarian Church
8 Archdale Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Lavan:

As a stockholder, therefore, a part owner of the Fort Sumter Hotel, your letter of June 14, addressed to Mr. Wesley Graves, Manager of the Hotel has come to my attention.

In your letter, written as Minister of the Unitarian Church in Charleston on the official stationery of the Church you stated you were writing "to deplore" the immoral action of the owners of the Hotel because of the most unfortunate precedent in calling in the police to arrest negroes desiring to use the facilities of the Hotel; you stated that this was something neither Mrs. Lavan or you could morally condone.

As a Unitarian, and as a Member of your Church, using your phraseology I "deplore" your action in writing the letter in your official position as Minister of the Church; had your letter been written on your personal stationery expressing your individual views, rather than in your capacity as Minister of our Church, I would not feel that I, as an individual, or as a Member of your Church should reply to your letter, or be critical of your views; however, as Minister of our Church in Charleston you are the titular head of those of us of the Unitarian belief, and to the public your views are by natural inference presumed to be the views of the Membership of the Church.

Your condemnation as a Minister, those of us who may disagree and differ with you as being immoral is contrary to all I have been taught Unitarianism stands for; as I understand the Unitarian belief it grants to the unit, or to the man, unquestioned right to his personal beliefs; it has been the boast of the Unitarian faith that we do not condemn others for their views, and that we are not bound together by any dogma or creed, nor are we bound by the directive or command of any higher authority than our own conscience founded on a moral basis.

I note from your letter that you and the Thomas Jefferson Unitarian Universalist Ministers Association assert "that since segregation barriers have been broken in Charleston we cannot condone their continuation at any level or in any place of public accomodation"; I am at a loss to understand why if you, or the Association thought it immoral for private establishments to operate on a segregated basis, how any of you stultified your conscience by using these facilities in the past.

From the statements contained in your letter, apparently you feel that the way to punish those who differ with your views is to take from them as much revenue as you can; I refer to the last sentence of the third paragraph thereof which reads "If the present state of affairs is not changed I will personally be forced to urge as many people and groups as possible to avoid using your hotel facilities." You can rest assured that I will not attempt in any way to try to persuade other members of the Unitarian Church to withdraw their contributions, but for myself, I will pay my pledge up until June 18, 1963, the date on which your letter was brought to my attention.

Mr. Lavan, I regret your apparent dislike for our Charleston way of life as evidenced by the sentence in your letter which reads: "the attainment of equal rights and privileges and freedoms for all citizens in Charleston is long overdue"; I am sure you would not want one whom you consider immoral because of his views that it is in the best interest of both races that segregation continue, and because he believes he has the right in the operation of his private business to select his customers, as a member of your Church; so, with this letter to you I am withdrawing my membership in the Church in Charleston as long as you remain the Minister, with the hope I may be accepted back in the membership as and when we have a Minister for our Church who will not condemn me as being immoral for my conscientious beliefs relative to racial and business matters; while I am withdrawing from membership in the Church at this time, I can assure you only God can take from me that which I consider to be the criterion of the Unitarian belief - freedom of thought in moral and religious matters.

Sincerely yours,

J.C. Long

JCL:mwh

cc: Treasurer, Unitarian Church
Archdale Street, Charleston, S.C.

Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, President
Unitarian Universalist Association
25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

The Reverend Rhys Williams
First Church in Boston
Berkeley and Marlborough Streets
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. W. Allan Moore, Jr.
55 Bee Street, Charleston, S.C.

Mr. Santo Sottile, President
Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, South Carolina

Mr. Wesley Graves, Manager
Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, South Carolina

Mr. Frank J. Sottile, Director
Fort Sumter Hotel
Charleston, South Carolina

File: Religious organizations
- United Church of Christ
Sandra, Make such a file if there is not one

July 8, 1964

Mrs. Elizabeth Johns
Publications Secretary
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Johns:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 18 and a complimentary copy of your newest publication - an action guide on Employment. We are responding to your thoughtfulness by ordering 50 copies of the publication. We can make use of it in our Research Department and will have the opportunity to refer it to others when they call upon us for materials.

Our check will be forwarded immediately upon receipt of the 50 copies.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw

Memo from **BARBARA PATTERSON**

6/30/64

VJ -

This looks like a valuable thing. As to what exactly SRC would do with 100 or so I'm not sure. It's pretty wordy. But there is hard suggestion material on pp. 4,5, and 8 in answer to the question, "What can the church do?" If Montex or others get that question asked often enough, we might want to lay in a supply of answers, but I don't believe it justifies much expense.

Some of the practical suggestions should well go to Ed for incorporation into the religion report.

VJ - pls reply

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
**COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION**

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK (10010) • GR 5-2121

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June 18, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30103

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are enclosing for your information a complimentary copy of our newest publication -- an action guide on Employment prepared in cooperation with our Racial Justice Now Committee.

We think this resource material may be of interest to you in your work. If you can publicize this in any way through your organization, we will appreciate it. Copies of the guide are available for 25¢ each with considerable reduction for quantity orders. Very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Betty Johns (AD)
Elizabeth Johns
Publications Secretary, CCSA

EJ:cr

Encl: EMPLOYMENT GUIDE

# racial justice now –

NO. 1 • COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION • UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

# "Let justice roll down . . ."

## THE PROBLEM IS REAL

The revolution for human rights is in full swing. It is no accident that the 1963 March on Washington was for *Jobs* and Freedom. It is a tragic fact of American life that the Negro worker particularly, and other non-white minorities to a considerable extent, are the "last hired and first fired" in the job market. M. T. Puryear, Associate Director of the National Urban League, writes in the December 1962 issue of SOCIAL ACTION:

> Reports from federal governmental and other research agencies point out in no uncertain terms that there have been identifiable and unmistakable discrepancies in the hiring and utilization of Negro workers. Our public officials refer to the status of the Negro worker in such terms as "the disadvantaged worker," the "tragic condition of Negro workers disproportionately unemployed because of discrimination, or lack of educational opportunities," "low income workers," and so forth. All such references suggest that the status of the 10.5 percent of the population which is Negro adversely affects the economic development of the nation as a whole.

In the same issue the Rev. J. Archie Hargraves describes a predominantly Negro community in which one out of every five males is without work. It is not uncommon to find unemployment among Negroes running at several times the average rate of the community at large. In Detroit in 1960, for example, 7.3% of the white and 17.4% of the non-white labor force were unemployed. National figures for March 1961 show the rate of unemployment as 7% for white and 13.9% for non-white.

In many industries, in addition, Negroes are employed at low-pay, low-skill jobs, with disproportionately low representation in the more highly skilled, responsible, and remunerative positions.

## INTRODUCTION

The United Church of Christ has set itself the goal of working to secure Racial Justice Now. As one step toward that goal the Council for Christian Social Action has published an interpretive brochure on RACIAL JUSTICE NOW, to give general background and to call for the Christian's involvement in the revolution for human rights. Our purpose here is not to duplicate that interpretation of Christian responsibility but to take a further step. For when responsibility has been established, there still remains the sober task of acting in concrete ways to uproot deeply embedded cultural patterns, to work effectively for social change. We are therefore preparing a series of action guides to assist those who take seriously their commitment, to aid them in understanding the nature of the problem, and to set forth tested methods for action. This particular guide is intended to help individual Christians and churches see how they can act to help achieve the goal of racial justice in terms of employment.

We know that all church groups using this guide will not do all the things suggested here. We have tried to arrange this guide so that *any* group may find a point of entrance and a way to start. Some groups will not be able to secure consensus on certain forms of action suggested; others will go further in their work for justice and equality in employment. We hope all who study this question and use this guide will choose to take *some* steps in making a Christian witness for fair employment practices.

## BEHIND THE PROBLEM

Numerous factors contribute to the present situation. Many employers state that there is *lack of training* or *relevant experience* on the part of non-white applicants. While many well-trained persons are denied appropriate employment, many Negro young people are not offered or do not take training opportunities realistically related to the employment needs of the community, and are therefore barred from jobs unless the employer is willing to train them.

There can also be *lack of incentive.* The history of exclusion from any but menial positions has discouraged many minority group youth from taking available job training or even completing high school. This loss of confidence in the possibility of employment leads to lack of training, which in turn leads to an impression in the community that "there are no qualified Negroes" for more highly skilled and responsible positions.

*Lack of knowledgeable counseling* also represents a problem. Often school counselors discourage minority group persons from training for trades or professions in which they believe or suspect there is formal or informal exclusion. This situation is closely related, of course, to the lack which has existed in many fields of *training opportunities* open to Negroes, which in turn contributes to the lack of trained manpower and keeps a minority group depressed.

*Poor quality of general education.* In many communities, North as well as South, the quality of general education available to Negroes is limited or at best uneven. This affects both the objective readiness and the inner attitude of the Negro youth.

*Deprivation in home background* caused by such conditions as poverty and discrimination over such a long period in our society has often resulted in low aspiration and motivational levels. Beyond all this, the *practices and attitudes of white employers, workers, and the public,* based on myths and misunderstandings as well as on prejudice, remain the greatest barrier to equal employment opportunity. These attitudes and practices exist in all three of the above sectors; each blames the others for the situation. Discrimination, practiced by many hiring officials and labor unions, tends to strengthen the prejudices of the public. Where such policies have been reversed, however, the public has learned very quickly to accept service from non-white nurses, doctors, teachers, and policemen as readily as from cooks, waiters, and maids.

Alongside the opposition or reluctance of those in positions of power must be set the lack of concern, conviction, and courage on the part of people who believe in decency and equality but who do not express it or at least not with sufficient clarity and relevance.

In many areas non-whites are hindered in seeking jobs or advancement on the job because there is *ineffective legislation or inadequate enforcement of existing laws covering job discrimination.*

1960
UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

| | *White* | *Negro* |
|---|---|---|
| white collar area | 2.6% | 6.2% |
| craftsmen | 6.5% | 12.5% |
| semi-skilled workers | 7.9% | 11.9% |
| laborers | 14 % | 19.7% |
| service workers | 4.7% | 7.6% |

IRVIN SOBEL
from Census Report

In addition, the problem is made worse by the persistence of the high ratio of *unemployment,* the displacement of workers by *automation,* and *inadequate economic growth* in the society at large. Along with concern for equal opportunity there must be attention to the general health of the economy and the achievement of satisfactory progress toward full employment. Otherwise, the non-white segment of the population may be automated out of jobs faster than it is absorbed into the economy, in spite of efforts to secure equality of opportunity.

## THE TIME IS NOW

The General Synod of the United Church of Christ, like the national bodies of the two uniting denominations, has repeatedly called for the elimination of discrimination based on race, color, or ethnic origin. It has long noted the damaging effects of unequal opportunity for employment. In its "Call to Christian Action in Society" the Second General Synod, in 1959, asked our churches and their members to pray and work "for the end of racial segregation and discrimination . . . in employment." "The Call to Renewed Responsibility for Racial and Cultural Relations," approved by the Third General Synod in 1961, again drew attention to continued denials of brotherhood and justice in employment.

The Call for Racial Justice Now, adopted by the Fourth General Synod in July 1963, stated with urgency that the Church must become radically committed at particular times and places to the struggle of our fellow man:

> To get the best job for which he is qualified and not be told to "come back later";
>
> To work at the top jobs and not just those in the lowest paid categories. . . .
>
> To gain a larger share in the ownership and use of capital;
>
> To obtain crash programs of special assistance in such crucial areas as health, education, welfare, citizenship, housing, and employment to enable victims of racial discrimination to achieve equality-in-fact. . . .

This General Synod urged the churches to declare publicly their policy of calling pastors and employing church staff members without any restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background. In a supplementary resolution, the General Synod urged all instrumentalities, conferences, associations, churches, and church-related institutions:

1. To review their current employment policies in respect to the calling of ministers, the employment of professional personnel and other staff, to take affirma-

tive steps to implement fair employment practices;

2. To further fair employment practices by including non-discriminating provisions in all contracts and agreements;
3. To purchase services from, and, in the investment of funds, to give preference to, those firms which follow fair employment practices;
4. To advocate, demonstrate, and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing for federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a non-partisan basis in this session of Congress.

The problem to which these actions point is one of long standing in American society. The grievances are highlighted today; the racial revolution has confronted the church with the urgency of its opportunity and responsibility.

## TOWARD EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY

*What can the church do to promote racial justice in employment?* The obvious place for a church to begin promoting justice and brotherhood is in its own employment practices. Thus, in the above resolution, the Fourth General Synod made its *first* directive to the churches to review their own employment policies.

The "cleansing of the church's own practice" is crucial. Each church should begin by assuring its own willingness to engage staff on the basis of fair employment practices and make this fact known to the Committee for Church and Ministry, the Conference executive, and any others involved in recommending candidates for vacancies on the church staff.

The resolution in question goes on to state that, along with this responsibility for its own inner life, the Christian church also has the obligation to further justice *in the community*. (See sections 2 & 3 above.) Five major lines of action are suggested:

### I. STIMULATE ACTION BY INDIVIDUALS AND COMMITTED GROUPS

There are many measures which individuals and committed groups can take to promote better employment opportunity for the disadvantaged. Through its worship, preaching, teaching, fellowship, and outreach the church can stimulate its members and others to take such action and support them in doing so.

1. *By personal example* individual Christians and church members can immediately install and use nondiscriminatory practices in their own businesses. Church members own or control law firms, realty offices, transportation companies, real estate ventures, companies of all kinds and sizes. Decision-making in church meetings involves implementation in practice. We can begin by correcting discriminatory patterns of employment and by transforming those businesses we control.

2. *By the exercise of personal influence* upon those who determine policies where we work, in relation to one's labor union, civic organization, club, or fraternity, many significant changes can take place. In one firm a personnel man with a conscience persuaded management to set up on-the-job training for youth who did not meet the usual standards. One executive with imagination persuaded his company that it was good business to take on a number of inexperienced youth representing all groups in the population to give them an opportunity to gain normal work experience. In another industry two persons not directly related to policy-making or employment used every opportunity they could find or create to raise questions regarding fair employment practices with those who had decision-making power.

3. *By personal practice* individual Christians and concerned groups can patronize those businesses and organizations which show their good faith by employing persons of all ethnic backgrounds. Just as a conscientious consumer will not knowingly purchase the products of a sweatshop when he can buy union-made goods of like or better quality, so the socially sensitive citizen will "vote with his dollar" for the business which does not discriminate if he has any choice at all.

4. *By thoughtful, informed, and persuasive comments and letters* Christians can inquire about the absence of non-Caucasian personnel and commend employers who show their readiness to take the lead toward inclusiveness. One executive's first encounter with a Negro airline stewardess stimulated a letter of commendation to the president of the employing line and an inquiry to a competing company. A detailed reply from a top official of the latter outlined its own plans and progress in the same direction.

5. *By sticker campaigns* and similar devices individuals can express their concern for fair employment. Small stickers reading, "I am a customer who would welcome being served personally by those whose race, creed, or color may be different from my own," may be ordered from the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth Street, Northwest, Atlanta 3, Georgia (300 for $1.00). These could be attached to utility, department store, and other bills when making payment. This would draw attention to local need and stimulate interest. Care must be exercised, however, that such stickers do not interfere with IBM type punch card operations.

6. *By participation, along with others, in representation, negotiation, demonstration, and other forms of action.* Concerned church members can involve themselves in such efforts. The church should be prepared to sustain and encourage those who in good faith do so. More will be said about this later under the heading of community action.

While we have stressed the individual's participation in the activities mentioned above and the church's supportive role, there are times when the church as such or a group within the church will decide to engage in similar activity. Sticker campaigns and simultaneous letter-writing may under certain conditions prevent a threatened reversal in policy or give courage to an employer who initiates fair employment practices. Some churches,

associations, or conferences may be able to bring together personnel men to share their concern, experience, and "know-how" in relation to equal hiring practices.

## II. INQUIRY ABOUT THE POLICIES OF THOSE WITH WHOM THE CHURCH DOES BUSINESS

A natural field for the local church's inquiry and action on fair employment practices consists of the organizations, business firms, and individual employers that do business directly with the church. First *ascertain the facts* about their present practices, and then *stimulate or exert pressure* upon them, if such is needed, to increase rapidly the number or proportion of non-white employees.

A number of bodies within the United Church of Christ, as a result of the General Synod action, have initiated inquiries into the employment policies of firms with which they have dealings. The UNITED CHURCH HERALD asked the firms with which it had printing and other contracts for assurances concerning fair employment practices.

The Council for Christian Social Action carried on an inquiry as to the employment policies of the firms from which it purchased goods or services. The United Church Boards for World Ministries and Homeland Ministries conducted extensive surveys among the corporations in which they have investments, and secured a sufficiently large number of replies to support the conclusion that such an inquiry serves a useful function. In the BWM survey of several hundreds of firms, only one expressed amazement at the inquiry, and only one termed it inappropriate.

Experience suggests seven helpful steps for a local church or other ecclesiastical body engaging in such a process.

1. *Accept the goal*

Before anything else can be done, secure acceptance of and commitment to the goal on the part of the official leadership of the congregation.

In some instances it will be enough for the consistory, church council, or official board to read and discuss the *Actions of the General Synod* with reference to race. Copies of the Call for Racial Justice Now, the Resolution on Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation, and related actions can easily be secured from the Council for Christian Social Action. (See Resources, p. 12.)

It is well to have some background information before presenting the matter. For *further reading* as to the dimensions of the task we recommend the December 1962 issue of SOCIAL ACTION on "The Job Ahead in Fair Employment Practices."

Although this Action Guide does not presume to stipulate what action a church should take, it does suggest various ways in which it might move after thoughtful consideration. A broad goal of action should be developed in the light of the church's own inquiry. It may not in every case be possible to reach full agreement as to details; however, it should be possible to agree as a start on the securing of information and this in itself could achieve some desired changes.

2. *Place responsibility*

Having stated and accepted goals, the governing body of the local church should at once fix responsibility for *securing the facts, studying them,* and bringing in *recommendations for action.* (The responsibility for action would presumably remain with the governing body, but it would be aided by the recommendations of the group charged with this study.)

The gathering of information and development of a plan of action could be committed to any of a number of "agents" for the congregation or its official board.

*The Committee on Christian Social Action* would in many churches be the logical group to secure the information needed and to follow through on this program. Its members may already be familiar with the problem of equal employment opportunity, have access to sources of information in the local community, and be available to attend workshops or institutes affording additional training. Members of the *Fellowship of the Committed* might also be used to help on this program.

In some congregations, responsibility for finances and investments are delegated to a *finance committee* or to a *board of trustees.* These persons may have a direct contact with the business leaders of the community or be in a position to approach suppliers and contractors with a measure of influence that would be helpful both in securing information and in encouraging constructive action.

In other cases, the congregation may decide to set up a *special committee* to carry on this inquiry. If this is done, the same care should be given to selection as is given to the election of a social action committee or board of trustees. Skill, background, and available resources of time would need to be taken into consideration.

3. *Get the facts*

Begin with an analysis of the status of minority group employment in the community. Organizations concerned with civil rights (such as the Urban League or the NAACP) and public commissions on human relations can provide needed data and interpretation. This analysis will help to determine what information is pertinent and what steps are required.

Then the committee should secure from those responsible for the church's business relations a list of all the firms with which it regularly or occasionally does business. Names and addresses of the firms or organizations (together with the names of the officers or persons responsible for employment policies) should be obtained from all appropriate church leaders; for example, pastor, business manager, treasurer, music committee, church school officers, and others.

These firms may fall into several categories, such as:

- *Those from which the church purchases equipment and supplies:* e.g., office machines, typewriters, music, furniture, furnishings, stationery, cleaning equipment, fuel.
- *Providers of regular service:* e.g., typewriter and mimeograph maintenance, printing, catering.
- *Financial organizations with which the church invests funds:* e.g., banks, insurance companies, investment houses.

• *Contractors or builders:* e.g., builders, painters, decorators, architects, other contractors.

The committee might well first get the facts on the businesses owned and controlled by members of the church.

4. *Make contact*

Having secured a comprehensive list of firms with which the church does business, the committee should analyze this list as to various categories and plan its strategy. This may involve selecting certain key companies for intensive exploration or it may mean a general effort to approach all of them.

The group will subdivide responsibility for approaching the various employers and determine how each individual employer should be dealt with. An appendix to this guide offers samples of two kinds of letter—one requesting information in writing and the other requesting an opportunity for an interview. There is also attached a questionnaire or interview schedule which may be used in the personal follow-up, or enclosed with letter A if that approach is used—especially where suppliers or policy-making officials are at some distance from the community in which the study is made. Wherever possible, personal interviews by qualified interviewers are certainly recommended. The interviewers should also participate, of course, in the evaluation.

The request for an interview should be made in the first instance to the president of the firm or to the vice president in charge of administration —men who set the policy of the company—rather than to the personnel managers who usually carry out policies rather than make them. The higher official may refer the interviewer to the personnel manager or some other lesser official, but even when this is done the interview is then conducted with the knowledge of, and by the authority of, the higher official.

The purpose of the contact should be clear to the interviewer and should be made clear to the official addressed. This purpose is: to express the church's concern for equal job opportunity and its desire to patronize those companies that practice it; to find out what the firm's specific policies and practices are; to find out what the firm feels are obstacles to implementation of the goal of equal job opportunity; and to discuss what business leaders and concerned churchmen can do to overcome these obstacles.

The function of the committee is not to devise its own plans to overcome these obstacles, but to bring to the attention of the firms plans that have already been worked out on the basis of careful study and trial by such agencies as the Urban League, Chambers of Commerce, State Fair Employment Practice Boards, etc.

Since most people tend to brush off form letters, all letters should be individually typed. The very appearance of a "stock" letter can be harmful: the examples shown in the appendix are offered as suggestions, to be individualized and adapted to the specific case.

Even an individualized letter, with the report form, may find its way into the waste basket, or may elicit only a reply that "we have no such records." (Such an excuse is not valid, for every firm doing business with the government must furnish such data, and anyone can give at least an honest estimate.) Even a letter that is not answered may show the officials of a firm that someone is interested in its policies. But there is no substitute for a personal call. Information that might not be given in a signed letter may be offered in conversation during an interview. Although this may not be quotable—especially if given in confidence —it can be helpful to the committee. Ideally, then, a letter should be followed up with a telephone call arranging an interview with the president or other policy-making official of the company who is responsible for recruitment, upgrading, use of minority group persons in all lines of unemployment (office, sales and supervisory personnel as well as in less skilled jobs).

Checking with civil rights organizations might reveal what the practices of a particular company are. When a firm is found to be following desirable practices, or leading the community in efforts to establish fair policies, a warmly commendatory and supportive letter should be written to that firm. There need be no hesitation even if the church is only a modest customer. The basis of the inquiry is not the volume of business done or the potential pressure exerted, but the Christian conviction about the moral rightness of employment on merit.

5. *Follow through*

It is not enough to write a single letter or to make one effort to meet with the appropriate official of the firm in question. Particularly where a local representative pleads—and he may be entirely correct—that policy is not determined by him but by the home office in New York or Chicago, it is important to secure the name of the responsible person, to write to him, and to send a carbon copy to the local representative to let him know what you are writing. If no response is received, a telephone follow-through is recommended.

At this point a request for a personal interview can be repeated and a time set.

In some instances employers may disavow responsibility for their restrictive policy, blaming the unions, their customers, or the general public for creating a condition in which they are helpless. In this case, several procedures commend themselves.

By all means secure the names of the designated labor union or unions and their local or regional officers. Consult with them to ascertain their official policies and their actual practices. In some instances the labor union will prove to be working to secure equal employment opportunity. In other cases, the union may be hiding behind "established procedures" to protect a limited membership against competition from members of minority groups and others who threaten their job security.

The "public" is an amorphous, faceless concept. Where there is no local or state fair employment practice statute on the books, the question may be asked whether the employer would support a movement to secure desegregation. One might cite the experience

of other companies and communities where equal employment has been accepted in a matter-of-fact way. At this stage of the proceedings, however, one's main purpose is to ascertain the facts regarding employment, the presence or absence of constructive employment policies, and the degree of acceptance or resistance which is likely to be encountered in a particular enterprise.

6. *Consult with others*

There is a strategic value in a church's moving independently of non-church organizations at the first stages of inquiry. There is no reason, however, why a number of churches should not compare notes and work out a common strategy in approaching the firms which seek their business, particularly when the initial approach has been ignored or the issue has been evaded. One may then also go farther afield and enlist the cooperation of responsible civil rights groups, publicly appointed commissions on human relations, and other organizations concerned with employment practices (e.g., the Urban League), to check on the facts secured from the employers interviewed.

If the visited employer was antagonistic or aloof during the first visit, it might be well to make a return visit, in the company of other persons representing other groups, especially other customers.

7. *Plan to act*

When the basic information has been gathered and the committee has gone as far as it can in getting through to the real centers where decisions are made, it will need to develop a plan of action and obtain the approval of its parent body—the official board of the congregation.

The committee will need to consider the options available, such as:

- Discussion of findings with employers contacted
- Complaint to local or state enforcement bodies
- Release of information to members of the church
- Release of findings to the press
- Withdrawal of patronage from persistent offenders
- Giving preference, in placing or renewing contracts, to firms that do not discriminate
- Joint action with other community groups in negotiation, securing publicity, selective buying campaigns, picketing or other peaceful demonstrations (discussed later)

It will then need to choose a strategy and present its recommended plan for action to the official body of the church.

This plan will take one form in a community or state which has a fair employment law and another where such does not exist. In the former, it may be sufficient to share one's findings with the official commission responsible for the enforcement of fair employment practices legislation. Or the church may give support to this legislation by reminding the employer of the existence of this law and the ethical desirability of complying with its objectives.

Where there is no such law, one must rely upon the channels of *persuasion, negotiation, joint action, publicity,* and *community pressure.* In many cases the *proposal to release findings to the press* regarding an unethical situation may be sufficient to shift the balance of power within an organization to the side of those who are willing to do the right thing.

A second step after recommending a plan for action is to issue a report of the findings. A statistical summary might be offered to the press without using any names. One would simply say that so many firms of so many kinds were found to have been following open employment policies and so many were found to be discriminating. If this does not bring results, facts about specific enterprises, if they can be documented, might be communicated to the public.

A further step commends itself. If the committee finds that the printer with whom the church has been doing business discriminates and there are other firms—satisfactory in the quality of their product, equally fair in the payment of wages, equally ethical in their collective bargaining practices—which do not practice racial discrimination, the church might shift its patronage to the company following the more desirable policies. A similar comparison and examination might follow in other areas where there is a choice. The shift of one's patronage will not necessarily change the practice of the enterprise. The committee representing the church ought not to deceive itself nor attempt to deceive the employer on this point; its chief argument is *the ethical rightness of the*

"More than any other group of Americans, Negroes suffer from unemployment in the Nation's increasingly complex economy today. The reasons include inadequate education, inferior job training, discrimination by private employers, and discrimination in the State and local administration of Federal programs." (Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1963, p. 90.)

"In 1962, one out of 9 non-whites (90 percent of whom are Negroes) were unemployed compared to 1 out of 20 whites. Among male adults, the non-white rate of unemployment was almost 2½ times the white rate. In not one of the past 5 years was the non-white rate of unemployment less than double the white rate. In every occupational group, from laborer to professional, the non-white jobless rate never failed to exceed the white. Among teenagers, non-white unemployment is dangerously high; 21 percent of all non-white teenage boys, and 28 percent of all non-white girls were jobless in 1962." (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President and A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training —1963.)

*policy of equal opportunity*. To bring effective economic pressure to bear to change policy involves cooperation with various community action groups as described in a later section of this action guide.

A very effective device is the inclusion of a *non-discriminatory clause in all contracts* into which the church enters, as for example a contract for a new building. This procedure, which has been used to good effect by the federal government and by many state governments, requires the contractor to refrain from unfair hiring practices, subject to the same penalties of cancellation of contract as would be exacted for other failures in performance.

Thus, as reported in CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, Vol. 16, No. 4, December 1963:

> Firelands Retirement Centers, Inc., a project sponsored by the United Church of Christ and a number of local congregations in Lorain County and adjacent sections of Ohio, has placed in all its contracts the following provision: "The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to insure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

In writing such a contract prime contractors ought also to require this of subcontractors. Where there is no contract as such assurance in a letter confirming the transaction might be suggested.

> *It is estimated that for every 100 skilled workers that the Nation had in 1955, it will need 122 in 1965, and 145 in 1975. Yet today our vocational education and apprenticeship training programs are not training even enough skilled workers to replace those who retire. Discrimination in such programs is a waste of human resources which this Nation can ill afford, particularly during an era when it is being challenged to develop to the utmost all the human and material resources at its command.*
>
> *U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 Report, p. 157*

## III. SUPPORT FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION

Alongside the types of study and action heretofore outlined, it is essential that the members of churches keep alert to the needs and possibilities of legislation in support of fair employment practices. The Fourth General Synod urged its churches:

> To advocate, demonstrate, and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a nonpartisan basis in this session of Congress.

It is hoped that the concern of churches, labor unions, and many other responsible public interest groups for fair employment practices legislation will move the Congress to adopt such legislation on the national level. Toward this end it is essential that church members individually and church bodies, as such, express their concern to the members of Congress in respect to such legislation.

Even with federal legislation, there remains the need for state and local legislation (22 states do have Fair Employment Practice Laws). A pamphlet, *Your Rights Under Fair Employment Practice Laws,* setting forth the provisions of the various state laws is available from the National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 10022 or from the AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. More detailed information concerning local and state procedures may be secured from local and state commissions charged with this function.

In many states and communities where no laws exist or where laws are very feeble, there are citizens' groups organized to promote the passage of such legislation. The Christian Social Action Committee of your Conference should be a resource for this information. Many lawyers believe that the general police power given by states to municipalities vests those municipalities with legal authority to enact city ordinances forbidding racial discrimination in order to protect life, health, property and maintain order. This would enable a city with racial problems to act, even though it is in a rural state with a legislature that would refuse to pass a fair employment act. In such areas, attorneys should be asked to check this possibility carefully and creatively.

A very real service is being rendered by the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. The federal government under the last few administrations has required those doing business with the federal government to adopt fair employment practices, and to report their compliance with these provisions. The same requirement is made of any labor union having an agreement with contractors or subcontractors dealing with the government. A packet of information is available from the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20025.

Even in the presence of legislative and administrative prescriptions for fair employment, much depends upon the climate of compliance. Churches and

other responsible groups can help create a favorable climate. Individual church members or a local church committee can encourage and support those who comply by commending and publicizing good practices. They can report violations. They can help to file, process, or finance the complaints. They can also cooperate with administrative agencies by helping individual workers to know their rights and by assisting them to become familiar with procedures established for righting grievances. The churches may be especially helpful in discouraging the subtle evasions of the requirements in which otherwise respectable businessmen or their subordinates sometimes engage.

## IV. SUPPORT AND COOPERATE WITH TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMS

Another form of remedial action open to the churches is support for training or retraining programs which enable non-white workers to qualify for new jobs as they become available. The 1961 report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights says:

> Perhaps the greatest need for future federal action, however, lies in the area of training. The Commission survey revealed that without adequate training opportunities, the goal of equal employment opportunity can never be achieved. Unless the Federal Government takes an active role in providing vocational education and apprenticeship training on a nondiscriminatory basis, Negroes will continue to suffer the economic and legal deprivations of the past.
>
> The need for training and retraining has been further emphasized by the demands of today's economy. Even during the recent recession with its high rates of unemployment, jobs were going begging for lack of *skilled* workers to fill them.

Churches can contribute to changing this situation in a number of ways.

1. Some churches can help non-white youth and adults to appreciate the importance of general education, vocational training, apprenticeship, and retraining programs, and can encourage them to take advantage of all available opportunities.

2. Many churches can urge teachers, college students, and other qualified persons to assist in tutorial programs, voluntary or paid, whether intended to aid the "drop-out" or to prevent young people from becoming such, either in their general studies (such as reading, English, or mathematics) or in their vocational specialties. College students have been doing this in many communities with regular hours for tutoring.

3. Where churches have the facilities and there are no other community programs available, churches may sponsor organized tutorial programs, utilizing church members and such resources as private and public agencies make available. Crash programs are needed to help Negro young people to break loose immediately from the long-standing bonds of disadvantage.

4. Churches may stimulate boards of education and other groups to study the need and establish community programs of education, vocational training, on-the-job training, and retraining; or they may themselves conduct counselling, training, and placement services for youth where needed.

5. Churches may make their facilities available for programs conducted by community groups which can provide leadership but do not have available suitable buildings and facilities.

6. Churches can encourage their members who hold positions of responsibility in business, labor, education, and government to use their influence to develop imaginative and constructive programs to train people who have difficulty securing employment—and to help them find useful, remunerative jobs.

7. Churches can encourage private organizations and social agencies to finance and provide guidance, retraining and employment opportunities in the community.

8. Churches can support legislation to establish public programs for guidance and retraining. They can also encourage and cooperate with federal and state employment agencies which are engaged in helping to find appropriate employment opportunities.

9. Churches can work (and urge others to work) actively for local, state, and federal programs that contribute to employment and to economic growth in general.

## V. PARTICIPATE IN COMMUNITY ACTION ON EMPLOYMENT

Up to this point we have dealt with industries and businesses with which the church has a *direct contact* and which, therefore, may be presumed to desire to maintain the good will and patronage of the church. The large manufacturers, processors, and carriers, who dominate many communities, however, may be only occasionally and very indirectly affected by one church's economic policies. For them to be affected at all, there will need to be a widespread movement in which the churches act together through councils of churches or *ad hoc* religious organizations, and/or with others in the community.

[redacted]

"Today's complex economy places a premium on skill. The need for manual and semi-skilled labor is diminishing; the demand for technicians grows. The vast majority of Negroes are unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Displaced by machines, they swell the ranks of the unemployed. In almost every way that unemployment is measured and charted Negroes are among those who suffer most. Without adequate job retraining, Negro hopes of leaving the ranks of the unemployed are slim. Without adequate vocational education in skills that are in demand their chances of adding to the jobless ranks are great. Access to vocational and employment training programs is therefore of crucial importance to Negroes." (Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights—1963, p. 73.)

[redacted]

Civil rights organizations, particularly those with effective Negro leadership, have developed a body of experience and skill in this area which makes it important to utilize their counsel and leadership. Such a concerted effort may take different forms.

1. *A community-wide survey*

A community-wide survey of hiring and personnel policies might be undertaken. While a large church with able leadership, especially in a small community, may attempt a general survey of the employment practices of all the major industries in the community, the dimensions of the problem and the size of the larger employing units make it almost mandatory that there be cooperation with other churches and community groups if one is to get either necessary facts or effective action.

While a broadside appeal to all employers to observe the principles of racial justice in employment may have some educational value, the concerned groups are likely to be more effective if they select a given group of employers, or even one enterprise, at a time for action.

This coordinated approach may use some of the same procedures detailed in the preceding section for individual church action, and utilize the same types of remedial action—negotiation, publicity, appeal to local, state, or federal authorities concerned with discrimination. A cooperative community-wide movement is also in a better position to engage in more massive methods if these are required.

2. *Selective patronage*

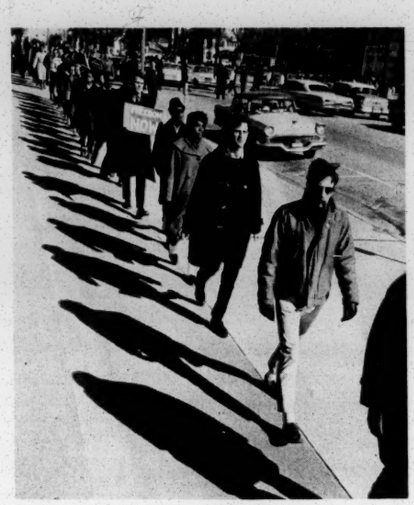
Economic power has long been used against the efforts of the non-white minority to achieve justice and against those who support them. There has also been a reverse use of such power in the interest of greater justice. In certain cities Negroes, led by their churches and ministers, have developed the "selective patronage" campaign. This is a planned withdrawal of patronage from specified merchants and enterprises which fail to employ minority group persons, or which employ them only in token numbers. This is sometimes done for a limited period of time, sometimes indefinitely, and is calculated to bring about and support reasonable negotiations with these employers. Disciplined, controlled, and massive support is essential. The Philadelphia story is an excellent example of effective action in this field. (See SOCIAL ACTION for December 1962.)

These campaigns have arisen where the pressure of job discrimination is most acutely felt, and where a large body of support is present and able to make an immediate impact on the recalcitrant retailer. Sympathetic individuals, groups, and churches can make their contribution by understanding and cooperating with such efforts or by initiating them. Naturally, the same obligation rests upon those who support such a movement to verify the existence of a real grievance, to engage in genuine efforts to negotiate, and to develop and work with responsible leadership. There are times, too, when fair-minded citizens, even though not associated with a selective buying campaign, can help to interpret its objectives, or stand ready to bring about reconciliation. (See May 1964 SOCIAL ACTION for discussion of Christian rationale for such action in statement of Board for Homeland Ministries, "Are Sanctions Sub-Christian?")

3. *Demonstrations*

There are times when the best efforts in terms of inquiry, consultation, negotiation, or even complaint to public authorities do not accomplish the desired end. Then groups of aggrieved or concerned citizens have availed themselves of the historic right to call attention to their grievance through picketing or through other types of mass demonstrations.

The term "demonstrations" as popularly used by responsible action groups engaged in the movement toward liberation includes a broad range of dramatic acts in addition to selective patronage campaigns already discussed: i.e., parades, pilgrimages, vigils, marches, deliberate refusal to continue patterns of cooperation with community mores that are judged to be immoral or unjust, civil disobedience and many forms of "do-ins." Such dramatic acts are intended (1) to make unavoidably perceptible certain unjust discrimina-



tory practices before the conscience of the total community involved, and (2) to motivate and mobilize public opinion, to press for legal procedures and executive action sufficient to alter the situation in carefully defined respects.

Nonviolent direct action methods meet needs often left unmet by any other methods. Through participation, Christians witness to the church's teaching in the present crisis (see article on Demonstrations in May 1964 SOCIAL ACTION) and to the church's compassionate concern for those who suffer injustice. *One cannot approve or condemn demonstrations in general.* The following guidelines may be helpful in evaluating a concrete situation.

1. Investigate the facts. Be satisfied that the alleged racial injustice exists. The grievance should be well documented.

2. Ascertain whether or not the processes of persuasion, negotiation, and legal action have been sincerely tried and have been unsuccessful toward achieving mutually satisfactory solutions. Has the offending individual or industry had adequate time to respond to requests submitted? Keep well informed and pass on the word to the general public.

3. Discover whether or not such flexible and creative efforts have secured a reasonable approximation of justice or even a fair hearing. If not, Christians may be constrained to engage in orderly and nonviolent direct action methods of witnessing to their convictions and achieving just goals.

Nonviolent direct action is to be used in relationship to persuasion, negotiation, and legal action.

4. Has the sponsoring nonviolent direct action group defined explicitly the reasons for the protest activity and the nature of the solutions sought? Demonstrations are means, not ends. Such clarity is essential in developing an informed public opinion.

5. Is the target worth risking the possible upheaval and adverse criticism toward all participants?

6. Is the proposed strategy best suited for the given situation and goals? Will the proposed tactics be sufficiently transparent to make evident the commitment and values of participants?

7. Is the sponsoring group a responsible one? Have the collective experience and wisdom available through consultation and coordinated efforts with interdenominational, interfaith, and civic action groups been actively sought and seriously considered? The increased strength, the sharpened strategy, and the status gained by such cooperation may prove helpful in moving toward the desired goals.

8. Has the nature of the planning and preparation of participants been such as to give reasonable assurance that the demonstration will be nonviolent? Nonviolence is a positive approach which exceeds refraining from physical violence and includes meeting the anger and violence of any person, mob, or group with goodwill in the hope of creative reconciliation. The spirit of nonviolence requires willing submission to assault. Responsible civil rights groups have developed training programs in nonviolent methods which can be utilized in an effort to prevent the demonstrations from being marred by violence and hatred on the part of the demonstrators. Orderly and nonviolent public protest witness sometimes evokes irresponsible and violent reactions toward demonstrators from those opposing what they understand to be the goals of the action. Those responding in violence must bear primary responsibility for the violence.

Whenever a group is preparing to use any method of direct action such as picketing, selective buying, or other form of mass demonstration it is wise as part of the planning to consult a lawyer who is friendly to the cause. He can advise as to local ordinances or statutes which are applicable, especially when the law has already been tested in the courts. Such consultation will assure that decisions regarding the course of action are made with all available information considered carefully by the group in advance.

When all the necessary qualifications have been considered, however, a demonstration may be the one means of focusing public attention upon a grievance and securing the proper redress. Where such a step is agreed upon and responsibly led, it is of greatest importance that churches and other groups containing significant numbers of white people be visibly aligned with the members of the minority group who suffer most from existing injustices.

Some specific instances of nonviolent direct action may involve *civil disobedience*. In these cases careful scrutiny of motives and goals is especially necessary.

1. Will this action make a "test case" which constrains the courts to interpret a law and therefore serve in the interest of law?

2. Are such measures necessary to arouse the conscience of the community in favor of specific and unrealized freedoms provided for in our constitution?

3. Are the participants prepared to accept the "legal consequences" of the violation? By so doing one makes clear his respect for law and law enforcement, as such, even as he challenges the justice of particular statutes.

## OTHER QUESTIONS

1. *"Is it important for this work to be interracial?"* The problems of justice and discrimination will not be solved unless there is a joint approach involving mutual acquaintance, study, confrontation, frank discussion of problems, and curative action. Where the church is inclusive it can help provide for this. The church may well take the lead in calling for interracial committees for racial justice in economic life at all levels. In some instances these committees will consist of individuals appointed by some government unit. If non-governmental in character, they may well include representatives of the churches, lay and clerical, as well as of other segments of the community such as organized labor and business.

2. *"How can we make up for the long years of discrimination which have created a serious deficiency of opportunity and economic achievement for non-white people?"* A number of answers have been suggested, and many of them raise further questions; for we do not in a moment dig out of a difficulty we have been so long creating.

One suggestion is that employers—including not only business and government, but also churches and other organizations—make special efforts to employ non-whites until a more representative balance in work force is achieved. Pressure has been brought upon labor unions to relax sometimes arbitrary requirements to enable more non-whites to enter apprenticeship programs or belong to the union. "Differential investment" would make more training opportunities available in areas, typically with high non-white populations, where unemployment and "dropout" rates are high. Economists have warned that *artificially* high requirements of training or experience must be relaxed if young workers from these groups are to enjoy genuine equality of opportunity. A few leaders of industry have agreed and are re-examining their personnel policies in this respect. Others have pioneered in encouraging, training, and upgrading Negroes and Spanish-Americans within their work forces.

There is considerable resistance to the idea of favoring less qualified non-whites in the recruitment and advancement of workers: "preferential hiring" has worked against the non-white in the past and is likely to create further difficulty if used "for" him now. The complaint is precisely that well trained and able Negroes have been passed over and less competent Caucasians advanced over them. Reversing this can also create resentments in whites.

It is highly important that "compensatory" techniques be used to right

these long standing inequities *within a reasonable time.* At best these do not mean advancing persons without merit. They mean rather giving those who are ordinarily denied them the education, on-the-job training, and opportunities to develop and use the capacity they have. For many Negro applicants with high potential and basic qualifications have been denied the years of experience and specific training required for certain jobs.

The church has an important service to perform in interpreting the significance of such programs. It has an important responsibility also to support measures for full employment and a growing economy in which there may be work for all without discrimination.

## APPENDIX I

### Letter A

The General Synod of the United Church of Christ (our legislative body) has expressed its concern for the elimination of racial discrimination generally and for the encouragement of fair employment practices in particular. It has called upon our boards, agencies, and congregations to give attention to their own employment practices and to those of the firms with which they do business as well.

We should like to enlist your help in the furtherance of this goal by providing us with information as to your own employment practices. Beyond this, believing that you have knowledge and experience that could be of help to us and to others, we are eager to have from you any suggestions you believe would be useful in advancing our common goal of strengthening just and democratic practices in our society.

We would appreciate your completing and returning the enclosed Report Form to us along with any additional suggestions you may wish to make. If you have any questions, or wish to discuss the matter in person, please call ..... at .....

We value the relations we have enjoyed with your representatives, and thank you for your helpfulness in this matter as well.

Sincerely yours,

## APPENDIX II

### INQUIRY ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

**Report Form**

Name _____ Reported by _____

Address _____ Type of inquiry
☐ letter
☐ informal conversation

Nature of Business _____ ☐ interview with

Total working force _____ Name _____
Position _____

Date of Information _____ ☐ Other

What is your policy in employing non-white personnel?

Percentage of non-whites employed in following categories

Executive and Managerial _____ Office and Clerical _____
Professional _____ Craftsmen (skilled) _____
Technical _____ Operatives (semi-skilled) _____
Supervisory _____ Laborers (unskilled) _____
Sales _____ Service _____

What procedures do you follow in recruiting non-white personnel?

Do you inform employment agencies that positions are open to all applicants, regardless of race, creed, or ethnic background? _____

Do you arrange interviews, career conferences, and other means of recruitment in high schools and colleges having sizeable non-white enrollments? _____ If so, do you make clear that applicants will be considered regardless of race or ethnic background? _____

Do you keep the Urban League, and other organizations concerned with the employment and upgrading of minority groups, informed of job openings and interviews? _____

Other _____

What opportunities are given for training and promotion to higher grade jobs?

What do you consider are the greatest problems to be solved in securing a work force fully representative of the whole community?

### Letter B

The General Synod of the United Church of Christ (our legislative body) has expressed its concern for the elimination of racial discrimination in general and for the encouragement of fair employment practices in particular. It has called upon our churches to give attention to the employment policies of the companies with which they do business.

We value the business relations we have enjoyed with your firm and believe you could be of special help to us in this important area. Accordingly, we should appreciate an opportunity of discussing this question with you and getting the benefit of your experience and wisdom in the matter.

May we, therefore, request an opportunity to meet with you, or with the person responsible for setting policies of recruitment and employment, at the earliest convenient time.

If you will kindly indicate with whom we should confer, we will be glad to arrange a mutually convenient time for such a meeting.

Thank you for your helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,

## ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR STUDY AND ACTION

### Books and Pamphlets

*A Call for Racial Justice Now and Other Actions on Race Relations,* Council for Christian Social Action. (5¢ each, $2.50 per 100.)

*Economic and Social Status of the Negro,* a 32-page report based on the 1960 Census, $1 each; available from the National Urban League

*The Job Ahead in Fair Employment Practices*: SOCIAL ACTION Magazine, December 1962. Council for Christian Social Action. (25¢ each; 10-99 copies, 20¢ each; 100 or more copies, 15¢ each.)

*Your Rights Under Fair Employment Practice Laws,* National Labor Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York, New York 10022 or AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

*1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report*: Book 3, "Employment," United States Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20025

*1963 Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights,* United States Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20025. $1.00

### Organizations

American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th Street, New York 22, New York

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 19, New York

Committee for Racial Justice Now, United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010

Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038

Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018

National Conference on Religion and Race, Rm. 574, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027

National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York, New York 10017

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsythe Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington D.C. 20025

Also, get in touch with your nearest city or state agency dealing with human relations. For a complete listing of city, state and regional intergroup relations agencies, write the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Price: 1-9 copies, 25¢ each; 10-99 copies, 20¢ each; 100 or more, 15¢ each

*Published by the*

**COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION**

*in cooperation with the*

**COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW**

United Church of Christ
289 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

SA-R-0664-20M

333

Bring up Oct 1, 1966

See Religious Orgs — United Church of Christ

July 26, 1966

Mr. Paul H. Sherry
Executive Secretary
Council for Higher Education
United Church of Christ
287 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Sherry:

Thank you for your invitation for October 28-29, 1966. I should very much like to plan to participate in this meeting, but unfortunately, I am unable to make a definite commitment at this time. However, I will make every effort to coincide the date of this meeting with any necessary trip I may have to make to New York so that I can be assured that travel expenses are covered. If this is not satisfactory with you, I will understand if you need to cancel the invitation and extend it to someone else.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

# Council for Higher Education

United Church of Christ
287 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

**W. NOEL JOHNSTON**
Chairman

**WESLEY A. HOTCHKISS**
General Secretary,
Division of Higher Education

**PAUL H. SHERRY**
Executive Secretary,
Council for Higher Education

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Vanderbilt University Divinity School
Yale Divinity School

July 13, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth St.
Altanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On October 28-29 of this year, the Council for Higher Education of the United Church of Christ is sponsoring an invitational consultation entitled CYBERNATION-GUARANTEED INCOME-EDUCATION. The purpose of the consultation, to be held in New York City, is basically three-fold:

1. To share insights concerning changes in the current social, economic, and educational scene due to the technological revolution;
2. To motivate and better prepare participants to work toward creative solutions to the problems and possibilities inherent in the current situation;
3. To encourage participants to stimulate others toward knowledgable involvement.

An agenda of the consultation is included. You will notice that the major speaker-participant, Mr. Robert Theobald, will give three major addresses. A respondent will reply to each of these addresses after which time will be allowed for dialogue, questions and comments from the floor, and small group discussions.

We wish to invite you to be a participant in this consultation. We are anxious to have the benefit of the most incisive thinking possible so that the dramatic changes now taking place in our society will be creative in nature. Those of us who are planning the consultation feel you could be of real assistance in this regard.

Since we are working on a limited budget, we are asking the consultation participants or their sponsoring agency to pay travel and lodging costs. We are limiting the number of participants to about one hundred and fifty. Therefore, will you please return the enclosed card as soon as possible? We will then send you further details.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Sherry

Paul H. Sherry
PHS:ja

P.S. Dr. Henry Clark of the National Council of Churches Commission on the Church and Economic Life felt your presence would be invaluable to the success of the Consultation.

I (will, will not) be present at the Consultation, "Cybernation-Guaranteed Income-Education", October 28-29,1966.

Please name, in the space below, the organization you represent, if any.

Name _____

Full Mailing address _____

_____

PRELIMINARY PROSPECTUS

# CYBERNATION-GUARANTEED INCOME-EDUCATION

A consultation on this general theme is to be held October 28-29, 1966, under the sponsorship of the United Church Council for Higher Education. The Council includes in its membership two academies, thirty-one colleges, and thirteen seminaries. The consultation will attempt to bring together, on an invitational basis, approximately one-hundred-fifty individuals: socio-economists, government and United Nations representatives, interested groups (civil rights, labor, management, etc.) representatives, magazine editors, writers and commentators, college presidents and chaplains, seminary presidents and theologians, students with particular interests and competence in the area under discussion, and interested churchmen.

The format of the consultation will include three major presentations, three responses, and group discussions. Mr. Robert Theobald has agreed to give the three major presentations. Three different individuals ( a philosopher-theologian, socio-economist, educator) will serve as respondents. Mr. Theobald is the author of The Rich and the Poor, The Challenge of Abundance, Free Men and Free Markets, and numerous articles. The Nation published a condensed version of Free Men and Free Markets in a special issue dated May 11, 1963, under the title, "Abundance: Threat or Promise?" The edition was quickly exhausted and for the past three years the editors of Nation state they have been unable to fill orders for copies. A new edition of Free Men and Free Markets was published in 1965 which Nation magazine offers with every new subscription to the magazine.

Free Men and Free Markets, which argues for a guaranteed income and the implications this would have for society, sparked the Ad Hoc Committee for the Triple Revolution. It has been heralded as the most widely discussed economic book since Galbraith's Affluent Society. Typical of many comments is that by Lewis Coser in The Washington Post:

> "Mr. Theobald argues with a great deal of persuasion that the beliefs which furnish the basis of the current economics ethos no longer apply today...In the tradition of Thorstein Veblen... It breaks loose from the obsession with piecemeal tinkering which dominates current economic thought."

A tentative schedule follows:

First Day

2:00 P.M. Address
Robert Theobald - "Man's Power to Remake His Environment"

3:00 P.M. Response

4:30 P.M. Discussion Groups

8:00 P.M. Address
Robert Theobald - "The Guaranteed Income - Long and Short Run Implications"

9:30 P.M. Response

11:00 P.M. Questions and Comments

Second Day

9:30 A.M. Address
Robert Theobald - "Education for a Non-Toil Oriented Society"

11:00 A.M. Response

2:00 P.M. Discussion Groups

4:00 P.M. Final Reports of Groups and Consultation Synthesis

It is our hope that at least three things will be accomplished by the consultation: (1) That the participants will be assisted in coming to terms themselves with the problems and possibilities inherent in the current situation; (2) that all might be motivated and better prepared to work toward creative solutions; and (3) that all might be moved to stimulate others toward knowledgable involvement.

Paul H. Sherry

June 1, 1966

# CYBERNETICS – GUARANTEED INCOME? – EDUCATION

## A Consultation

and

# ANNUAL MEETING

## Council for Higher Education
## United Church of Christ

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Broadway at 120th Street

New York, New York

October 28-29, 1966

# MEETING AND CONSULTATION AGENDA

## FRIDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1966

| | |
|---|---|
| 10:00 A.M. | Meeting of College Section of Council for Higher Education<br>Room 255 |
| 12:30 P.M. | Lunch<br>Union Dining Hall |
| 1:30 P.M. | Registration for Consultation<br>Room 207 |
| 2:30 P.M. | Introductory Remarks — Dr. W. Noel Johnston, Chairman, Council for Higher Education<br>Room 207<br>Consultation Objectives — The Rev. Paul H. Sherry, Executive Secretary, Council for Higher Education |
| 2:45 P.M. | Address — "Man's Power to Remake His Environment"<br>Mr. Robert Theobald* |
| 3:30 P.M. | Response — Dr. Richard Shaull, Professor of Ecumenics, Princeton Theological Seminary |
| 4:30 P.M. | Group Discussions<br>Rooms to be announced |
| 6:00 P.M. | Dinner<br>Union Dining Hall<br>Meeting of Seminary Section of Council<br>Upper Refectory |
| 7:30 P.M. | Address — "Useful Work for All"<br>Dr. Seymour Melman**<br>Room 207 |
| 8:30 P.M. | Address — "The Guaranteed Income: Precondition for Controlling Man's Power"<br>Mr. Robert Theobald |
| 9:30 P.M. | Questions, Comments, and Dialogue |

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:30 A.M. | Address — "Education: The Need for Dialogue"<br>Mr. Robert Theobald |
| 10:30 A.M. | Response — Dr. John Elmendorf, President of New College, Sarasota, Florida |
| 12:00 Noon | Lunch<br>Union Dining Hall |
| 2:00 P.M. | Group Discussions<br>Meet in Room 207 |
| 4:00 P.M. | Final Reports of Groups and Consultation Synthesis — Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss, General Secretary, Division of Higher Education, United Church of Christ |
| 6:00 P.M. | Dinner<br>Union Dining Hall |
| 7:00 P.M. | Annual Meeting, Council for Higher Education, United Church of Christ<br>Room 207 |

* Mr. Robert Theobald — Author of *Free Men and Free Markets* which sparked the Ad Hoc Committee for the Triple Revolution and has been heralded as the most widely discussed book on economics since Galbraith's *Affluent Society*.

** Dr. Seymour Melman — Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University, author of *The Depleted Society* and numerous other works. Dr. Melman's views have gained him national recognition and an audience with President Johnson.

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File
Rel. orgs -
United Church of Christ

Return to MMJ

Ed,

I would like to discuss this with you.

PAnthony

November 28, 1966

Mr. Ray Gibbons
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

While we too know of scurrilous literature about the Freedom March, we were not aware of a film. We are making inquiries about this in Birmingham and elsewhere in Alabama, and if we receive any information of significance we will pass it on to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

11/21/66

(3)

Janet Smith brought this in -- She knows nothing about such a film nor does Research -- I told her to leave it for you to see, and perhaps you may know something of it.

Janet feels that the film should be sought - or at least the title of the film, if it exists - and Mr. Gibbons so informed.

mj

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010 • 212 GR 5-2121

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November 18, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forysthe Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

A pastor in one of our churches in Birmingham wrote me that he had seen a film which was a vicious attack upon the Freedom Marchers. I am well aware that there has been scurrilous literature along this line, but I was not aware that any film had been made. If you know of such would you kindly inform me about its title, source, and whether any analysis of the film has been made which would correct its serious misrepresentation.

Thank you for your help.

Cordially,

Ray Gibbons

Ray Gibbons

RG/e

# MEMORANDUM

UNITED CHURCH BOARD
FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES
287 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Date

To

From

In re

Participants in Consultation on "Cybernation-Guaranteed Income?-Education", October 28-29, Union Theological Seminary, New York City

Paul H. Sherry, Council for Higher Education, United Church of Christ

Consultation Agenda, Preliminary List of Participants, General Information

Enclosed you will find:

1. A copy of the Consultation agenda
2. A preliminary list of participants
3. Travel, food, and lodging information

You will notice that registration begins at 1:30 P. M., Friday afternoon, October 28th, in Room 207. We expect to begin promptly at 2:30 P.M.

If you have any questions concerning the Consultation, please feel free to write or call the following address:

Paul H. Sherry
287 Park Avenue S.
New York, N.Y.

Tele. 212 475-2121 Ext. 613

We are very happy you have accepted our invitation to be a participant in the Consultation. It promises to be a very fruitful meeting. We look forward to seeing you October 28th.

TRAVEL, FOOD, AND LODGING INFORMATION

The following hotels are recommended by Union Theological Seminary officials. Please make your own reservations.

The Paris Hotel
West End at 97th Street
New York 25, N.Y.

The Arizona Hotel
508 West 114th Street
New York 25, N.Y.

The Regent Hotel
Broadway and 104th Street
New York 25, N.Y.

Broadmore Residence Hotel
Broadway and 102nd Street
New York 25, N.Y.

Belvedere Residence Hotel
536 West 112th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Hotel Graystone
91st and Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Meals may be obtained in the Union Theological Seminary Dining Hall at a reasonable cost. Since we have allowed a minimum of time for lunch and dinner breaks, we hope that, if possible, the Consultation participants will use the Union dining facilities. In this way we hope to be able to keep the Consultation on schedule.

Lunch is served cafeteria style from 12:00 - 1:15 P.M.

Dinner is served cafeteria style from 6:00 - 7:15 P.M.

Travel directions - The Seminary is situated at the northwest corner of 120th Street and Broadway, and is adjacent to Columbia University, Teachers College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Juilliard School of Music, Riverside Church, and the InterChurch Center.

The nearest Subway stop is the Columbia University-116th Street station of the Broadway line. The Broadway line has stations at Pennsylvania Station, and at Times Square where it connects with the shuttle train from Grand Central Terminal. Trains stopping at the Columbia University Station are marked "No. 1, 242nd Street-Broadway" or "137th Street-Broadway Local". Convenient transportation is also provided by bus. Take the "Broadway" (No. 104) or the "Fifth Avenue" (No. 4 or No. 5) bus to 120th Street.

The Seminary phone number is MO 2-7100.

You will notice that registration begins at 1:30 P.M., Friday afternoon, October 28th, in Room 207. We expect to begin promptly at 2:30 P.M.

If you have any questions, please feel free to write or call Mr. Paul H. Sherry at the following address:

Paul H. Sherry
287 Park Avenue S.
New York, N.Y.
Tele. 212 475-2121 Ext. 613

PRELIMINARY LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

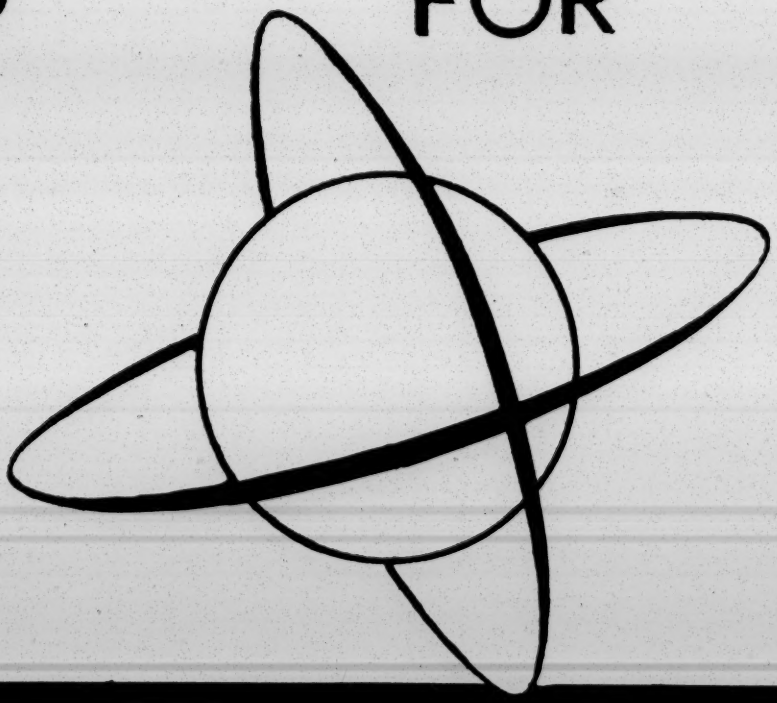
Dr. Stanley Foster Reed, President, Reed Research Institute for Creative Studies, Washington, D. C.
Miss Mary-Everett Seelye, American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C.
Mr. David Robinson, Jr., National Student Christian Federation, New York
Miss Alice Hageman, Graduate Student, New York City
Mr. C. E. Larson President, Union Carbide Corporation, Nuclear Division, Oak Ridge,Tenn.
Mr. A. F. Gagliotti, Director, New York Office, UNESCO, United Nations, N.Y.
Dr. Louis Fein, Consultant, Synnoetic Systems, Palo Alto, California
Mr. Eugene H. Tennis, The Fifty Million Fund, United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. Staff Representative, League for Industrial Democracy, New York
The Rev. Anderson D. Clark, Dean of the Chapel, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin
Professor Parker J. Palmer, Department of Sociology, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin
Dr. Lester B. McAllister, Jr., Chairman, Dept. of Economics, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin
President Donald C. Dearborn, Catawba College, Catawba, North Carolina
Faculty Representative, Catawba College, Catawba, North Carolina
President W. Noel Johnston, Defiance College, Defiance, Ohio
Faculty Representative, Defiance College
President J. E. Danieley, Elon College, Elon, North Carolina
Faculty Representative,Elon College
President Donald C. Kleckner, Elmhurst, Elmhurst, Ill.
Faculty Representative, Elmhurst College
President Keith Spalding, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
President Randle Elliott, Hood College, Frederick, Maryland
Faculty Representative, Hood College
President John J. King, Huston-Tillotson College, Austin, Texas
President L. Vernon Caine, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
President John B. Morland, Lakeland College, Lakeland, Wisconsin
Professor Peter Vant Slot, Lakeland College
President Hollis V. Price, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.
Faculty Representative, LeMoyne College
Headmaster W. C. Fowle, Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, Pa.
President John Elmendorf, New College, Sarasota, Florida
President M. A. F. Ritchie, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon
President Ronald C. Nairn, Prescott College, Prescott, Arizona
Mr. Leonard Vaughan, Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin
Dean Lawrence Small, Rocky Mountain College, Billings, Montana
Faculty Representative, Rocky Mountain College
President Herman Long Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama
President George A. Owens, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.
Faculty Representative, Tougaloo College
President D. L. Helfferich, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
Faculty Representative, Ursinus College
Faculty Representative, Ursinus College
President Donald Ward, Yankton College
President Frederick W. Whittaker, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine
President Edward T. Manthei, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
The Rev. Cyrus Giddings, Chicago Theological Seminary
Dr. Victor Obenhaus, Professor of Christian Ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary
President Robert T. Fauth, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri

Dr. Elmer J. F. Arndt, Professor of Systematic Theology, Eden Theological Seminary
President James Gettemy, Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
Faculty Representative, Hartford Seminary
The Rev. Joseph Merchant, Urban Church Department, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
The Rev. Huber F. Klemme, Associate Director, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ
Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta Georgia
Mr. Douglas Renick, Student Interracial Ministry, New York
Mr. George Walters, Student Interracial Ministry
Mr. Edward W. Warner, Executive Director, Affiliate Artists, Inc., New York
Mr. Joseph Duffy, Graduate Student, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
Mr. John Moyer, Town and Country Church Department, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Mr. Martin Bailey, Editor, United Church Herald
Dr. Henry Clark, Commission on The Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches
Miss Dorothy F. Cotton, Citizen Education Department, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Mr. Howard S. Fuller, Urban Church Department, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Edmund W. Gordon, Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University, New York
The Rev. William B. Greenspun, C.S.P., National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Ashby E. Bladen, Board of Directors, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Eunice Matthew, Education Chief, U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor
Dr. Ronald W. McNeur, Division of Higher Education, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches
The Rev. W. Sterling Cary, United Church Committee for Racial Justice Now
Dr. Shirley E. Greene, Commission on the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches
The Rev. Howard Moody, Judson Memorial Church, New York
Mr. Charles F. Gregg, Board of Directors, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Howard E. Spragg, Treasurer, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. S. Garry Oniki, Associate to the Executive Vice-President, United Church for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Purd Deitz, Division of Church Extension, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
The Rev. W. L. Halfaker, Board of Directors, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Truman B. Douglass, Executive Vice-President, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Dr. Harold Wilke, Council for Church and Ministry, United Church of Christ
Mr. Richard W. Kean, Editor, Campus Dialogue
Mr. James R. McGraw, Editor, The Christian Century
Dr. Kyle Haselden, Editor, The Christian Century

Professor E. J. Stanley, Pitzer College, Claremont, California
Dr. Paul M. Harrison, Penn State University, University Park, Pa.
Mr. Leon Shull, National Director, Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, D. C.
Dean Samuel Gandy, Howard University School of Religion, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Alfred C. Bartholomew, Dept. of Church and Community, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa.
Dean Louis H. Gunneman, United Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. William F. Treiber, Board of Directors, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
The Rev. James J. Finlay, S. J., Political Science Dept., Fordham University
Mr. Robert Theobald, New York City
Dr. Seymour Melman, Columbia University, N.Y.C.
Dr. Richard Shaull, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss, Division of Higher Education, United Church of Christ

# QUESTING

# FULL *Partners* FOR



# PEACE

28 ¶ [k]And one of the scribes came, and having
heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that
he had answered them well, asked him, Which is
the first commandment of all?
29 And Jesus answered him, The first of all the
commandments *is*, [l]Hear, O Israel; The Lord our
God is one Lord:
30 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with
all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all
thy mind, and with all thy strength: this *is* the
first commandment.
31 And the second *is* like, *namely* this, [m]Thou
shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: there is none
other commandment greater than these.

## CHAP. XX.

1 *The ten commandments.* 22 *Idolatry is forbidden.* 24 *Of what sort the altar should be.*

AND God spake [a]all these words, saying,
2 [b]I *am* the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, [c]out of the house of † bondage.
3 [d]Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
4 [e]Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth:
5 [f]Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: For I the LORD thy God *am* [g]a jealous God, [h]visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me;
6 And [i]showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.
7 [k]Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain: for the LORD [l]will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.
8 [m]Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy.
9 [n]Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work:
10 But the [o]seventh day *is* the sabbath of the LORD thy God: *in it* thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, [p]nor thy stranger that *is* within thy gates:
11 For [q]*in* six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath-day and hallowed it.
12 ¶[r]Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.
13 [s]Thou shalt not kill.
14 [t]Thou shalt not commit adultery.
15 [u]Thou shalt not steal.
16 [w]Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
17 [x]Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, [y]thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that *is* thy neighbour's.

THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF GEORGIA
INTERFAITH WORK SHOP -- "FULL PARTNERS FOR PEACE"
Glenn Memorial Educational Building
Emory University Campus
Atlanta, Georgia
September 24 - 25, 1959

Registration

Presiding - Mrs. John Patton, President
United Church Women of Georgia

Greetings - Mrs. Dean King, President
United Church Women of DeKalb Co.

Introductions--

Meditation - Mrs. C. C. Sapp, Chairman
Spiritual Life, UCW of Georgia

Lunch - In the garden of Glenn Memorial

Business

Christian World Relations - Plans for
World Community Day
-- Mrs. Fred Patterson, National Chairman
-- Mrs. Ross Hoffman, Chairman UCW of Georgia

Witnessing To The Work of UCW of Georgia
-- Walton County Council - Mrs. H. A. Breedlove
President

Discussion Period

Break

Session on Mental Health
3:30 p.m.

Presiding - Mrs. Rex Neely, Chairman
Mental Health, UCW of Georgia

Speaker - Mr. John Scanton, Director of Education
Georgia Association of Mental Health

Problems of the Aging - Miss Virginia Smythe
Chief Geriatrics Section
State Division of Mental Health

Questions and Answers - What can we do together
for mental health and mental sickness?
What can we do together for the aging?

Russia - Place, Politics, People
-- Mrs. Fred Patterson

* * * * *

EVENING SESSION
6:00 p.m.
FELLOWSHIP DINNER

Presiding - Mrs. Edgar M. Dunstan, Chairman
Christian Women's Action for Peace

Invocation - Dr. Eugene Drinkard, Pastor
Glenn Memorial Church

"The Church Woman" - Mrs. Hugh Harris, Chairman
The United Nations - Mrs. Chester Martin, Chairman

THE WORLD REFUGEE YEAR

Litany
Introduction of Speaker - Mrs. J. K. Dobbs
The World Refugee Year - Dr. Claude Thompson
Professor of Systematic
Theology, Emory University

"Talk Back"
Good Night Song

September 25
9:30 a. m.
Workshop

"Full Partners for Peace"

PURPOSE - QUESTING!
The Eternal Conscience Codes
The Decalogue
The Great Commandment

Meditation - Mrs. Stewart Colley
Interlacing the Strands - Mrs. Carlton Binns

Panel - Questing - "That Belongs To Peace"

Moderator - Dr. Malcolm Calhoun
Religious Implication of Urban Change
- Dr. Theodore Weber
Public Education. The Aspiration of the Negro
- Dr. Lynette Saine
Social Aspects of Todays Rural Georgia
- Honorable Hoyle R. Yandell
Public Education. Are Private Schools the Answer?
- Dr. Roland Frye

Group Work

Leaders - Mr. Joseph Gross
Mr. Paul Rilling
Mrs. Lester Rumble
Mr. Harold Fleming

Reporters - Mrs. I. Kuniansky
Mrs. Eugene Drinkard
Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
Mrs. H. B. Trimble

Reports from Groups

The Challenge - Dr. Malcolm Calhoun

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF United Church Women

475 Riverside Drive • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ALgonquin 4-7110

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG
*President*

REV. ROY G. ROSS
*General Secretary*

R. H. EDWIN ESPY
*Associate General Secretary*

CHARLES E. WILSON
*Treasurer*

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
*Chairman*

MRS. W. MURDOCH MacLEOD
*General Director*

*Christian Social Relations*

MISS MARGARET KUHN
Philadelphia, Penna.
*Chairman*

MRS. D. ELLWOOD WILLIAMS, Jr.
Annapolis, Maryland
*May Fellowship Day*

October 28, 1959

RECEIVED NOV 2 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As the new member of the Christian Social Relations staff I am invited by Mrs. Tilly to attend the meeting of the Fellowship for the Concerned on November 5and 6.

I plan to remain in Atlanta over the week end and through part of Monday to renew my acquaintances and contacts in the South. I would very much hope that it would be possible for me to have the privilege of meeting and talking with you. Perhaps the best way to do this is for me to 'phone you on my arrival so that we might arrange a time convenient for you.

In anticipation of our meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:go

P.A.
Miss French already appears on the S.S.C list!

November 19, 1959

Miss Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
National Council of Churches, USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming, I would like to acknowledge your letter of November 10th.

It would indeed be appropriate for you to attend the meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference. In fact, I think the group would particularly like to have a representative present from the United Church Women. The next meeting will be held in Atlanta, beginning at 2:00 p.m., on January 19th and ending at noon on the 20th. We will send you particulars on the meeting - as well as notices of all meetings in the future. I hope you can place these dates on your calendar.

Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of the Directory of Organizations Engaged In Human Relations. Each edition of this directory quickly becomes outdated, but the listings are essentially of those who participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

PA


# united church women

## national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR


November 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want to send you a sincere word of appreciation for your help last Friday. To be able to talk with you at the begining of this job means more than can be expressed. The fact that the Southern Regional Council is at hand to help as we seek to find our center role as United Church Women is a tremendous source of encouragement and strength. I have found myself returning again and again to your judgment and suggestions as I have tried to put the pieces of the Atlanta visit together.

Among the resources you mentioned was the group of staff members from various organizations which meets periodically. I wonder if it might not be a help to know them personally and to get the feeling of the group if it is appropriate to think of an outsider sitting in on one of their meetings. I don't know whether my calendar would permit it, however I would appreciate your judgment about whether it would be appropriate to raise the question and whether you agree that it would be valuable to have first hand contact before relying on minutes of meetings. Are the date and place of the next meeting set yet?

Again I want you to know what a delight it was to meet and talk with you and how much I appreciate your counsel. I look forward very much to working with you.

PA - Pls write her in my absence saying she's welcome at any interagency mtg + see that she gets all notices.
HCF

Cordially,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:go


CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

MISS MARGARET KUHN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., CHAIRMAN • MRS. D. ELLWOOD WILLIAMS, JR., ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY
ELEANOR FRENCH, DIRECTOR

VIA AIR MAIL

January 5, 1960

Miss Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

It is good to hear from you now that you're in the thick of activities.

I am afraid that the possible sources I know of move much too sluggishly to be of help in connection with the NOW conference. When you are ready, however, to submit a full-blown program request to some potential donors, I'll be happy to make such suggestions and render such support as I can.

Notwithstanding my inability to help with the general problem of the moment, it may be that we can assist organizationally in the case of the Montgomery lady. I have mentioned this to Mrs. Tilly, who plans to be in touch with you further.

I look forward to seeing you, or at the least corresponding, again soon. Meanwhile, best wishes for 1960.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIverside 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

December 28, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I think so often, with appreciation, of our brief meeting in October and I begin to see a bit more clearly the pattern for the future - at least the steps toward working out a plan.

The concern that is prompting me to write to you now is a letter from a woman active in United Church Women in Montgomery, Alabama who would like to attend the N O W Conference but cannot because of finances. I have an idea that this question may be raised by other people from various parts of the country. Miss Nannie H. Burroughs of the Woman's Convention Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, whom I met recently is sending me the names of several people to whom to send publicity about the conference. Do you know of any funds which might be tapped for this kind of purpose? I remember your statement that there are more potential funds than there are clearly formulated projects for which they might be used.

With every good wish to you for the New Year and in anticipation of yourcounsel on this specific question.

Sincerely,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:go

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

MISS MARGARET KUHN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., CHAIRMAN • MRS. D. ELLWOOD WILLIAMS, JR., ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY
ELEANOR FRENCH, DIRECTOR

ANNUAL MEETING

*United Church Women of Georgia*

JANUARY 22, 1960

*honoring*

25th

ANNIVERSARY

of

THE

# Church Woman

1934 - 1959

# united church women

## national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR


January 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of early January, which we appreciate.

I have not answered you until after Mrs. Tilly's visit here knowing that she would want to discuss with us your further thinking regarding the best help to Montgomery for attendance at the N O W Conference. We were delighted to learn that you and Mrs. Tilly felt that it will be best to help by contributing to the expenses of the group of women coming by car. We hope to be able to present for the consideration of our Advisory Committee Meeting, February 29 and March 1, the outlines of a project for our next steps in race relations. It is just now beginning to take shape.

It is so good to be working with those of you in the Southern Regional Council and I look forward to our next round of correspondence.

Cordially,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:go


CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

MISS MARGARET KUHN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., CHAIRMAN • MRS. D. ELLWOOD WILLIAMS, JR., ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY

ELEANOR FRENCH, DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 17, 1960

Dear Friend:

THIS IS AN S. O. S.

Some days ago we wrote to you asking you to send us the names of the persons to be invited to the Fellowship of the Concerned. SO FAR WE HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU.

The dates are November 15 and 16, and it is absolutely necessary to let people know the dates so they may hold them. We would certainly appreciate your help and cooperation.

Plans are shaping up for a good Workshop this fall.

With the best of wishes to you and hoping to get the list very quickly, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/lec

Mailed to:
Mrs. John W. Curry
Mrs. Max J. Goldstein
Mrs. Leopold Fleischaker
Mrs. Bee Wild
Miss Florence Harris
Mrs. John S. Correll
Mrs. Laura Mobley
Mrs. Ben Russell
Mrs. Mable Morley
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox

Daily File

# Resolutions

PASSED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS

THE WEEK OF APRIL 23, 1960

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

Usually, when a large group of members of an organization get together in convention, the resolutions that result are innocuous catch-alls designed to hurt nobody and offend hardly any at all.

The following resolutions are real, live, down-to-earth.

The resolutions are submitted for your prayerful study. Come to the State Board Meeting, September 23, prepared to discuss and present your thinking on these resolutions.

These resolutions should be kept and brought with you to the State Board Meeting on September 23, 1960.

## I. CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSIONS

WHEREAS the Indian Committee of the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches; the Association on Indian Affairs (New York City) and the Congress of American Indians (Washington, D. C.) urge the support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 36, known as a Point IV program for Indians

BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 26-28, 1960

SUPPORTS this Bill, H.C.R.36, which urges the Department of the Interior to begin concrete development programs on Indian Reservations, and

URGES members of United Church Women to write their representatives to vote for it.

WHEREAS the Migrant Committee of the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches urges immediate action on Senate Bill 2864 introduced by Senator Williams, which provides for a five year program of federal assistance to states to help in the education of migrant children

BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 26-28, 1960

AFFIRMS its support of this Bill and

URGES that United Church Women individually write their Senators expressing their concern for the passage of Senate Bill 2864.

BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Managers of United Church Women support an increase of $750,000 in the appropriation for Indian Health Service, such amount to be earmarked for contract medical care, and urge our members to request their senators to vote for such a bill.

### REFUGEES

United Church Women having repeatedly urged revision of the Walter-McCarran Act making provision for the admission of additional refugees; and taking note of the resolution on refugees and immigration adopted by the National Council of Churches at its meeting of the General Board on December 3, 1959,

REAFFIRMS its previous positions with a sense of urgency, and

ASKS that Bills on refugees and immigration pending before Congress be favorably considered and that funds which have already been authorized be made available for dealing with the refugee problem during the World Refugee Year.

## II. CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONS

### DISARMAMENT

United Church Women having repeatedly urged reduction and control of armaments; and noting the resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches on December 3, 1959, endorsing a responsible system of universal disarmament,

URGES that the United States Government undertake additional research and technological studies in order to propose and continue to work for agreement on a long-range program for eventual complete and universal disarmament with adequate controls as part of an over-all plan which would include

1. strengthening United Nations procedures for negotiation and settlement of disputes;

2. establishment of an effective international force to maintain order; and

3. world-wide consideration of economic planning to utilize for peaceful purpose the energies and funds now involved in preparation for war; and

URGES local councils of Church Women to study the over-all problem as one of the most important questions before the United States at this time, with confidence that negotiation to reach responsible agreement is possible.

### ECONOMIC GROWTH

Remembering that United Church Women has repeatedly endorsed programs aimed toward economic development; and noting the new emphasis on co-operative responsibility among the industrialized countries for carrying forward new programs to promote economic development,

ENDORSES the ratification by the Senate of the International Development Association as part of this new planning;

TAKES NOTE of this changing emphasis to a long-term attack on poverty through assistance to promote economic growth in the low-income areas of the world, and

URGES local councils of United Church Women to help create public understanding of the need for grearly increased assistance in cooperation with other countries to meet human need in the developing areas of the world.

## III. CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

Believing as Christians that all persons regardless of race should have equal opportunity to live in dignity as children of God; and

Believing in obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted, but believing also that as Christians we must obey God rather than man;

United Church Women support the principle of service without discrimination at lunch counters and the principle of non-violent protest as a means of securing justice.

We express appreciation to all students, who, using the method of non-violent protest, often at great personal risk and cost, have called national attention to one form of discrimination and symbolically to all discriminations wherever it exists in the United States.

We URGE church women individually and through local and state councils of United Church Women, in whatever ways are possible and effectively locally, to support the protest movement not only in principle but concretely through such means as the following:

Continuous interpretation of the meaning of the protest movement and the facts of the local situation in conversation, in the local church, and in the community;

Efforts to strengthen, support or initiate by-racial committees of citizens to consider just solutions to the problem;

Support of merchants who show willingness to establish services without discrimination;

Statements to the local and national managers of stores and to the press regarding the position of United Church Women;

Contributions through established channels, such as the National Student Christian Federation, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York, to meet urgent needs including legal and scholarship aid.

Finally, we call members of United Church Women to give thoughtful study to the increasing body of material available, and to pray that we may equip ourselves adequaltely for our share in the task and that the work that we do may be illiminated and empowered by our common Christian faith.

## IV. MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND OTHER FORMS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE OF A SIMILAR NATURE

The Board of Managers of United Church Women, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 26-28, 1960, in line with the policy of United Church Women opposing discrimination, and wish to co-operate with the United Nations in areas of common concern.

COMMENDS TO THE ATTENTION of local and state councils of United Church Women the Resolution recently adopted by the Human Rights Commission on Manifestations of Anti-Semitism and Other Forms of Racial Prejudice and Religious Intolerance of a Similar Nature and URGES them to help implement relevant provisions.

The Commission on Human Rights

Noting with deep concern the manifestations of anti-semitism and other forms of racial prejudice and religious intolerance of a similar nature, which have recently occurred in various countries and which might be once again the forerunner of other heinous acts endangering the future;

Expressing its gratification that Governments, peoples and private organizations have spontaneously reacted in opposition to these manifestations;

Taking into account the recommendations on the subject by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and protection of Minorities;

1. Condemns these manifestations as violations of principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in particular as a violation of the human rights of the groups against which they are directed, and as a threat to the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all peoples;

2. Urges States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to take all appropriate action to prevent effectively such acts and to punish them where they have been committed;

3. Calls upon public authorities and private organizations to make sustained efforts to educate public opinion with a view to the eradication of racial prejudice and religious intolerance reflected in such manifestations and the elimination of all undesirable influences promoting such prejudices, and to take appropriate measures so that education may be directed with due regard to Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Principle 10 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 1386 (XIV);

4. Requests the Secretary-General to arrange, in consultation with the Governments of States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in whose territory such manifestations have occurred, UNESCO, and non-governmental organizations in consultative status, to obtain any information or comments relevant to such manifestations and public reaction to them, the measures taken to combat them, and their causes or motivations;

5. Requests the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, at its next session, to evaluate the materials received in response to the above requests, to draw such conclusions therefrom as seem to be justified, to recommend such action as seems to be desirable, and to report thereon to the Commission on Human Rights.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION - YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN THE FOLLOWING:

Resolution of the Church and Economic Life Division of Christian Life and work of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. on Child Labor particularly Child Workers in Agriculture.

Be it resolved that the National Council of Churches hereby reaffirms the traditional principle of the churches in opposition to child labor and in support of adequate provision, public and private, in federal and state legislation, and in local initiative, for the protection, education, spiritual nuture and wholesome recreation of every child, and

Be it further resolved that we urge removal of exemptions in current legislation, state or federal, which exclude child workers in agriculture from the protections now accorded to children with regard to employment in other industries, with appropriate exceptions for work on the farm owned or operated by their parents.

NEWS -- UNITED CHURCH WOMEN ARE IN ACCORD WITH THE FOLLOWING:

Under the McCarran-Walter Act naturalized citizens do not receive equal status with their native born fellow citizens. The General Board believes that admission to citizenship in the United States should entitle the beneficiary to all duties, rights, and privileges on an equal footing with native born citizens. There is no place in our society for second class citizenship.

Encouraged by the wealth of experience gained through Church World Service of the National Council of Churches and the cooperating denominations, the General Board recommends to the President of the United States that he establish a National Commission to study population pressures, both internal and external to the United States, and to make appropriate recommendations for a more permanent and effective immigration policy that is commensurate with our national ideals and international long term interests.

FURTHER the General Board of the National Council of Churches authorizes its staff, or duly designated representation, to testify at Congressional hearings in support of this position.

MF

# NEWS

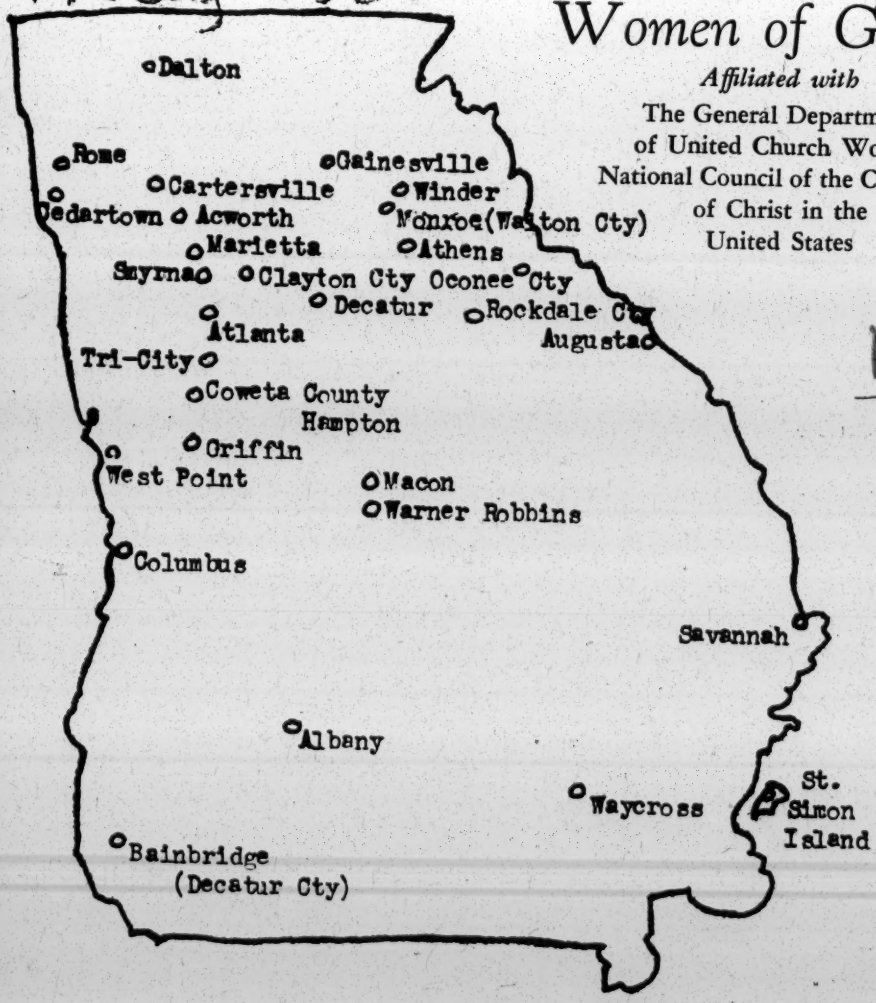
May 1960

# United Church Women of Georgia

*Affiliated with*

The General Department
of United Church Women
National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the
United States

P. 15




PURPOSE:

The purpose of this organization shall be:
To unite Church Women in their allegiance to their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and to the building of a World Christian Community.

IF WE OPERATE --- WE MUST COOPERATE

# NEWS

Official Organ of UCW OF GEORGIA
Published monthly, except June and July

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Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

# A PRAYER

Dear Father, take this day's life into Thine own keeping;

Control all my thoughts and feelings, direct all my energies, instruct my mind, sustain my will.

Take my hands and make them skillful to serve Thee.

Take my feet and make them swift to do Thy bidding.

Take my eyes and keep them fixed upon Thine everlasting beauty.

Take my mouth and make it tell the testimony of Thy love.

Make this day a day of obedience, a day of spiritual joy and peace.

Make this day's work a little part of the work of the Kingdom of my Lord Christ and continue in the coming week.

Through Jesus' name we pray,
Amen.

(From the President of the Ke Ka Ha Council in Hawaii)

## S P I R I T U A L  L I F E

Mrs. C. C. Sapp, Chairman

As Chairman of Spiritual Life for the United Church Women of Georgia, I cannot think of a more appropriate time to make an appeal for more Christian homes than in the month of May, when throughout the nation we observe National Family Week.

We need to remind ourselves that America is as Christian as our homes. We can only win the world for Christ on the home front.

Jesus saw in the family the means of helping men know God. And the most any of us can render to the world is to make our own homes Christian. As the world goes by, as a person comes into your home--will he be able to feel a presence unknown, will he see signs that will say this is a home where Christ is known? The home where Christ is known is the home where right is honored and discipline is wisely administered and where faith and love cast their hallowing influence over every relationship. May we evaluate our homes by answering the following questions:

1. Is my home distinctly Christian?
2. Do we treat one another as children of God, or are we careless in our home relationship?
3. Do we have a family prayer?
4. Do we read God's word daily?

continued on page 10

## P R I S O N

The number was about ten--the concern was great--the place was in Athens, Ga.--the time was May 3--the reason for this number of United Church Women being together at the time and place was to see the Docu-Drama and to hear a discussion of existing conditions and what we can do about them. This was a part of the Georgia Review of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

We are sorry you missed the Docu-Drama but the opportunity of seeing it will be given to you September 23, 1960 at the state board meeting. Plan now to save Friday, September 23, for an IMPORTANT date. Mrs. Esther W. Hymer, Director, World Community Day will be the speaker to discuss the theme: Christian Action for Freedom. September will be a month of preparation for WORLD COMMUNITY DAY.

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DATES TO REMEMBER

July 17-22, 1960. Institute sponsored by the Southern Office of the National Council of Churches. "Our Unity in the Community"--to be held at Blue Ridge Assembly, N. C. Make your reservations now--Rev. J. Edward Lantz, Director, Ecumenical Institute, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

September 23, 1960 State Board Meeting.

## THE CHURCH WOMAN

TODAY--is the time to renew your CHURCH WOMAN magazine.

TODAY--is the time to subscribe to THE CHURCH WOMAN--don't be a loser--be a user. Whether you believe that "where there is smoke, there must be fire" or "where there is smoke there might be a fanatical fire-bug" you should keep your mind alert.

Mrs. Hugh Harris, Chairman
THE CHURCH WOMAN

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## FELLOWSHIP FUND

Have you ever thought, "How I wish I could do something about the problems of the world today! or have you said, "I am only one, what can I do?" There are some of us who believe that although we are only one we can extend our Christian witness through United Church Women which represents 15 million women in Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches in America. In 2200 local and 50 state councils, U.C.W. carries a significant program in leadership education, Christian World Missions, Christian Social Relations, and Christian World Relations.

Through the Fellowship fund we have a major source of income to help promote the work of U.C.W. Gifts of $5.00 a year or more annually from you as an individual will permit you to share in the joy of the rich experiences which United work affords. This is a National Fund, not related to your local gifts.

Mrs. A. H. Stern, Chairman
U.C.W. of Georgia Fellowship Fund.

# C H R I S T I A N  W O R L D  M I S S I O N S

This is the year of preparation for the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of World Day of Prayer in 1961. A national "Committee of 75" in co-operation with denominational women's secretaries, the Division of Home Missions and the Division of Foreign Missions, National Council of Churches, have set goals, chosen special projects, and laid far-reaching plans under the direction of the 75th anniversary national chairman.

The goals of the observance are the participation of every Protestant and Orthodox church in the United States in the observance; and the giving of an offering of $750,000 for the regular on-going projects and for three special projects.

Let me urge you to plan NOW--to study together and to PRAY together.

If by chance you have not sent in your report of the 1960 World Day of Prayer--PLEASE send it to me at once.

Mrs. Ben C. Milner
58 Sheridan Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

## C H R I S T I A N  W O R L D  R E L A T I O N S

It is later--than you think--WORLD COMMUNITY DAY, November 4, 1960.

It is time to prepare--to plan--to think--HOW

One of the World Community Day projects is: simple night gowns (size 2 to 10) for church-supported hospitals, sanitariums, orphanages and schools. The gowns should be made/durable material, open in center front yoke. HAVE A SUMMER PARTY and sew for those who need you. Pack the gowns and label each package with number of gowns and size and be sure to specify that they are children's gowns. You'll have fun and oh! how much good you will do.

YOU ARE INVITED--to a used clothing for children party. This is a time to sit under the shade of a tree and count and sort good used clothing for children (small) and sip lemonade.

To a COFFEE we will go on a summer morning--to this affair we will take some yarn or yard goods out of which mothers can make what their own children need most. (These parcels go to refugee camps in North Africa, North India, and the Far East).

To a TEA we will go and take something for the KIT

This kit will be packed with 2-pkg. Band-aids, 1 can antiseptic powder, 1 pkg. bicarbonate of soda, 1 Vicks or Mentholatum, 2 or 4 oz. Boric acid, 1 pkg. absorbent cotton, 6 rolls bandage gauze

continued on page 11

# C H R I S T I A N  S O C I A L  R E L A T I O N S

THINGS LEARNED - MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY - 1960
under the theme:

CITIZENSHIP - free and responsible

1. Christianity affirms that all persons are members of a community under God. The Christian Community must seek to create social conditions which make it possible to express in daily living the Spirit of Christianity.
2. These affirmations make by voting a solemn responsibility. This responsibility concerns the local community, the national community, the world community. The building of a Christian world demands, particularly of the citizens of Democratic countries, a sensitive ear to those issues which affect the welfare of the peoples of the world.
3. POLITICS - I am in politics because what I do NOT do in politics affects the issues at stake just as much as what I do!

   Politics affect directly every phase of my HOME and FAMILY LIFE--my children's education and recreation, the cost of living, the moral and spiritual environment under which my family lives.

It is a gift to be simple--it is a gift to be free--
it is a gift to come down where one aught to be--
it is a gift to be a Citizen--free and responsible.

continued on page 12

# M E N T A L  H E A L T H

In cooperation with the Georgia Association for Mental Health, the United Church Women have sent that organization a record of their activities during the past five years in the field of Mental Health. They visited the Milledgeville State Hospital during Open House early in May, and another tour is planned from Atlanta on May 17th. A WORKSHOP ON RECRUITMENT OF PERSONNEL will be conducted by Mr. Ed Linzer, Director of Education for the National Association for Mental Health on June 15, 1960, 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. at the Dinkler-Plaza Hotel, Atlanta. As we well know, lack of trained personnel is blocking the progress of the Mental Health program in Georgia. The time to break this bottleneck is now. This is part of our job in Education. If you know anyone interested in this field who would care to attend the Workshop, contact Mr. Frank Adams Smith, Executive Director of the Georgia Association for Mental Health.

Congratulations to Mrs. P. W. Rice of Augusta, whose son-in-law, Dr. John Craig has been appointed by Dr. MacKinnon to be in charge of a psychiatric education program at the Milledgeville State hospital. Dr. Craig has been Professor of Psychiatry at Ohio State University, and is a native of the Augusta area.

Mrs. Edward Rex Neely

## WITH THE COUNCILS

ATLANTA--

May Fellowship Day--Approximately 185 present--offering over $100.00. Stimulating speech by Mr. James Mackay--good fellowship at the luncheon.

May 17--Mrs. Fabian, Chairman of the Mental Health project for the U.C.W. of Atlanta invites all on a PILGRIMAGE TO MILLEDGEVILLE State Hospital, May 17, 1960.

May 30,--10:00 - U.C.W. of Atlanta will be hostess to the open house at the new Atlanta Detention.

Mrs. Narmour, the president of U.C.W. of Atlanta is the proud grandmother of a 9½ pound baby girl.

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DALTON-- Near a hundred U.C.W. women were honored with the presence of seventeen ministers for the May Fellowship Day Luncheon. Beautiful spring hat-boxes were filled with gorgeous spring flowers. A good fellowship and a time of thinking together on the theme:"Citizenship--free and responsible" was had by all. The host church pastor, Dr. Robert W. Jackson and Mrs. Jackson led the meeting with prayer and a meditation. At the end of the Workshop period two new churches joined the Dalton Council of U.C.W. pledging their prayers and support.

continued on page 14

## S P I R I T U A L  L I F E

continued from page two

5. Is our conversation at home on a Christian level?
6. Are we constantly seeking the guidance of God in striving to solve the problems that arise in our home in the light of Christian wisdom?

PRAYER--

Lord give us Christian homes
Unite the hearts of parents and children in the bonds of holy love. Give us the zeal of the Master in making life worthwhile for others. May those who touch us daily receive therefrom some good for daily living, some courage for a crisis, more joy in today, more hope for tomorrow. Amen.

---

MAY--

The month we must think of electing the Christian Homemaker of Georgia. You have received a letter and a form to fill out. PLEASE--think seriously of a UNITED CHURCH WOMAN--to be the Christian Homemaker of Georgia, Nominate her, this is your rare privilege.

Miss Daisy Elzey, Chairman
Georgia Homemaker
U.C.W. of Georgia
Fulton County Court House
Atlanta, Georgia

## CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONS

continued from page six

(assorted widths), 1 tube vaseline, 1 pkg. iodine. Tooth brushes, 1 tube toothpaste, 1 pkg. 4x6 gauze pads, 2 rolls adhesive tape ($\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 inch). These kits will be used to supply women who are taking first-aid courses in areas where medical service is limited, rural areas in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Chile, and Burma. Pack each kit separately, tie securely, and label plainly.

Packets telling you all this in more detail are ready now, cost 50¢. Order from: Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, P. O. Box 340, Manhattanville Station, New York 27, New York.

## CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

continued from page seven

What you feel--what you see--what you hear--you may remember.
What you do about being a Citizen--free and responsible will be a part of YOU.

WORK NOW--for the election of Representatives and Senators who will SAVE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS--"Work before the night overtakes Georgia"

---

QUESTIONS ASKED ON MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY--

The offering?--oh yes! we must take an offering.

Where does it go?--one half goes to the state and one half stays in the local treasurer.

What does the state do with it?--The state has a quota to National U.C.W. of $1,404.00. May Fellowship helps to pay this amount.

Send your contribution to: Mrs. Fleming Ragsdale
The State Treasurer
1067 No. Pine Knoll Dr.
Macon, Georgia

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN DURING VACATION TIME
Christian Social Relations continued

Minimum Age: in general no minors under 14 years of age shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in any gainful occupation at any time. Provided that this law shall not be construed to the work of a minor in agriculture, domestic service in private homes, or in employment by a parent or a person standing in place of a parent.--53-301 Georgia Laws Regulating Employment of Children
(Exception--boys 12 and 13 may work in wholesale and retail stores after school hours during vacation.)

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FROM "QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS PERTAINING TO CHILD LABOR"
Georgia Department of Labor

"The law provides that school children may work 4 hrs. a day after school and 8 hrs. on Saturday" but not after 9:00 p.m.

During Summer Vacation they are permitted to work 8 hrs. a day, but not to exceed 40 hrs. per week. "The law requires a minor to have a work certificate before going on a job." (This applies both to after school and vacation employment)

"Prerequisites for securing employment certificates:

(1) Employer's application for certificate, this is referred to as Form 1

(2) Physician's health certificate - Form 2
(These forms in (1) and (2) are secured through the office of the school superintendent

(3) Certified copy of birth certificate."

The child must secure the employment certificate himself as his signature is required.

## C O U N C I L S

continued from page 9

TRI-CITY--Reports a good fellowship--covered-dish luncheon at the Christian Church. Four outstanding speakers led the group in thinking about the theme: "Citizenship--free and responsible."

GRIFFIN--Reports that new officers were elected May 6. Mrs. Wilbur Brown, 303 S. 19th Street was elected president. Mrs. Binns gave a most interesting and informative talk on "Citizenship--free and responsible."

MARIETTA--"We have just had a most successful May Fellowship Luncheon at the John Knox Presbyterian Church, with 97 persons attending. The Rev. Charles Demere' gave an excellent talk on "Citizenship--free and responsible." Mrs. Charles Laubachee, 474 Woodvalley Drive, Marietta, Ga. was elected the new president.

DEKALB COUNTY--Reports a fine group meeting for a May Fellowship Day Luncheon. The Rev. Frank Prince from Covington spoke on the theme for the day.

DeKalb is planning to spend the day at the Ewing Farm for a day of inspiration and study--a day of seeking together. This will be held Friday, May 13, at 10:00 a.m. until 2:30 p.m.

The editor anxiously awaits reports from your council--let us know what you are doing so that we can tell the world.

GEORGIA OPEN SCHOOL CONFERENCE
Saturday, May 14, 1960
The Dinkler Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.

This was a very fine conference in every respect. Mrs. C. M. Weston, Citizenship Chairman, U.C.W. of Georgia and Mrs. John Patton were assigned to the work group on THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

Below are some conclusions that you might be interested in using.

1. The Church should offer constructive education on the Public School Crisis.
2. The Church should alleviate fears.
3. Interim schools should not be publicized.

RESOLUTION:

1. The Church is negligent if it does not confront its members with the moral issues involved.
2. The Church should stand against circumventing the Supreme Court decision.
3. The Church should restudy its faith in relation to the moral issues of the problem.
4. The Church should be an over all guide toward keeping the schools open.

---

The Pastor said: "I asked my higher church authorities whether there was a plan for opening a parochial school. The answer came that it was not their plan to do so thereby helping segregation. Their position was that the Church cannot create a comfortable island."

ALL CHILDREN ARE OUR CONCERN.

NEWS UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF GEORGIA

If you are receiving the NEWS it is because your Council President or some good friend thought enough of you to include your name. The editors hope that the NEWS has been helpful to you in many ways. It is mailed with this intention. Much love and hard work goes into the NEWS and if you do not wish to continue receiving the NEWS, then you should write to the NEWS Editor, United Church Women of Georgia, 634 West Peachtree St., N. W., Atlanta.

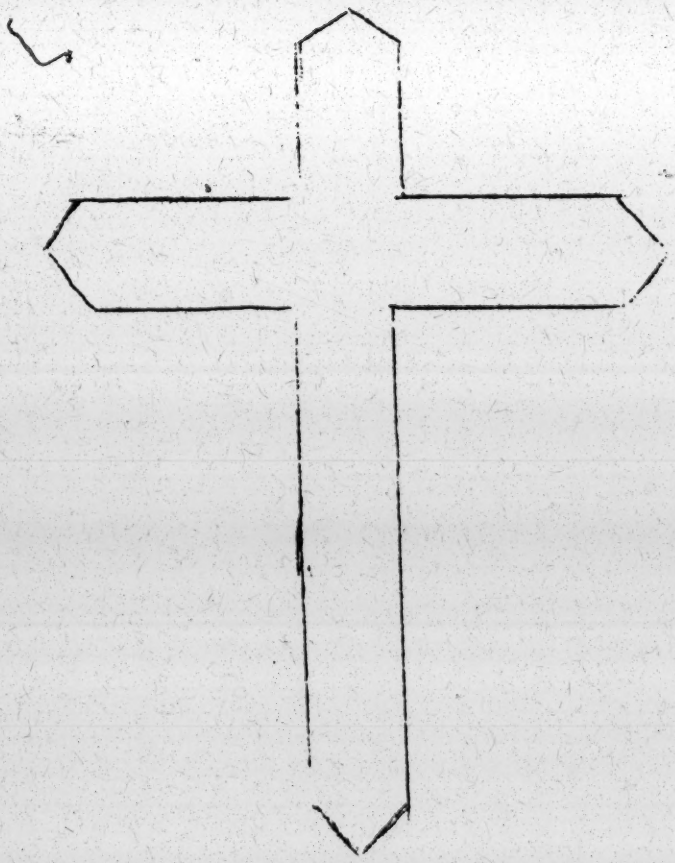
Many have written and said: we appreciate the NEWS, and enclose a dollar for the continuance.

The NEWS is not printed the months of June and July but watch for the August issue. This issue will tell all about the state meeting to be held September 23, 1960. This is a meeting you will not want to miss.

---

REMEMBER! We have a fine book of history of the work of United Church Women of Georgia. We need the clippings from your local paper. We need the pictures of interest about your council work. By the close of 1960, we want all the work of the past two years knitted together to tell the story of Churches working together in Georgia.

Mrs. E. G. Mackay, Chairman
The Book of History



Agreed to differ

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UNITED TO SERVE

NEWS
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
OF
GEORGIA
634 West Peachtree St., N. W.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

NON PROFIT
ORGANIZATION

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Please subscribe *now* to the NEWS — UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
OF
GEORGIA

$1.00 enclosed

Name_____ _____

Address_____

_____ _____

July 1, 1960

Miss Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

Many thanks for the material bringing me up to date on the progress of the proposed project. It looks most promising.

To take up your questions in order:

(1) The plan seems to me emphatically a good one. At this stage, I have little to suggest; but as more detailed steps are evolved, perhaps SRC can provide helpful advice.

(2) I would not submit the proposal to a foundation until it has been officially approved. This should not prevent you, meanwhile, from working on the draft of such a proposal, or from exploratory discussions with sympathetic foundation people. As to form, I am enclosing a copy of a letter of guidance used by one foundation and suitable for any. I would also suggest that you seek an appointment with David F. Freeman of the staff of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He is knowledgeable about, and sympathetic with, the action of church groups in race relations; when he was with the Fund for the Republic, he administered the grants for race relations work by the denominational groups and perhaps by the United Church

Women. I have no reason to believe that Rockefeller Brothers Fund itself is a particularly likely source of funds. But I am sure Dave Freeman's counsel would be wise and helpful.

(3) Foundations move at such varying speeds, it is almost impossible to predict the time lag between application and response. Usually several months at least must be allowed, but good timing and good luck sometimes reduce the waiting period. When you are near the time of application, let's be in touch again.

(4) You are likely to be far better able to find and evaluate project personnel than I am. I'm sure that within the United Church Women's own membership there are many good potential candidates. It does occur to me that a Southern person (fully committed, of course) might have some special advantages.

Let me know when and how I may be of service.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

(JLEddy's ltr. to Geo. K. Hunton on foundation giving)

# united church women

## national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIverside 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
chairman

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR


June 24, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing the record of the progress of the proposed project since our brief conversation about the matter at Penn Community Center in late April.

With the encouragement of the Administrative Committee of United Church Women and the denominational presidents the Christian Social Relations Department had a one day session of denominational representatives on May 27th to consider the idea. The minutes of the meeting will bring you up to date on the reaction to the proposal and on the procedure we are using to secure official consideration of the proposal.

Our next step is to draw up the preliminary time schedule which would include the date of appeal to an appropriate foundation for the special project budget. The figure of $100,000 for the four years first mentioned in our "side-walk" conversation is the amount still in our mind.

I have been working a bit this week on a job description for the person who would direct the project. We have also done some preliminary thinking about possible individuals who would be qualified and available.

We need your judgment and help on several questions:

1. Does the proposed plan as it is developing still seem to you sound and worth pursuing and what comments and questions would you have about it?

2. Regarding the brief to foundations:

   a) By what date should it be prepared? Would it be better to get it ready for presentation this summer even though the proposal is tentative until approved in October or should it be presented only after its official approval?

b) What counsel can you give us as the most desirable form?

3. What would be a realistic date for us to expect a response from the foundations?

4. What suggestions would you have for a person to direct a project?

I find myself constantly grateful for our original conversation in the fall. It has given us a sense of reinforcement as we have tried to find the right formula for mobilizing church women.

May I take this occasion to express our appreciation also for the excellent materials from the Southern Regional Council office on the sit-ins. We are finding the report invaluable. Soon I shall be sharing with you the way in which we are trying to help United Church Women work effectively toward desegregation in the sit-in communities where integration has not yet occurred.

I do hope that I shall be able to move as far along as is necessary before I leave for vacation on July 13. Thank you so much for all your help.

Cordially,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:go
Enclos.

MINUTES OF A MEETING TO DISCUSS A POSSIBLE
PLAN FOR A CONCERTED ATTACK BY CHURCH WOMEN'S
GROUPS ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Conference Room, 8th floor, Interchurch Center
475 Riverside Drive, New York City

Friday, May 27, 1960
10:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.

Margaret E. Kuhn, Chairman of Christian Social Relations
Advisory Committee, presiding

The meeting was opened with a period of meditation on the theme of "journey" and renewal led by Mrs. Brasseur.

Introduction of the members of the group revealed the fact that 11 communions and 5 representatives of the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee were present. Letters from several other communions expressed keen interest in the meeting and regret for necessary absence.

In opening the discussion the chairman reminded the group of the many affirmations regarding racial justice and desegregation of the individual denominations, the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches; and the fact that public opinion has come closer to a consensus here than in any other area of social concern. She recalled the origin of the meeting in the request of the denominational presidents in Minneapolis that a meeting be arranged by the Department of Christian Social Relations for representatives of denominations in United Church Women to consider a possible plan for a concerted effort of church women's groups toward eliminating racial discrimination in church and community. The idea had been stimulated by an imaginative proposal under consideration by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church to train and mobilize thousands of women to aid in desegregating their church.

The representative of the Women's Work of the American Baptist Convention called attention to the fact that the Southern Baptist Church numbering six million members is not in the National Council of Churches and the National Baptist Conventions totaling eight million and representing a third of the Negro population find their most natural relationship with the Southern Baptist Church. In addition, the structure of the two National Baptist Conventions has been such as to make relationships with other communions in United Church Women not easy. This structure is now changing. Will it harden into a segregated pattern, or can integration be achieved in time? A third factor is the spread of Southern Baptist Church into northern cities. These facts all need to be taken fully into account in any plan looking toward integration in the churches.

The Methodist representative was asked to outline the proposed plan to be considered this fall by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church. She began by explaining the concern out of which it has come - namely the problem of segregation within the church itself, the world situation and the urgency of change. The outline of the plan is appended. She expressed the hope that there might be corporate action by the various denominations in at least three ways:

a) use of a common manual;
b) shared responsibility for integration in the community;
c) significant celebration of the 100th anniversary of Emancipation Proclamation.

Reactions to the idea of concerted action were very positive, and yet realistic. Among the practical problems involved three were mentioned:

1. the differences of structure e.g., highly decentralized pattern of authority in the Baptist Churches as against the highly centralized character of the Salvation Army; the churches with a special organization for women's work as contrasted with those in which women's work is completely integrated into the total pattern of the church;
2. the different stages of development of work among women.
3. relation of emphasis in race relations to emphases already projected or underway.

Expressions such as "excellent"; "good"; "I am thrilled"; "We would like to do something jointly" summed up the unanimous feeling that the idea has great merit and can be worked out despite differences.

From the thorough exploration of the proposed Methodist plan there developed a consensus of opinion which the group agreed to put into a Working Paper to be sent to each denomination within United Church Women for consideration and action by the appropriate responsible body of the women's organization. The responses of denominational groups are to be communicated to the Department of Christian Social Relations which in turn will bring the matter to its Advisory Committee at its fall meeting. (The Working Paper is attached).

In addition to several points in the Working Paper several other points were made in the course of discussion which seem important to include in the full record of the meeting.

1. In the joint celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation:
   a) there must not be a single segregated observance, white or Negro;
   b) the celebration would not preclude using every existing major denominational and interdenominational event or meeting e.g., Assembly, May Fellowship Day to forward the plan;
   c) the possibility of an Ecumenical Sunday should be considered where all churches would be open to all people.
2. Among the subjects mentioned as essential to include in a manual or kit are:
   a) the Biblical basis for action in relation to desegregation;
   b) the scientific facts bearing on this issue;
   c) aids to a basic social analysis of the community, including the forces favoring and opposing integration.
3. All possible resources including the following should be fully explored and utilized for the total project;
   a) The Divisions and Departments of the National Council of Churches.
   b) Denominational periodicals.
   c) Community organizations of the wide range represented at the N O W Conference.
   d) All experiments and experiences of the member groups
      e.g., Minneapolis Housing Project.
      Huntington, L.I. 3 - 6 month member exchange program.
4. Certain communities might be selected for a "situational" approach by the participating groups. Experience gained in this way by a conscious pooling of resources and effort would be valuable in other communities.

WORKING PAPER

## Proposed Project: Denominations Within United Church Women Working Together for Racial Integration in Church and Community

### Introduction

This working paper comes to you at the request of the members of the consultation of representatives of denominational groups within United Church Women, and the Ad Hoc Committee of the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee of United Church Women meeting on Friday, May 27. (The list of those comprising the consultation is appended.)

This group met to consider the possibility of some concerted effort toward desegregation of our churches and communities, recognizing that what we could do together might strengthen what we are already attempting as denominations.

The consultation was prompted by the concern of United Church Women to find the most effective way to work in this area in the next period, and a proposed four year plan of the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church to mobilize thousands of women in a major effort to desegregate their denomination. Methodist women will be considering this proposal this fall. It seemed so imaginative and constructive that it warrants consideration by other denominations with a view to its possible wider use.

This report of the consultation is being sent to all denominations within United Church Women for presentation in fall meetings of their respective women's boards or executive committees. It will also go to the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee, which will co-ordinate the responses of the denominations and will also consider the proposed plan.

### Outline of Proposed Four Year Project 1961 - 1964

### Denominations within United Church Women Working Together for Racial Integration in Church and Community

A. The objectives of the project would be two fold:

1. Every denomination working simultaneously toward integration locally within its own denomination.

2. All denominations working together toward integration in the key area in the local community e.g., housing, schools, voting rights.

B. While the objectives would be the same for all participating denominations the specific plan of work of a denomination and the form of its cooperation would differ depending on its structure and other factors. (The proposed Methodist plan is included as an illustration of how one denomination might work, and not as a pattern useful or appropriate for all.

C. The principal means toward the objectives would be the training of women in ever increasing numbers through a coordinated plan of training.

1. This would include the creation of a training design or designs utilizing existing denominational facilities and supplementing these as necessary by an interdenominational or common plan.

2. The preparation and use of a manual including content and specific steps and methods for dealing with problems in church and community. This might be written jointly, with an appendix for each denomination taking account of differences in structure and ways of work.

D. A joint observance in 1963, the year of the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation possibly on May Fellowship Day. This observance would celebrate achievements to date, and give further impetus for the final months of the project. This observance would be in addition to the use by denominations and United Church Women of occasions such as National and Regional Meetings when major emphasis would be given to the project.

E. Responsibility for integration within the churches would be carried primarily by each denomination, their interdenominational instrument, United Church Women, serving as coordinator. The initiative and coordination of work toward integration in key areas in the community, a task most effectively performed by united effort, would rest with United Church Women. The task of integration in the community would need to be attempted wherever possible in cooperation with other community organizations.

F. The necessary finances for the joint aspects of the project would be sought from foundations, it being assumed that the budgets of individual denominations would undergird the efforts toward integration in the denominations themselves.

Prepared by
Department of
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women

6/23/60

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Questions for Consideration by Responsible Body of
Each Denomination

(Please tear off, and return as soon as possible and no later than October 10th if possible)

1. Would your denominational women's movement or your denomination favor participation in the Proposed Four Year Project if it were undertaken YES _____ NO _____

2. What modifications, suggestions, questions does your denominational body have about the proposal? (Use other side, if necessary)

3. Give name and address of person with whom future correspondence should be carried and who would represent your denomination in relation to the proposed project?

_____

Your Name _____

Position _____

Denomination _____

Date _____

Name of Committee or Board making decision _____

_____

AN EXAMPLE OF WAY IN WHICH ONE DENOMINATION MIGHT MOBILIZE ITS RESOURCES. PLANS WOULD VARY GREATLY FROM DENOMINATION TO DENOMINATION DEPENDING ON STRUCTURE AND MANY OTHER FACTORS.

A Suggested Plan for Resolving Racial Tensions Being Considered by Some Committees of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church.

(not for publication at this time)

Note: The following suggested procedure and focus may serve as a basis for discussion by The Department at the September meeting with the hope that a workable plan may be evolved for possible recommendation to the Division at that time:

1. The Department should divide the map of the nation into 25 geographical regions, attempting to make each region include as far as possible common racial culture patterns and practices.

2. A Consultative Committee of four carefully selected women should be designated in each of the 25 regions to serve for the quadrennium. This committee will have the specific task of serving as Consultants on Racial Issues in their geographical region. This responsibility should include:

(a) Work with Woman's Societies and Guilds as well as individual women;
(b) Cooperation in the processes set in motion by the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs of the new Board of Christian Social Concerns, in Conference, District and local churches as plans evolve and opportunity presents itself;
(c) Cooperation with other denominations in line with promotional plans of United Church Women;
(d) Guidance for special participation in community plans in cooperation with other agencies of similar purpose.

3. Specific focus of this quadrennial emphasis:

(a) 1960 General Conference action;
(b) Resources and Emphases of Dallas Conference on Human Relations;
(c) Four Point emphasis of Woman's Division Memorial to General Conference;
(d) Charter of Racial Policies of The Woman's Division;
(e) Possible plans for a 100th Anniversary Observance in 1963 of Lincoln's Proclamation of Freedom.

Throughout the four year period our "Basic Christian Beliefs" and our world responsibility must be kept in clear focus as this program grows.

4. Selection of the 100 consultants:

(a) Ask for 2 nominations from each conference;
(b) Ask Jurisdiction Christian Social Relations Secretaries and Presidents to select from these nominations 100 (25 committees of 4 each) at Buck Hill Falls in January 1961.
(c) Schedule the first orientation meeting for March 20 - 24, 1961

5. The preparation of these 25 committees for their task would be continuous over the 4 years but the initial plan might include:

(continued)

5. The preparation of these 25 committees - (continued)

(a) A five day period when the group of 100 would come to some Central place for (1) a period of personal dedication and commitment and (2) a time for guidance in ways of work in initiating and carrying out the assignment for the quadrennium;

(b) A work kit of "tools" and resources for the use of each committee should be provided by the Department.

This kit might well include:

1 - A "manual" or "guide" that would give specific illustrations and suggestions for work in tension areas and on special types of racial problems;
2 - Books and pamphlets;
3 - Audio visual resources.

6. The year 1962 is the Tenth Anniversary of The Adoption of the Charter of Racial Policies. It is also the year of the Quadrennial Assembly of the Woman's Division. Special emphasis on Race could be a part of the Assembly program, using this Regional Committee plan as a focus, comparable to the Charter Ratification Book in 1954.

7. The year 1963 commemorates the 100th Anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of Freedom for the slaves. This plan might include a carefully worked out training process that would make possible 100 Consultative Committees of 4 women each in all 25 regions. This would mean by 1963 at least 400 local Methodist women at work in "100" committees in each region or a total of 2500 committees and at least 10,000 women at work by the year 1963...The 100th Aniversary. Some nationwide observance in cooperation with United Church Women plans might evolve.

8. The whole issue of Race, as the world's most urgent problem, might be made the major concern of the National Seminar in 1963, using resources and experiences of the 2500 committees and looking ahead to the task awaiting us in 1964 - 68.

9. For the 1964 General Conference year a goal might be set that calls for each of the 2500 committees to try to establish committees in at least 10 local churches, with the hope that 100,000 Methodist women might be at work by 1964 on those crucial racial issues that will be a special concern of General Conference that year.

10. Financing the Program: A maximum of $12,500 per year or a total cost not to exceed $50,000 for the quadrennium.

Source:
(a) From Department appropriations and Opportunity Fund
(b) From other sources to be determined.

11. Emphasis on the local church program in cooperation with the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs as it gives guidance to the local church Commission on Christian Social Concerns.

6/23/60

## Persons Attending Meeting May 27, 1960 on a possible plan for a concerted attack on racial discrimination by church women's groups

### Communions within National Council of Churches

| | |
|---|---|
| African Methodist Episcopal Church | Mrs. Robert E. Jones |
| American Baptist Convention | Miss Bernice Cofer |
| Christian Churches - Disciples of Christ | Mr. Louis Deer |
| The Methodist Church | Miss Thelma Stevens |
| Protestant Episcopal Church | Miss Dorothy Stabler |
| Reformed Church in America | Mrs. J. Foster Wellwood |
| Seventh Day Baptists | Mrs. C. Dickinson |
| United Church of Christ - Evangelical & Reformed Ch. | Mrs. F. P. Brasseur |
| United Presbyterian Church in the USA | Miss Mary Ingram |

### Other Communions Affiliated with U C W

| | |
|---|---|
| Community Churches | Mrs. Nelson C. Pierce |
| Salvation Army | Mrs. Lt.Commander L. W. Cowan |

### Ad Hoc Committee - Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee

Mrs. Helen Baker
Mrs. John Bennett
Miss Margaret Kuhn
Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams, Jr.
Miss Eleanor French

### United Church Women

Mrs. William Sale Terrell, President
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, General Director

### Communions within National Council of Churches not represented at May 27 meeting

(Several of these groups expressed keen interest but were not able to send a representative.)

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
American Evangelical Lutheran Church
Armenian Church of North America, Diocese
Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Church of the Brethren
Evangelical United Brethren Church
Five Years Meeting of Friends
Greek Archidocese of North and South America
Hungarian Reformed Church in America
Moravian Church in America
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
National Baptist Convention of America
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends
Polish National Catholic Church of America
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America
Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America
Serbian Eastern Orthodox Church
Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America
United Church of Christ - Congregational Christian Churches
United Lutheran Church in America
Unity of the Brethren
Church of God
Church of the Nazarene

# united church women

## national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR


November 23, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is just a brief note to express appreciation to you for making it possible for us to talk together last week. I always find our conversations so very helpful.

I shall keep you posted on the progress on the several fronts we discussed. Meanwhile let me enclose the material to which I referred. The letter was sent to all local council presidents in cities where Sit-Ins have occurred, but where desegregation has not yet taken place. A copy of this went also to the state presidents and state Christian Social Relations chairmen in the states involved.

CKRSN 12/6/60

I am enclosing a check for $2.10 for a copy of the latest book of James Dabbs for which I did not pay at the Conference.

Again, thank you so much for all that you and the Southern Regional Council mean to all of us concerned with the area of human relations. We can never adequately express to you the debt all of us owe to the Council for its leadership.

Sincerely

Eleanor French
(A. Schaad)

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as
enc.


CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

MISS MARGARET KUHN, PHILADELPHIA, PENNA., CHAIRMAN • MRS. D. ELLWOOD WILLIAMS, JR., ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY

ELEANOR FRENCH, DIRECTOR

# united church women

## national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIverside 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR


**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

October , 1960

Dear

How we wish it had been possible during the months since the sit-in movement began to have talked with those of you in key positions in United Church Women and in your community so that our total United Church Women movement could profit from your thinking and experience. We are grateful, however, that this could happen, at least in part, through the Board of Managers Meeting in April.

I am writing you today as president of your local council, together with other presidents in cities where sit-in demonstrations have occurred, to share with you what has been done nationally, and to send you material which we hope will prove useful as you face the question of what you as an individual leader, or as one of a group in the council, feel you can do in the coming weeks to help bring about a just and equitable solution in your community.

Because situations are changing so rapidly, it may be that your city has already reached an adequate answer, and that this has occurred since the list of cities was last revised. If this is the case we should be so glad to have you write us, giving any experience which could be valuable for other communities.

Nationally, as you may well know, the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee contacted all its state chairmen in the spring, expressing support of the non-violent protest to effect desegregation at lunch counters and suggested practical steps which might be taken nationally and locally. Since that time resolutions have been adopted by the Board of Managers of United Church Women at its annual meeting in April and more recently by the National Council of Churches. Copies of these statements are enclosed.

We have tried to act nationally on the recommendations made to us. We wrote to the headquarters of the Woolworth and Kress Companies and have also had a long interview with Kress Vice President in charge of public relations. We have had consultations with other Divisions and Units of the National Council of Churches and with related organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. Our experience resulted in the conviction that the key to any effective solution lies not with bodies or individuals outside but with the concerned people in each local community. Those closest to the whole situation say that desegregation has not occurred in any city except with the help of a local committee which has the respect of both sides enough to make communication

possible and to effect a reconciliation of views culminating in an acceptable formula for a just solution. This has led us to feel that the most useful service United Church Women nationally could render would be to share with the local presidents this conviction and provide material about the nature and methods of citizens' committees in cities where desegregation has occurred.

We are therefore enclosing two brief materials prepared especially for United Church Women:

"Committees Playing a Supportive Role in the Sit-in Movement," prepared by Rev. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches.

"Notes on Efforts Toward Equal Treatment," by Rev. Harry E. Smith, Minister to Students, Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

We of course do not know the situation in your community except that your city is listed as one in which sit-in protests have occurred. It may well be that a committee like one of those described is already at work and that the most it needs is encouragement from concerned persons. It may be that a committee exists but is not the kind which can be expected to be effective. Or again it may be that a committee has not been started. We do not know either what discussions the local United Church Women group may have had on its relation to the protests. We are convinced, however, that so very often in an issue of this kind one person, or two or three persons, or a group long to be of help but feel frustrated or uncertain for lack of facts, materials, channels. Very often individuals within United Church Women, because of their conviction, experience, and the respect in which they are held, are in a position to provide strong support for, or where necessary initiate, something such as a citizen's committee, either directly themselves or through some appropriate person or persons in the community.

If your city should be at a point where it would be valuable to rely upon the experience of a person rather than material alone, you might want to contact Rev. Will D. Campbell, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Mr. Campbell, a native of Mississippi, whose professional responsibility as a National Council of Churches staff member is to give help in the area of human relations, has had a great deal of valuable experience, as the material he has prepared indicates. Within the limits of his travel schedule he would be glad to be of use to you.

We shall look forward to hearing from you if you wish to share comments or experience. We should be especially interested to learn what United Church Women, either as individuals or as a council, have felt it right to do, or what you plan to do in your particular situation. This would be very useful to us all as we try to find the best ways to move ahead both nationally and locally. We shall share with you any further insights or information which may come to us.

Sincerely,

Margaret E. Kuhn

Margaret E. Kuhn, Chairman

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:ie

COMMITTEES PLAYING A SUPPORTIVE ROLE

TO THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

Whatever opinion one might hold of the non-violent sit-in demonstrations as a technique to break discriminatory practices in lunch counters, few will deny that had the movement not developed few, if any, of the counters would now be desegregated. Likewise, a fact which cannot be ignored is that desegregation of those counters could not have been accomplished without the supportive role and cooperation of various other groups. One can argue that the supportive organizations, committees, etc., would not have been formed without the sit-in development, and this is largely true. Those groups were for the most part reacting to or interacting with the sit-in movement. They would have accomplished little without the direct action of those sitting on lunch counter stools hour after hour. But without them the hours spent on the lunch counter stools would have been greatly multiplied. The point is that it is a mistake for one to assume that there is nothing she can do because she is unable, or unwilling, for whatever reason, to take a place at the lunch counter. It has taken many people playing many different roles to bring about the social change which has already been realized. This will continue to be the case in any area so filled with emotional intensity as the desegregation crisis.

There are several types of committees and supportive actions which have proved helpful in the present crisis. The first of these, and the one most often found, is the Mayor's Bi-racial Committee. Such committees are sometimes referred to as "Status Committees" and often criticized as being ineffective. Although in many cases they have had a dilatory effect, they should not be discouraged without a careful look at the situation. Their greatest contribution seems to be an indirect one. Though they seldom accomplish the goal of desegregation on their own, they at least put the problem into the public opinion process, forcing people to discuss the problem. Often the resolution of the problem they recommend does not represent much progress. But even at this point there is some value in their existence. When a weak and unacceptable recommendation is made the sit-in movement has a new rallying point, something to which people can react, and this again places the problem into the public opinion process, precisely where the advocates of the status quo don't want it.

A second type of committee is one independent of the city administration, the merchants and the demonstrators. Such a committee is often composed of leading churchwomen or men, or clergymen of the several faiths. Such a group often serves as a negotiation committee and its success lies in making sure that it does not attempt to take the place of the sit-in demonstrations. Just as a strike is never called off while negotiations are going on, it seems to be a mistake to ask a well organized sit-in movement to cease demonstrations while such a committee talks to the various parties. To do so is to risk dulling the morale and momentum of the movement, and experience shows that where interest and participation lag it is almost impossible to reactivate the movement.

Another type committee which has proved helpful to those involved in the direct action of a sit-in is what may be called a Committee of Casual Observers. This is composed of women who "just happen" to be on the scene. If violence occurs they can protest to the police, who often are present but have a weakness of looking the other way. They likewise talk to managers and clerks, explaining that they find it difficult to understand why the demonstrators are not served and pointing out that as customers they would not object to their being served. Such groups must not give

the impression of being organized. Often women who have agreed to such a supportive role can serve as witnesses or assist the police when they honestly attempt to identify leaders of a mob.

A related function is a carefully selected and well trained group of women who can work with potential mobs. They must be not only highly skilled in methods of non-violence but must be emotionally capable of practicing it. One woman who had "dropped into the store for an egg poacher" prevented what appeared to all observers as a sure riot by calmly looking into the faces of leaders of the hecklers, asking the right questions, dropping the right comments. "I'm a white southerner too but I keep wondering what I would feel if I were dark and couldn't be served. What do you think we would be thinking if we were sitting on those stools and they were standing back here?" One or a few women moving among a potential mob can often make the difference between a mob scene and the peaceful dispersal of the crowd.

A sixth committee which has proved most successful is the one which makes sure the counter is integrated once negotiations have been successful. Many counters have been desegregated but never integrated. This is because the whites who happen to be at the counters when Negroes are served for the first time are unprepared to accept it as a matter of course and often leave or show other overt hostilities. In some cities various organizations have volunteered to serve in this capacity at the different stores -- United Church Women taking one store, a local church another, League of Women Voters another, and so on. They simply take seats at the counters shortly before the appointed time for Negro diners to be served, remain calmly seated and appear not even to know that the persons next to them are Negroes.

A last activity to be mentioned is the role of urging all in the community to patronize stores which have taken this step and commending owners and managers for their courage.

Several of the activities outlined above can best be performed by whites. Some can be done with interracial groups and some can be accomplished without regard to race. Each locale will have a different climate and local leaders must decide what is appropriate.

Prepared by

Rev. Will D. Campbell
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

September 1960

NOTES ON EFFORTS TOWARD EQUAL TREATMENT

CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

The integrated Chapel Hill-Carrboro Ministerial Association in North Carolina has long been noted for its efforts in behalf of brotherhood and equal treatment of all persons regardless of race. It came as no great shock, then, when this body issued a statement on Sunday, March 20, 1960, encouraging all fellow-citizens "to endeavor to understand the real basis of the current protests against some particular practices," affirming their conviction that "what these 'protestors' are seeking is only that to which they are justly and rightfully entitled as citizens," deploring "the fact that any group of citizens is placed in the position of having to ASK to be treated with dignity and respect," commending the leaders of the current protests "for their dedication to the principles of NON-VIOLENCE," and pledging "support to any and all business concerns which will follow the policy of 'equal treatment for all,' calling upon all persons who are willing to support such business concerns to encourage them by giving them open assurance of such support."

Mimeographed copies of this statement, signed by 30 Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen of the community were distributed in most of the local churches on that Sunday morning. Early the next morning, various members of these churches began asking what they could do to support the ministers in their statement of support of any merchant willing to integrate, since this statement had been issued as part of a larger effort by the Mayor's Committee on Equal Treatment to get the owners of the Chapel Hill eating establishments to provide equal service to all citizens. On Tuesday a meeting of "laymen and ministers" was held to work out a specific strategy, and from this came the decision to publish the ministers' statement in the local newspapers in full-page ads, together with a form giving other persons a chance to associate themselves with such a statement. This ad was run that Thursday, March 20, "sponsored by a group of concerned citizens in the belief that the above statement should receive the immediate endorsement and compliance of our entire community."

Then began a carefully planned effort to solicit additional signatures of local citizens who would associate themselves with the ministers' position. This was done by organized telephone committees, with the caller simply reading a shortened form of the statement and asking persons if they would be willing to put their names on it. Personal contacts and the form included at the bottom of the first ad were responsible for other names being phoned into the office of one of the local churches. On March 31, 1960, another full-page ad appeared in the local newspapers under the caption "Statement of Support," with the following text, "Convinced of the good will of this community, we, the undersigned, pledge our moral support and patronage to all merchants who will provide equal service to all their customers irrespective of race." This statement, signed by 861 names, concluded, "This page is sponsored by a group of concerned citizens in the belief that the above statement represents the true attitude of our community. We urge you to contact our merchants immediately and let them know that you join the above persons in pledging your moral support and patronage to all merchants who will provide equal service to all customers irrespective of race." The names of local college students were not included, in order to assure merchants that the names were primarily those of local citizens of the community.

An additional list of approximately 250 names of persons who wished to be associated with the statement but whose names were omitted in the first ad was compiled in prospect of yet another full-page ad, but to date this has not been published. The cost of the ad was borne by the interested persons.

This particular strategy must be seen, of course, in the larger context of our local situation -- a university community where the student body has been integrated and the two most popular student restaurants already provide equal service. It was the hope of the Mayor's Committee to get the remaining nine food-serving establishments to accept a month trial plan of providing equal service -- and these statements by the ministers and laymen were part of a strategy to encourage the merchants in accepting this plan. When two of the eleven food operators refused to integrate, the Mayor's Committee was unsuccessful in effectuating its plan, so as of this date five of the local eating establishments have integrated and four others have indicated their willingness to if the effort were unanimous. This particular move has also been accompanied by a non-violent effort in the Negro section of the community to secure equal service at a drug store and dairy bar, led primarily by Negro high school students, and an effort by the campus religious groups to poll the patrons of the two local theatres on their views concerning equal treatment. In the latter effort, representatives of the ten student religious groups stood shifts in front of the local theatres handing out cards which stated, "I am submitting this card to indicate that if you should see fit to offer equal service to all persons in your establishment, this extension of equality of service will in no way affect my continued patronage." One end of the signed card was then turned over to the ticket-seller or ticket-taker and the other returned to the persons handing out the cards. Done over a five day period, this effort produced approximately 960 affirmative replies, or roughly one half of the patrons approached. The theatres are still operating on a segregated basis.

These two efforts -- in no sense "success stories" -- were of great value to the persons involved as they contributed in some way to the general atmosphere of the community and assured the merchants that a large number of local citizens would support them in any effort to provide equal service. More important yet, it provided a means for many persons to express publicly where they stood on this crucial issue, thus provoking a great deal of open discussion and honest controversy in an area too often shrouded in emotion and secrecy. Important, too, was the opportunity this provided for local church members to work together on an issue of common concern, thus opening the way toward future ecumenical efforts in the area of social action.

Prepared by

Rev. Harry E. Smith
Minister to Students
Presbyterian Church
Chapel Hill, N. C.

May, 1960

RESOLUTION ON THE STUDENT SIT-IN MOVEMENT ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF UNITED CHURCH WOMEN, MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, APRIL 26-28, 1960.

Believing as Christians that all persons regardless of race should have equal opportunity to live in dignity as children of God; and

Believing in obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted, but believing also that as Christians we must obey God rather than man;

United Church Women as an interracial organization supports the principle of service without discrimination at lunch counters and other eating facilities, and the principle of non-violent protest as a means of securing social justice.

We express appreciation to all students, who, using the method of non-violent protest, often at great personal risk and cost, have called national attention to one form of discrimination and symbolically to all discrimination wherever it exists in the United States.

We URGE church women individually and through local and state councils of United Church Women, in whatever ways are possible and effective locally, to support the protest movement not only in principle but concretely through such means as the following:

Continuous interpretation of the meaning of the protest movement and the facts of the local situation in conversation, in the local church, and in the community;

Efforts to strengthen, support or initiate bi-racial committees of citizens to consider just solutions to the problem;

Encourage merchants to establish services without discrimination; and support those who show willingness to do so;

Statements to the local and national managers of stores and to the press regarding the position of United Church Women;

Contributions through established channels, such as the National Student Christian Federation, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York, to meet urgent needs including legal and scholarship aid.

Finally, we call members of United Church Women to give thoughtful study to the increasing body of material available, and to pray that we may equip ourselves adequately for our share in the task and that the work that we do may be illuminated and empowered by our common Christian faith.

DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.

RESOLUTION ON THE SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS

Adopted by The General Board of the National Council of Churches, June 2, 1960

WHEREAS, the "sit-in" demonstrations at lunch counters and libraries, which are being carried on by students and other people have focused the attention of the nation and the world on the injustices of racial segregation, and

WHEREAS, the convictions of these students and the nonviolent methods employed by them have challenged the Christian conscience not to compromise with racial segregation on any basis, and

WHEREAS, by participating in this movement many of the students see themselves as making a witness which grows out of their Christian faith, and

WHEREAS, the fundamental rights of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and freedom of action within the bounds established by the law of the land permit all persons to demonstrate in a dignified and nonviolent manner in promotion of goals within the field of conscience, and

WHEREAS, the spiritual, legal, moral, and theological issues, such as the relationships of Christians to law and civil order, nonviolent protest and passive resistance, as well as freedom of belief, speech, and association, involved in these demonstrations have an important bearing on responsible Christian action, and

WHEREAS, a number of member communions of the National Council of Churches have expressed their concern for the students involved in these "sit-in" demonstrations at lunch counters and libraries and have urged that their fellow Christians work for the achievement of desegregation, and

WHEREAS, the General Board of the National Council of Churches in its pronouncement of June 11, 1952, on The Churches and Segregation* said that one function of the church is "to create a new society wherein...men will find a favorable environment within which to live their Christian convictions," and pledged to "work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated community,"

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE GENERAL BOARD OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES:

1. Recognizes that the orderly, nonviolent demonstrations that have taken place to date are expressions of just and righteous indignation against laws, customs, and traditions which violate human personality as well as efforts to bring these laws, customs, and traditions into conformity with the law of God which recognizes the dignity and worth of each and every person;

2. Recognizes that nonviolent protest and passive resistance in response to what is felt to be an unjust civil order are, to the extent to which the people participating are willing to accept the legal, punitive consequences of their disobedience, an affirmation of the rule of law. On the one hand, the General Board vigorously protests the unequal enforcement of the law; on the other hand, it shares with those participating in the demonstrations the conviction that the law must be enforced. Nonviolent protest can be a means to demonstrate not against the rule of law or custom, but against the wrongness of particular laws or customs; it can be used responsibly, and with restraint as a vehicle for seeking a less discriminatory civil order but not for the destruction of the civil order itself;

3. Urges that Christians individually and through their churches and colleges express sympathetic concern for the students whose firm commitment to justice causes them to endure humiliation, punishment and suffering as a consequence of protesting unjust laws, customs, and traditions;

4. Recommends that churches and Christians support every effort to achieve just reconciliation of differences which would result in the elimination of racial segregation;

5. Urges churches and Christians to encourage merchants to establish services without discrimination and to support those who show willingness to do so;

6. Reaffirms its commitment to "work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated community;"*

7. Endorses the letter of its President to American Christians calling for understanding of the "sit-in" demonstrations and urging a "bold position of leadership in the struggle for justice in every area of the nation;"

8. Calls upon Christians to undertake with renewed vigor a thorough study of the spiritual, legal, moral, and theological issues involved.**

**********

* The Churches and Segregation, An Official Statement and Resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in Chicago, Illinois, June 11, 1952.

** The Letter to Christian Students issued by the Central Committee of the National Student Christian Federation, the Background Paper on the Student "Sit-In" Protest Movement...recommended by the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Background Information and Resolution on Non-Violence in Race Relations published by the Church of the Brethren are particularly helpful for study and discussion.

File: Rel. Orgs: United Churchwomen

File

# United Church Women of Georgia

634 W. Peachtree Street

ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

May 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We the Church Women In Georgia wish to thank you for entrusting the legislative chairman, Mrs. A. M. Kitfield and Mrs. Phil Narmore, "Project Alto", chairman with the check for $855.00.

We assure you Mr. Anthony, that this money will be used as disignated. Reports of this committee will be sent to you.

Not enclosed MY

The enclosed pamphlet was distributed at the state meeting on April 28th and was well received.

Thank you for helping us to make this "Alto Project" possible.

Sara Patton

Mrs. John T. Patton, past president Church Women in Ga.
1745 West Wesley Rd., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

April 18, 1967

Mrs. A. M. Kitfield
Legislative Chairman
United Church Women of Georgia
634 W. Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mrs. Kitfield:

The donor of our special contingency fund, to my amazement, has vetoed your proposal for work with juveniles sentenced to adult prisons in Georgia.

However, since we think this work is extremely important and are anxious to know if this type of effort would prove successful in dealing with a very difficult problem, we have squeezed the requested funds from another pocket.

We would very much appreciate a report from you on the success of this work.

Enclosed is our check for $855.00.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $855.00)

Bring up after receiving from Vernon Eagle
Daniel - 4/17/67

J Boone
PA
mj - file

Give Rels. Orgs - Gen.
Student Church Women of Ga's a foster

April 10, 1967

Mrs. A. M. Kitfield
Legislative Chairman
United Church Women of Georgia
634 W. Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mrs. Kitfield:

We are now attempting to get the permission from the donor of a special contingency fund to make the grant requested in your letter of April 6th.

I am very hopeful we can fund this important work, and will be back in touch with you in a week or so.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

*United Church Women of Georgia*

634 W. Peachtree Street

ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

April 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

For some time, the United Church Women of Georgia have been concerned about the large number of juveniles who are sentenced to adult prisons in this state. We have now planned a program, "Project Alto" designed to put an end to this practice. We see the program as requiring a three-fold approach:

1. Information

A study of exactly how many children have been sentenced, under what circumstances, for what crime and by which judge. Dr. John Boone, Director of the Southern Regional Council's Project on Crime and Corrections, has already secured some of this material for us, and has given us extremely valuable guidance. That material needs to be expanded. A questionnaire is being distributed to every juvenile serving a sentence in an adult prison.

2. Public Support

a) Widespread distribution of a brief, simply worded pamphlet showing how many children are in adult jails, the legal situation which permits it, and why the practice needs to be stopped. The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia has agreed to produce such a pamphlet for us.

b) Individually typed letters (or visits) to community leaders by the Church Women Committee to get their support for ending sentencing of juveniles to adult jails. In addition to religious figures, educators, lay members of welfare boards, the Committee will also write to Bar Association members to enlist their support.

3. Visits with Judges

Because of a peculiarity in the administration of the juvenile law, Criminal Court judges have superior jurisdiction over the juvenile courts. It is the Criminal Court judges who may insist that a child not be turned over to the juvenile authorities, but stand trial as an adult. Over 800 juveniles, who by law, fall into juvenile court jurisdiction, have thus been tried in adult courts and sentenced to adult prisons in the past year. Of these, more than half were first offenders. These facts, of course, will be brought out in the pamphlet.

But as important as information and public support will be the effort by the United Church Women delegations to meet with those judges who make a practice of sentencing juvenile court age offenders as adults to make it clear that we beleive this is not acceptable to the community at large.

The United Church Women hope to accomplish its goal of getting children out of adult prisons through the persuasive power of public opinion. It does not, of course, get involved in legal action to accomplish its aims. But we feel that this project will have maximum effect right now, since the American Civil Liberties Union has stated that it, independently, will bring court suits if the voluntary solutions we seek are not forthcoming. This possibility we feel, might help crystallize public thinking and assist our educational efforts in the community.

This project is a modest one, since most of the work will be done on a volunteer basis by members of the United Church Women. What is required in the way of support are the postage, paper, stationery supplies, travel costs for organizing the meeting, and the costs of the pamphlet. We estimate these to be as follows:

Cost of mailing for individually typed letters, questionnaires, organizational letters.....$275.00

Cost of pamphlet.....425.00

Cost of promotional material for meeting.....55.00

Cost of travel and visits to prisons holding.....100.00
young offenders

$855.00

May we ask the Southern Regional Council to underwrite this project? We feel certain that not only can we achieve gains in the treatment of juveniles in Georgia, but that our efforts will have an impact on practices in other Southern states.

Sincerely yours,

Agnes M. Kitfield

(Mrs.) A. M. Kitfield
Legislative Chairman
United Church Women of Georgia

AMK/vmb

June 14, 1967

Mrs. Phil Narmore
Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee
United Church Women of Georgia
c/o American Civil Liberties Union of
Georgia
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Narmore:

Thank you for your thorough and impressive report on the project. It was our pleasure to assist you in this, and as we felt sure earlier, the funds have been extremely well spent.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

# AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION of Georgia

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ▪ TELEPHONE 404/523-5398 ▪ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303



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MRS. A. M. KITFIELD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR


June 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Church Women United In Georgia sincerely thank you for the grant which made our "Project Atlanta" possible and for your help and interest in our endeavor to stop the flow of juveniles into the Georgia prisons. Mrs. Jact T. May, 180 Cloverhursr Terrace, Athens, Georgia 30601, vice president of the Church Women United is now in charge of the Alto project and will have all information on and direction of the project.

The following is a report of the Ad Hoc committee on the Alto project. Upon receipt of your grant of $855.00, the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia printed the pamphlet "Children Behind Bars" for $425.00. A letter, with the pamphlet included was sent to the Juvenile and Superior Court judges which have jurisdiction over juvenile courts, asking why juveniles were being sent to state prisons and being tried in superior courts and asking for their suggestions as to what to do about it.

A copy of this letter, a committee report and the pamphlet included was sent to the membership of the Church Women United in Georgia. The cost of these letters was $169.05, leaving a balance of $260.95 which was sent to Mrs. May.

The letter reached the judges just prior to their statewide meeting and was discussed at that meeting. The secretary of the association replied to our letter and told us of action taken at that meeting. Some of the judges replied individually.

These letters were sent to Mrs. May. Mr. John Boone, in your office, has copies of some of these replies.

The Board of Corrections conducted a survey of the inmates at Alto for us. Dr. Barbara Pittard of Georgia State College is going to tabulate the information from the questionnaires. The Southern Regional Council will receive a copy when it is completed.

Thank you again for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Nancy Narmore

Nancy Narmore
Church Women United in Georgia

NN/jlr

Encls: 3

Judge Little

# CHURCH WOMEN UNITED in Georgia

May 5, 1967

Dear Judge:

A Committee of The United Church Women of Georgia, along with other civic groups are interested in stimulating citizens' interest and actions to provide our courts with needed state and local service to halt the flow of young people into our prisons. We need your advice. Will you write and give us the benefit of your thinking on the following:

1. The State Board of Corrections' Annual Report last year shows 582 persons 17 years old and under were sent to prison. Of these 265 were 16 years old and under. In view of the law which established the Division of Children and Youth within the Georgia State Department of Family and Children's Services, with jurisdiction over delinquent youth, why, in your opinion, were this number sent to prison, when other youths guilty of similar offenses were committed to the Division of Children and Youths?

2. Section 14B of the Georgia Laws, 1956, Volume 1, page 173, provides that juveniles under 18 may be transferred from prison to the Division of Children and Youth. In your opinion, should the Board of Corrections and the Division of Youth jointly review all juvenile cases to determine the feasibility of such transfer? Can you suggest criteria to be considered in such review?

3. The Annual Report shows that 63% of all prisoners committed last year were first offenders. We know adequate probation service costs only a fraction of the cost of prison care, with obvious savings of tax dollars. If probation services were expanded and improved, do you believe our courts would place more prisoners -- particularly the young first offender -- on probation? Can you suggest specific improvements? How many more probation officers would you wish assigned to your court?

4. We are enclosing a brief statement prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia relating to the rights of accused persons to counsel, and raising other constitutional questions. In view of the fact that the sentencing of juvenile offenders as adults might be challenged in the Supreme Courts of the United States, should there be a review of such sentences, particularly of young first offenders? If you agree that this should be done, should the Georgia Bar Association be asked to set up the review? Or do you have other suggestions or comments?

We are enclosing a stamped, addressed envelope and we will appreciate the favor of your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Fred Patterson Mrs. Phil Narmore Mrs. Henry Toombs Mrs. Sheffield Owens

Mrs. Fred Patterson Mrs. Phil Narmore Mrs. Henry Toombs Mrs. Sheffield Owens
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED IN GEORGIA

Committee Report

# REPORT OF "PROJECT ALTO"

How project started--Excerpts from minutes of Executive Committee of Church Women United in Georgia, January 20, 1967. "A letter from Dr. John Boone, Director of the Project on Crime and Correction of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Boone enclosed a Draft of Position Paper entitled 'The Georgia Industrial Institute' (Alto). Mrs. W. Sheffield Owen moved that a committee be appointed to study the paper and make recommendations to the Executive Committee in a letter. The motion was seconded and passed. Mrs. Patton appointed Mrs. Phil Narmore, Mrs. W. Sheffield Owen, Mrs. Fred Patterson and Mrs. J.W.E. Bowen to this committee."

Mrs. Narmore called the president for approval of an ad hoc committee for action. The ad hoc committee consisted of the original committee and Mrs. Brisbane and Mrs. Kitfield. Resource persons were: Dr. John Boone, Southern Regional Council, Mrs. Henry Toombs, member of the National Council on Crime and Deliquency and Mrs. Florence Robin, American Civil Liberties Union.

The ad hoc committee decided that the most effective action would be an aroused and informed public opinion, and also some means of letting the judges know of our concern.

Because of a peculiarity in the administration of the juvenile law, Criminal Court judges have superior jurisdiction over the juvenile courts. It is the Criminal Court judges who may insist that a child not be turned over to the juvenile authorities, but stand trial as an adult. Over 800 juveniles, who by law, fall into juvenile court jurisdiction, have thus been tried in adult courts and sentenced to adult prisons in the past year. Of these, more than half were first offenders.

The ad hoc committee decided a personal letter should go to all judges who have jurisdiction over juveniles and that an informational pamphlet be produced that would describe in lay language a typical juvenile sentencing and its legal ramifications. The ACLU consented to produce this pamphlet. The Southern Regional Council, in answer to the committee's request, granted money to underwrite the cost of the pamphlet and the mailing to the judges. Both of these projects are under way. The committee also decided to send this information to religious figures, educators, lay members of welfare boards, Bar association members, the Georgia legislature and others to enlist their support.

Mrs. Phil Narmore
Chairman, ad hoc committee

Mrs. A. M. Kitfield
Legislative Chairman

SAVE THIS INFORMATION FOR FUTURE ACTION.

# Children Behind Bars

ACLU pamphlet

## Case History of a Future Criminal

David Johnson* was eleven years old when he was arrested for burglary. In the county jail, he awaited trial for over two months, housed in the common cell with alcoholics, sexual perverts and thieves.

The Department of Family and Children's Services asked the judge to place the boy in its jurisdiction so that he might be put in a juvenile home. The Superior Court judge refused, stating that in his opinion the child was incorrigible.

At the boy's trial, a man stood next to him and told him when to say "Guilty." The boy says that he had never seen the man before and no one told him that this was his lawyer, assigned by the judge to protect his rights. The boy thought he was a police officer.

David was sentenced to four years and assigned by the State Bureau of Corrections to Alto Industrial Institute, a prison for youthful offenders. By the time he got to Alto, he had had his 12th birthday, so he was not the youngest inmate.

No attempt was made, either before the trial or during it, to determine the boy's mental capacity. In prison, psychological tests revealed his mental age as between seven and eight years old.

Once in his dormitory section, the boy was found swinging a shovel. He explained that some of the bigger inmates were trying to "punk" him (commit a homosexual assault) and that he had to protect himself. So ended his first night in prison.

### Is This Treatment Necessary?

What happened to David Johnson is by no means unique. During 1965-66, over 500 children of juvenile court age were sent to prisons instead of juvenile homes.

Many people comfortably assume that because Georgia has a juvenile court law, all children under a certain age are automatically tried in juvenile court. That this is not the case is attested by the hundreds of young people—many of them first offenders—who are sentenced as adult criminals.

This could not happen in two-thirds of the United States. A juvenile cannot be tried as

*Fictitious name

an adult for a non-capital crime in thirty-four states.

One reason for the situation in Georgia is the lack of juvenile courts in every jurisdiction. Another is the refusal of some Superior (criminal) Court judges to turn the juvenile offender over to the juvenile court. Thus, in one Superior Court jurisdiction, a boy of fifteen, who committed a robbery, can be tried as an adult. In another, a boy of the same age, committing a robbery, may be tried as a juvenile. Often, a prison sentence is a matter of local geography.

**The ACLU Interest**

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia has long been concerned with the treatment of juveniles in this state.

First, we know that many indigent juveniles tried as adults are, as in the case above, given only perfunctory representation—representation which robs them of their rights, instead of safeguarding them. A juvenile's liberty is as precious to him as an adult's. Further, even in the informal atmosphere of a juvenile court, the rights of the juvenile to bail, speedy trial and representation must be protected.

Second, we take the position that sentencing a child to adult prison is cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the 8th Amendment of the Constitution. The broadening concept of what is cruel and unusual punishment includes the imprisonment of juveniles in adult prisons, particularly in view of the homosexual activities, endemic to such institutions.

Some commitments of juveniles may be challenged legally on these grounds. But a legal challenge is a partial solution at best. As the ACLU of Georgia's president put it:

"There are hundreds of David Johnsons in prisons all over Georgia, and every night, like David, they cry themselves to sleep. The answer to their cries lies not only in individual legal action, although the *ACLU of Georgia serves notice that it stands ready to test each and every case*. The answer lies in an aroused citizenry which will demand that no child of juvenile court age can be incarcerated in an adult prison."

## What You Can Do

Don't take it for granted that every child who gets in trouble is being handled by experts who know what is best for him.

Find out in your county how many children have been tried in adult court.

Make it a project of your Church group, your civic or social club to learn about these children: how long have they awaited trial? Are they being kept in the county jail before trial with alcoholics, perverts or hardened criminals? Are they being represented—truly represented—by lawyers? Why are they in criminal, not juvenile court?

When you have the facts, talk them over with the Family and Children's Services Department and the Superior Court judge in your community. Find out the circumstances which led to their imprisonment.

Ask your Grand Jury to recommend creation of a juvenile court if there is not one in your county. Enlist other community leaders in protesting children in prison.

## A Letter From an Ex-Convict

Some months ago we received a letter from a man who has spent most of his life —starting as a juvenile offender in an adult prison—behind bars. Here are some excerpts:

"Prisons have lessons to teach the young. They learn that the spirit has no place here. They will learn work without meaning, play without fun, eating without taste. The night-soiled reality of prison fosters a negative personality, and when released, he cannot deal with the challenge of freedom after existing in a vacuum of punishment.

"And so the Davids are drafted into the ranks of convict sub-society by the indifference of the rest of us. Antagonized, troubled, without much human feeling, they drift from a painful yesterday and a hostile today toward a hopeless tomorrow."

Surely, we can promise our troubled youngsters something better than this bleak future. Won't you try to help?

**American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia**

**53 Fairlie Street, N.W. ■ Atlanta, Georgia 30303**

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HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES - STATE AND LOCAL

Earl D. C. Brewer, Emory University

August, 1954

## Meeting the Situation in Local Communities

This brings us to the major constructive task of study. It is to make suggestions to individual persons or groups in cities or counties in the area of discussing, organizing, planning, and acting to meet the pressing problems of intergroup relations. The material is based on a review and evaluation of the documentary study of local human relations agencies and it is prepared in a question and answer form with the thought that it might be useful as a guide for discussion by any group interested in initiating, planning, or reviewing action in this field.

It is strongly urged that concerned citizens of both races, especially school people and parents, in every town, city, and county in the South come together in appropriate public buildings or churches to discuss the situation and make plans to meet the future in keeping with religious principles, democratic ideals, the law of the land, and common sense. The following questions and suggestions may prove useful as such groups think, talk, and plan for immediate and long run action in this field.

1. What is the local situation? Every local community or county is different from every other one. Each has its own peculiar problems, history and experience in Negro-white and other intergroup relationships. The ratio of Negroes to whites differs widely, the extent of prejudice and lack of communication and understanding varies, and past development in the human relations field ranges from little to much from place to place. This means that interested citizens or groups will need to study their own community and to evaluate its particular problems in relation to the Supreme Court Decision on public schools and other areas of human relations.

What has been the experience of the community in organized groups dealing with intergroup relations? Has there been a local interracial committee, or a local group of members of the SRC, or a local chapter of NAACP, church group, school group, YWCA, official agency or other type of human relations group? If so, what are such groups doing and planning?

Is there need for a citizens' committee or council on community relations (or human relations) to bring together the leadership and rank and file membership of both races to face the situation?

Most of the citizens' and mayors' councils in the country have arisen in local communities in times of tension, violence or threat of violence. They were developed quickly to deal with particular crisis situations. Later, they expanded their activities to treat the basic causes of intergroup tensions and to build for positive good will and constructive community relations.

2. What are the main types of such groups and what is needed in the South? There are three basic forms of organized agencies in the human relations field.

(1) Local chapters or units of national agencies, such as the NAACP, Urban League, the social action committees of churches, or the local YWCA.

(2) A citizens' council on community relations on a private or quasi-official basis, such as the Dade County Council on Community Relations or the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations, or the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati.

It is proposed here that the second type of agency, the citizens' council on community relations, can serve to bring interested citiznes and responsible agencies of both races together to face the school situation and other intergroup problems in the South. Such a council would not compete with existing agencies but serve to strengthen them, and it might be a first step toward a resolution or legislation setting up the public type of agency.

Even so, there would be continuing need for the citizens' council since experience in other cities and counties has been consistent at the point that mayor's committees and official commissions do and can move only as far and as fast as legislation, public opinion, and private agency prodding push them.

Further, one of the principal differences between cities, counties, and states in the South and in other parts of the country is the lack, generally speaking, of human rights legislation or ordinances. Due to this fact and the prevailing political climate in many places built on traditions, folkways, mores, which institutionalize and sanction discrimination, it would not be considered wise to agitate for official and public committees or commissions dealing with human relations without the most careful preparation by a citizens' council and the performance of a continuing "watchdog" function by the private agency.

3. What are the steps in organizing a council and getting started in the human relations field? There are two concerns here; one is to call together persons concerned with the problems of human relations, especially the public school situation and the other is to organize a council for continuous work in the field. Both of these concerns are kept in mind in these suggestions.

Step One. The initiative can be taken by any interested citizen.

Step Two. Call together a few other persons to discuss the matter. This informal discussion group should include both Negroes and whites and might meet in an appropriate public building, church, etc.

Step Three. After talking over the situation and studying this manual, the small group should issue invitations, by word of mouth or letter, to a larger group of leaders for a meeting to discuss community relations problems, especially the public school situation, and the possibilities of setting up a council. A representative of the Southern Regional Council or of the state council might be secured for this meeting. To this meeting should

be invited members, if any, of the local interracial committee or local members of SRC. These persons could form the nucleus of interest and information around which to move ahead. Also, other interested leading citizens and heads of organizations and agencies concerned with these problems should be invited.

Step Four. Hold the "invitation" meeting to discuss further the problems of community relations and preliminary organization. The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss the needs and purposes of such a council and to inform a larger number of citizens of the possibilities of organization. One result of this meeting should be a decision to appoint a temporary committee to explore further the details of organizing a council. Another result should be to keep before the group in an exploratory manner the public school situation or whatever problem in community relations was most pressing. Another decision of this meeting might very well be to appoint another temporary committee to prepare for a fuller discussion of the tension situation at the next meeting.

Step Five. The temporary organizing committee would make a fuller study of the possibilities of setting up a council. It might get in touch with a larger number of citizens and all the appropriate agencies with invitations to an organizational meeting. At the same time, the other temporary committee might prepare for a panel discussion of the school problem, or some other, as a part of the program for the organizing meeting.

Step Six. These two committees would hold the organizing meeting. Here one-half the period would be given to the community relations problem and the other half to preliminary organization. This later step should be very simple and flexible. Perhaps the selection of a continuation committee authorized to set up the necessary details of organization, after agreement on principles, would be sufficient. The purpose of this council is to better community relations, not to build an elaborate organization.

Step Seven. The continuation committee would arrange for a simple statement of by-laws and the Council would be formally and officially organized at the next meeting, with charter memberships.

It is strongly urged that local citizens' councils, representing both races, be formed before tensions become acute and lay the groundwork for a constructive approach on a continuing basis to the problems of intergroup relations before critical stage is reached in the new situation in the South.

4. What are the purposes of a citizens' council? Obviously, each local group will want to hammer out its own purposes. These items may serve as an "anvil" for the discussional process.

(1) To deal with immediate intergroup problems of tension and difficulty in the local community.

(2) To carry on, in cooperation with others, a self-survey or study of community problems in this area.

(3) To concentrate on the major problems of the local community, such as school integration, while laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing, employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strengthen the work of all cooperating agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations.

(5) To cooperate with all public agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To provide common meeting grounds and channels of communication for all persons and agencies of both races in dealing with community problems and in efforts to make the community a better place to live for all its people.

(7) To press for anti-discrimination ordinances, placing the full weight of local government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals

as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(8) To work for a public and official county or municipal Commission on Community Relations (or Human Relations) and, where one exists, to support it and urge it to full activity.

(9) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the community aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(10) To work in cooperation with various state agencies, especially the new office established by the Southern Regional Council.

(11) To form a permanent citizens' city or county council to give continuing leadership in this important field of human relations in the changing South.

(12) Above all else, to start where the community is and to move it in the direction which, under God and democracy, it ought to go in providing equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion, or nationality background.

5. Who should be involved in such a council? It should be clearly understood that this is not the place for "radicals" or "subversives" on the one hand, and "reactionaries" and "stand-patters" on the other hand. Rather, this type of council should be composed of leading liberal citizens of both races who are concerned about and responsible for the best interests of the total community and its future. Members of the local interracial committee or of the SRC might well form the nucleus of such a council. Persons likely to be interested in the immediate issues growing out of the Supreme Court Decision are public school officials and teachers, PTA leaders and parents and patrons of the schools. Other persons in the community would include leaders in the fields of religion (clergy, lay and, especially, lay womeh), civic clubs, business, labor, agriculture, industry, health, welfare,

recreation. Also, such public officials as county commissioners, mayors, city councilmen, public school superintendent, sheriff, police officers, agricultural agents, judges, social welfare workers, city planners, parks and recreation officials and others who have public responsibility which involve intergroup relations. Not all these types of persons or agencies are to be found in every local community or county. Also, individuals or agencies not in sympathy with the purposes of the council should not be "pressured" to join. Care should be taken that Negroes and other groups are adequately represented on the council.

It is suggested that organizations and agencies interested in human relations, as well as interested citizens, become members and participants in the Council.

6. What should be the program of activities of the council? Naturally, this will depend on the local community situation and problems, the nature of the council, and the resources (finance, status, leadership) available to it. Any concrete program should be developed gradually and tailored to the needs and possibilities of each community. Therefore, only general suggestions can be made here for discussion.

(1) In the light of the purposes of the council, the focus of all phases of its program would be on efforts to secure equal rights and opportunities for all citizens of the community without bias or discrimination based on racial, religious, and ethnic factors.

(2) Activities should concentrate on the central areas of discrimination, rather than attempt to cover the "waterfront". It will be found that work in any vital field sooner or later involves all others of significance for human relations.

(3) Critical areas of tension may differ from community to community, but it is likely that the field of public school education in the face of the Supreme Court Decision outlawing segregation will be of immediate concern

in most cities and counties of the South for some time to come. This would likely be the place to start in the program of a new council.

(4) Regardless of the particular field of human relations which happens to be of most immediate concern, the perspective and prospects for the council should be laid in such a way as to enable it to deal with intergroup relations at other points as they become critical. This should be done not only on an emergency but, also, a continuous basis.

(5) As the documentary evidence from other groups shows there are certain recurring areas in which programs of activities will need to be developed in the long run. These are (a) Public schools and education, (b) Employment and job opportunities, (c) Housing, (d) Law enforcement and legislation, and (e) Public accommodations in various fields, such as transportation, recreation, and health facilities. In these and other areas recurring problems of discrimination arise and programs must be developed to deal with them.

7. What are the principal methods of action and work? Informality and flexibility of approach should dominate work for better human relations, especially on the part of private agencies without the force of law. The following methods may be discussed in determining which ones are useful and workable in any particular group..

(1) Informal group discussion in the council and in all committees and sub-groups of it is the most important method in involving members in the process of understanding the problems, setting goals, deciding on methods, and committing themselves to action. The methods of small group discussion should be understood and utilized.

(2) Quiet, friendly, behind-the-scenes conversations between the "right"citizens or officials and individuals members of the council about concrete problems are among the most valuable and widely used methods of getting things done in this field. It is especially helpful in private agencies with little or no paid professional help but with leading citizens

as members.

(3) Work through members who are employed in other agencies. For example, there may be discrimination in the handling of county welfare cases because of race but the matter may be partially or completely corrected because the welfare worker is a member of this group discussing the matter and proposing solutions.

(4) Assist in coordinating and strengthening the human relations work in member agencies. This may be done through human relations committees in member agencies, by having representatives of these agencies in group discussions of problems and ways of meeting them, by rendering direct intercultural educational services to the agencies as requested and as resources are available, and by serving as a clearing house for these agencies. For example, officials and teachers from Negro and white schools may be members of the council or the county or city school board may be represented in it. The assistance of the council may be available to these leaders as they face problems of interrelationships, integration, and intercultural education.

(5) Special discussion groups, workshops, and training groups may be stimulated or sponsored by the council. This might be done with parents and teachers regarding school problems. It could be done with police officers in the matter of handling intergroup relations in law enforcement. The leaders of Negro and white churches might come together for a study of religion and human relations and its implications for the practices of their churches and for the total community life. Other examples of specialized education and training efforts will suggest themselves in various communities.

(6) Another approach along this line but with community-wide implications would be a citizens' conference on civic unity or community relations. Here public meetings, attended by all groups in the community, with addresses, panels, and discussions would draw the attention of the entire community to its situation and obligations. This is one way to get an open airing of these things with its public opinion making and publicity values. Some

communities hold such conferences annually.

(7) The calm gathering of facts about community situations is needed everywhere. Research and study are universal methods of these councils. Local or nearby colleges or universities, as well as other local agencies, may have workers who can assist in this job. However, one of the best approaches is the community self-survey. Here citizens with little expert help find out the facts for themselves. The Southern Regional Council has pioneered in this field and help is available upon request.

(8) Publications and publicity are important methods in educating the citizenry. The findings of self-surveys, reports of committee work and other affairs of the council, stories of experiences in other localities, use of newspapers, radio, television and other media -- all these efforts help create a public opinion within which human relations can be improved.

A mimeographed newsletter circulated to individuals and agency members and, by subscription to others, is helpful. The Community Reporter of the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations is a good example.

(9) Efforts should be made to get Negro representation in all community-wide endeavors and especially on the public boards and institutions. Perhaps the first move should be to secure Negro members on the school board and Negro police officers where needed. Through education and persuasion, Negroes, whites, and all other citizens should be encouraged to vote. Election of Negroes to school boards and city councils has already been done in many cities of the South, and this council should lend its support to such efforts.

(10) Several councils give citations and awards to individual citizens and organizations or agencies of the community who have rendered outstanding service during the year in the field of better community relations.

(11) Studies should be made in the field of human rights ordinances with appeals and pressure for enactment by local governments.

(12) Again, through education and persuasion, efforts should be made to get mayors and commissioners to back up such ordinances through the establishment of public commissions on community relations (of human relations).

(13) A final suggestion about methods would be to work closely with the state council on human relations which is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. The professional leadership of this state council will be available to assist in local community plans and actions.

8. What about the organizational structure of the council? These suggestions are made for a private or quasi-official human relations agency in the county or city. Decisions will have to be made on several items of organizational structure. Simplicity and flexibility should guide the organizational set-up.

(1) The name may vary from place to place, but one suggestion would be Council on Community Relations.

(2) Membership should be composed of individuals, private groups, and organizations, and public agencies interested in better community relations. Persons from both races and all other groups of the community should be eligible for membership.

(3) Each member, whether as an individual or as a representative of an agency, would have one vote in the council as a whole.

(4) An executive committee should be selected by the council to carry on the program. Each agency or organization should be represented on the executive committee and an equal number of individual members.

(5) In the beginning the executive committee might carry the total program with ad hoc or temporary committees appointed as needed. However, it is likely that standing committees will be necessary as the council grows into its task. These might be set up as required for the program rather than attempting to perfect an organization in the beginning. The executive

committee could be given the authority to name temporary or standing committees as and when necessary, provided that standing committees should be approved at the next meeting of the full council.

(6) Standing committees may eventually be needed in some or all of these fields: Public schools and education, employment and job opportunities, law enforcement and legislation, housing, public accommodations, research and self-survey, publications and publicity, membership and finance, and others. New groups should be cautioned against setting up any of these standing committees unless and until needed, and they should be discarded if they do not fanction or if their particular job has been completed. The committee structure should be as simple and as flexible as possible to get the job done.

(7) It is suggested that there be three types of memberships in the council, individual membership, agency membership, and sustaining membership with the understanding that either individuals or agancies may become sustaining members. The annual dues for each type of membership would need to be decided. The membership rates of the Dade County Council on Community Relations are recommended for consideration.

(8) Provision should be made to receive additional gifts and grants for the purposes of the council.

(9) It is strongly urged that the local council be affiliated with the state council which, in turn, is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. As an affiliate of the state council, interlocking memberships and dues might be worked out.

(10) If possible, the local council might employ a part time or full time professional worker, use volunteer professional help from local agencies and use volunteer citizen assistance. Also, the council may call on the professional services of the state council office and the Southern Regional Council.

## Meeting the Situation in the States of the South

The final part of this section contains, in briefer compass, some suggestions regarding the organization and activities of state agencies in the field of human relations. It is anticipated that the primary use of this material will be the guidance of the SRC staff in planning and setting up state offices, including the orientation of state staff personnel.

More complete details of the organizational structure could be developed for the state councils, but it appears that these matters should grow out of SRC staff discussions and the situations and leadership in each state.

This section should be read in connection with the material on local councils since many recommendations which apply at both levels are not repeated here.

## The Need and the Situation

1. The situation, needs and problems, will vary from state to state. These differences should be taken into account in setting up each state organization and plans tailored to meet the problems and possibilities in each state.

2. The experiences of the state interracial commissions indicate that the health and vitality of the work in the state and in local communities is largely dependent upon professional leadership in the state organization.

3. This experience is supported by that of states with public human relations agencies. Like the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, many other states have seen this work go forward and the number of local city and county agencies increase under a competent and adequate state staff and program.

4. The situation is such in most of the states of the South that human rights legislation and public human relations agencies are a long way in the future. The advances in these areas in the Federal Government, Supreme Court Decisions, and in most of the northern and western states have left the states of the South largely untouched. The recent Supreme Court Decision on

segregation in public schools is the most direct challenge to state governments in the field of equality of opportunity for all citizens regardless of race. As evidenced by the reactionary political developments in some of the states and the quandry in other states as to public opinion, procedures, and patterns in the public school field, there is an immediate and pressing need for the mobilization of liberal citizens and agencies and the projection of educational and action programs to aid the states, and all the people of the states, in meeting this situation. Experience in other states, also, points to the need for public human relations agencies to have the support and prodding of private agencies. This means that there will be a continuing need for the type of agency contemplated here.

5. On the basis of these experiences and this situation, the SRC plans to help establish and support professional human relations leadership in each of the southern states.

Types of Agencies

Here, again, there are three types of state agencies dealing with human relations.

1. State or regional offices of national organizations, such as the NAACP, Anti-Defamation League, religious organizations, especially women's groups, etc.

2. Private state organizations dealing with human relations on a co-ordination and service basis, such as the California Federation for Civic Unity, and state interracial committees.

3. Public state agencies set up by legislature and finances by public funds, such as the Illinois Commission on Human Relations.

In view of the situation in most of the southern states, it is obvious that the first and second types of agencies must carry the load of human relations work until state legislatures and governors feel the pressure of public opinion to make this the business of the state as it should be.

Also, since "straight-line" private agencies are largely without paid and professional leadership in this area, there is need for a private co-ordinating and service agency with professional workers to focus and strengthen the human relations activities of the state.

This is the type of state agency proposed here, and it will be called a state council on community relations (or human relations) in this document.

## Purposes

Naturally the state council will have the same type of purposes as the local councils except at the state level.

(1) To help work out any immediate intergroup problems or tension and difficulty at the state level or to assist any local council with such problems, such as the public school situation.

(2) To assist local councils with research and self-studies into human relations problems and to make a survey, in cooperation with appropriate state agencies, of these situations in the state as a whole.

(3) To concentrate at the state level on the major issue of school integration and equality while, at the same time, laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing, employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strengthen the work of all cooperating private state-wide agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations by serving as a clearing-house and a channel of communication for all persons and agencies of both races.

(5) To cooperate with all public state agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To work for anti-discrimination and human rights state laws, placing the full weight of state government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(7) To work for a public and official Governor's commission on community relations (or human relations) and to cooperate with one, if and when established.

(8) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the state aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(9) To stiumlate, organize, and render service to local county and city councils on community relations throughout the state.

(10) To work for a permanent and self-supporting state council on community relations.

(11) To labor for the best interests of the state, within the bighest democratic tradition, and to help make it a better place for all its people to live in freedom, equality of opportunity, and in the pursuit of happiness.

MEMBERSHIP

The state council is an instrument of liberal and outstanding citizens of both races and of agencies devoted to better human relations. It is not an organization for reactionaries and "stand-patters" or for radicals and subversives.

The members of the state interracial committee or the state division of SRC might well make up a nucleus around which to form the council.

The council should be made up of individual members, state agency memberships and local council memberships. Annual dues for each class of membership would have to be determined with the understanding that individuals, agencies, or local councils could become sustaining members by the payment of an appropriate sustaining membership annual fee. The agency memberships should be open to private and public agencies involved in human relations problems. No individual or agency not in sympathy with or interested in the purpose of the state council should be urged to join.

## METHODS AND PROGRAMS

The methods of work and the program of activities would be similar to those recommended for the local councils. The major difference would be that these would operate at the state level, that professional workers would be available to carry on the activities of the state council, and one of the main jobs would be service to the cooperating agencies and, especially, to the local councils.

The state council staff and members of the executive committee, after reviewing the needs and problems of the state in the field of human relations, would plan a definite program of action to carry out the purposes of the council.

The advice of the SRC and its central staff would be available to state staffs in planning and carrying out programs. Also, the experiences and special talents of state council workers would be an asset to the SRC in its total operations. The closest cooperation and consultation would benefit human relations work through the region.

In developing definite programs and deciding on specific methods for the state council, a critical review of the suggestions made for the local councils is recommended.

## ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The suggested type of name of organization is a private, permanent, membership state council on community relations (or human relations).

The council would be composed of all individual members, agency members, and local council members. It would be made up of Negroes and whites, as well as all other persons and groups interested in joining and in harmony with its purposes.

There should be a central committee selected by the council and composed of one representative of each member agency, of each local council, and an equal number of individual members, plus the officers of the council. The

central committee, along with the council staff, would make and carry out the policies and programs of the council.

The committee structure should be simple and flexible and develop as the program demands. Temporary committees could be set up for special purposes until the need arose for standing committees. These might eventually be needed in all the areas suggested for local councils and, perhaps, some others.

The officers of the council, chairmen of standing committees, and the staff would make up an executive committee to supervise the activities of the council and to act on all matters between meetings of the central committee and the council as a whole. The entire council should meet at least annually, and perhaps in connection with a state-wide conference on community relations. The central committee should meet semi-annually or quarterly and the executive committee on call of the chairman.

The council office should be located in the capital city of the state unless there is adequate reason to the contrary.

Decisions should be made about membership fees and the way left open to secure grants and subscriptions in support of the council program. The state council should gradually assume full responsibility for the total budget of the council in accordance with arrangements with SRC.

STATE COUNCIL STAFF

The staff of the council should consist of professional and clerical persons of both races.

The duties of the staff would include the following items:

(1) To lay the ground work for the organizational meeting of the council and it initiate its organization..

(2) To start work on pressing problems in the field of human relations in the state, especially the public school situation.

(3) To set up and administer the affairs of the council office.

(4) To answer calls for service on the part of public or private agencies

dealing with human relations.

(5) To initiate and answer calls to assist in organizing local city or county councils on community relations.

(6) To assist local councils in self-surveys, discussion groups, policy making, program acticities, and in other ways.

(7) To work with executive and central committees for a permanent organization of the state council on a self-sustaining basis within a given period of time.

(8) To represent the council and its interests in meetings over the state as invited.

(9) To serve as a clearinghouse for individuals, agencies, and local councils in the field of human relations. This would be done through correspondence, information, publications, and in other ways.

(10) To work with the executive committee in developing and carrying out a continuing and comprehensive program of activities in keeping with the purposes of the council.

(11) To cooperate with the staff of SRC to life the level of human relations work in the region and to join with them in various enterprises of mutual concern.

(12) To participate in an annual meeting and planning conference on a regional basis.

(13) To refrain from purely political activities, such as endorsing particular candidates in the state or local communities.

(14) To cooperate in setting up standards of membership and to assist in screening individuals and agencies who apply for membership.

The qualifications of the staff should include the following:

(1) The clerical staff should be of a high quality and experienced enough to carry on office routines in the absence of the professional staff in view of the amount of travel involved.

(2) The professional staff should include one Negro and one white worker

in each state, or as close to that arrangement as possible.

(3) The professional staff should have formal training, including graduate work in the social sciences, education, social work, or related fields. Training in intergroup relations and community organization would be important.

(4) The professional staff should have several years experience in teaching, educational administration, public administration, character building agencies, or in agencies dealing with human relations or social action. Experience in community organizations and public relations work would be important.

(5) The following minimum requirements for persons undertaking work in the field of intergroup relations has been suggested.

A basic minimum without which no one should undertake to work in this field is:

a knowledge of the facts concerning race (biological), free from folk superstitions and generalizations regarding a relation between race and culture of "inevitable" stages in the cultural evolution of races;

a knowledge of minority communities and their relation to the larger community; the physical basis of the community life, its organization and cultures, and the various relationships and contacts at different levels;

an understanding that race prejudice is not instinctive and a knowledge of the agencies and institutions that perpetuate stereotypes and attitudes;

an acceptance of variation in the structure of race relations without perpetuation of static concepts of a "natural pattern" and with appropriate definitions of each situation and sectional variations;

a knowledge of the dynamics of intergroup relations and of the nature of tensions and conflicts as social situations - unrest, frustration, desire for status, etc. - not explained by any one isolated factor such as the economic;

an understanding of one's own economic, social, and cultural background as it determines one's outlook, "role" and philosophy about the ends to be achieved - complete and unqualified integration of all monorities into the total American community;

an imaginative and scientific approach, free from dependence upon cliches, such as mores, caste and class, frustration, "scapegoat", and based upon the accumulation of knowledge of processes and techniques, recorded and tested;

a defined relationship between the intergroup organization and the community itself, other agencies and institutions with the emphasis upon cooperation rather than competition and with avoidance of extranious issues; and

a constant realization that the situation isone of social change, never static, and influenced by various factors, each significant and related to others.

A training conference for all state staffs should be held by SRC as soon in the year as possible.

The success and permanence of this program will depend largely upon the adequacy of the organizational structure of the state councils and on the qualifications, experience and training of the professional staff, the wisdom with which the programs of activities are developed, and the skills used in performance of activities planned in this crucial and critical field of human relations.

ks
9/1/54

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. - ANALYSIS OF INCOME FOR YEARS 1948 THROUGH 1954

| | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **FOUNDATIONS:** | | | | | | | |
| Julius Rosenwald Foundation | $ 25,000.00 | $ 25,000.00 | | | | | |
| Ashby Jones Memorial Fund | 200.00 | 200.00 | $ 50.00 | $ 50.00 | $ 50.00 | $ 50.00 | |
| Phelps-Stokes Fund | 500.00 | 250.00 | 1,000.00 | | 350.00 | | |
| Edgar Stern Family Fund | 250.00 | | 300.00 | 400.00 | 500.00 | | 300.00 |
| Marion R. Ascoli Fund | | 500.00 | | | 300.00 | 300.00 | 300.00 |
| William C. Whitney Found. | | | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | | 1,000.00 | |
| Sigmund Silberman Found. | | | 250.00 | 300.00 | 300.00 | 300.00 | 300.00 |
| The Field Foundation | | | 2,500.00 | | 2,500.00 | 2,500.00 | 1,500.00 |
| Independent Aid | | | 1,000.00 | | | | |
| Lucius and Eva Eastman Fund | | | 250.00 | 250.00 | | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Sidney Hillman Foundation | | | | 2,500.00 | 1,500.00 | 1,500.00 | 1,500.00 |
| Christian Service Foundation | | | | 100.00 | | 100.00 | |
| Samuel & Augusta Rosenwald Found. | | | | 200.00 | 200.00 | | 200.00 |
| John Guneo Foundation | | | | 200.00 | | | |
| Aaron E. Norman Fund | | | | | 150.00 | 100.00 | |
| Ford Foundation | | | | | | 20,000.00 | |
| Fund for the Republic | | | | | | | 5,000.00 |
| General Education Board | 6,000.00 | | | | | | |
| Doris Duke Foundation (for 1955) | | | | | | | 10,000.00 |
| Misc. Foundation | | | | | | | 10.00 |
| Total from Foundations | $ 31,950.00 | 25,850.00 | 6,350.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,850.00 | 26,100.00 | 19,360.00 |
| **CHURCHES:** | | | | | | | |
| Methodist | | | | | | | |
| Woman's Div. Christian Svc. | 2,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,100.00 | 1,200.00 | 1,200.00 | 1,200.00 |
| Div. National Missions | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,250.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 250.00 |
| Board of Education | [illegible] | 450.00 | 200.00 | 200.00 | | 250.00 | 300.00 |
| Woman's Societies in South | 100.00 | 257.40 | 208.56 | 190.00 | 175.00 | 125.00 | 154.00 |
| Presbyterian-US | | | | | | | |
| Board of Women's Work | 25.00 | 25.00 | | 50.00 | | | |
| Board of Church Extension | | | | 200.00 | 200.00 | 200.00 | 200.00 |
| Presbyterian-USA | | | | | | | |
| Board National Missions | | | | 250.00 | 250.00 | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Episcopal | | | | | | | |
| Province of Sewanee | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | | 100.00 | |
| National Council, Prot. Epis. | | | | 500.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese Fla. | 25.00 | 25.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 |
| Catholic | | | | | | | |
| Cardinal Stritch | | 1,000.00 | | | | | |
| Catholic Missionary Union | | 1,500.00 | 1,000.00 | | | | |
| Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago | | | 1,000.00 | | | | |
| Catholic Committee of the South | | | 125.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | | |
| Alabama Conference Natn'l Baptist Con. | 50.10 | | | | | | |
| American Friends Svc. Comm. | | | 1,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 10,000.00 | | |
| Misc. Churches | 5.00 | | | 25.00 | 20.00 | 50.00 | 20.00 |
| Total Churches | 3,255.00 | 5,407.50 | 5,648.56 | 8,980.00 | 14,060.00 | 4,190.00 | 3,389.00 |
| **ORGANIZATIONS:** | | | | | | | |
| Labor | | | | | | | |
| United Auto Workers, CIO | | | 500.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| United Steelworkers, CIO | | | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| Internations Ladies Garment W.U. | | | | 500.00 | 500.00 | 500.00 | 500.00 |
| Textile Workers Union | | | 500.00 | | | | |
| State Councils - CIO | | | 100.00 | 35.00 | 50.00 | | |
| United Rubber Workers, CIO | | | | | 50.00 | 200.00 | 200.00 |
| American Federation of Labor | | | | | | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| Congress of Indus. Organ. | | | | | | | 1,000.00 |
| Miller & Rhoades Co. | | | 200.00 | 200.00 | | 200.00 | |
| Thalhimer Bros. | | | 100.00 | | | | |
| United Jewish Appeal, (S.C.) | | | 100.00 | | 200.00 | | 75.00 |
| Brown & Root Co. | | | | 500.00 | | | |
| Mentzer Bush Co. | | | | 200.00 | | | |
| Emory University Students | | | | 218.04 | 133.26 | 141.10 | |
| Georgia Teachers & Educa. Assoc. | | | | 100.00 | | | |
| N. C. Teachers Assoc. | | | | | 50.00 | 50.00 | 50.00 |
| Sonoco Products | | | | | 100.00 | | |
| American Newspaper Guild | | 100.00 | | | | | |
| Various State Div. SRC | | 513.00 | | | 3,050.00 | | |
| Misc. Organizations | | 114.75 | 160.00 | 181.75 | 120.00 | 57.43 | 23.26 |
| For Special Project | | 6,000.00 | 3,465.00 | | | | |
| Total Organizations | | 6,727.75 | 7,125.00 | 3,934.79 | 4,253.26 | 4,148.53 | 4,848.26 |
| Contributions from Indiv. | 2,109.55 | 9,927.08 | 13,572.08 | 7,165.82 | 6,987.97 | 2,718.20 | 1,620.04 |
| Members Dues | 2,333.00 | 2,370.50 | 4,786.80 | 4,081.93 | 3,720.00 | 3,060.50 | 1,882.50 |
| New South Subscriptions | 546.00 | 327.20 | 459.94 | 455.33 | 470.00 | 534.75 | 712.38 |
| Sale of Literature | 2,300.95 | 2,248.68 | 510.33 | 1,058.18 | 1,725.93 | 3,375.45 | 3,766.75 |
| Honoraria | | | 658.75 | 619.55 | 350.76 | 1,078.50 | 1,085.63 |
| Misc. Income | 330.50 | 175.00 | | 135.00 | 18.00 | | |
| | $ 42,825.00 | $ 53,033.71 | $39,111.46 | $31,430.60 | $37,435.92 | $ 45,205.93 | $ 36,664.56 |
| | 17,825.00 | 28,033.71 | | 26,432.60 | 27,435.92 | 25,205.93 | 21,664.56 |

7B South.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Comparison of 1955-56 Budget with Actual
Income and Expenses as of March 31, 1956

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

| INCOME: | Budget 1955-56 | Actual as of 3/31/56 | Percent of Budget realized |
|---|---|---|---|
| Contributions from Individuals, organizations, Churches, etc. | $ 14,000.00 | $ 6,240.00 | 44.5 |
| Dues | 500.00 | 231.00 | 46.2 |
| New South subscriptions | 6,000.00 | 3,068.50 | 51.1 |
| Sale of literature | 3,000.00 | 567.44 | 18.8 |
| Honoraria | 1,000.00 | 307.68 | 30.7 |
| Interest income | 800.00 | 813.90 | 101.7 |
| Fund for the Republic | 25,000.00 | 25,000.00 | 100.0 |
| Unexpended balance in Duke and Field Funds | 12,100.00 | 12,100.00 | 100.0 |
| Surplus 1954-55 (Estimated) | 2,500.00 | 2,500.00 | 100.0 |
| Sub Total | $ 64,900.00 | $ 50,828.52 | 78.3 % |
| *Anticipated Revenue from other sources to balance budget | 28,180.00 | 14,150.00 | 59.9 |
| TOTAL | $ 93,080.00 | $ 64,978.52 | 69.8 % |

| EXPENSES: | Budget 1955-56 | Actual as of 3/31/56 | Percent of Budget Expended |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $ 61,600.00 | $ 31,242.59 | 50.5 |
| Social Security Tax | 800.00 | 266.00 | 33.2 |
| Travel | 7,500.00 | 4,501.96 | 60.0 |
| Printing New South & Postage | 6,500.00 | 3,444.90 | 52.9 |
| Printing other | 2,000.00 | 183.53 | 9.1 |
| Rent | 1,680.00 | 840.00 | 50.0 |
| Telephone & Telegraph | 2,500.00 | 1,409.01 | 56.3 |
| Postage | 2,000.00 | 573.92 | 28.6 |
| Books and Subscriptions | 300.00 | 229.09 | 76.3 |
| Accounting fees | 500.00 | 305.00 | 61.0 |
| Insurance & Miscellaneous Expense | 300.00 | 349.31 | 116.4 |
| Office Supplies | 2,900.00 | 1,105.98 | 38.1 |
| Annual Meeting & Exec. Com. Mtgs | 2,000.00 | 1,263.80 | 63.1 |
| Special Mtgs in connection with Women's Work | 2,500.00 | 586.89 | 23.4 |
| TOTAL | $ 93,080.00 | $ 46,301.98 | 49.7 |

*Includes $5,000.00 from unallocated State Funds.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Staff Forecast of Income for Remainder
of Current Fiscal Year (October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956)
And Statement of Income Received to Date

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Budget for 1955-56 | | $ 93,080.00 |
| *Amount received from individuals, organizations, foundations, subscriptions, miscellaneous sources to date | $ 24,129.00 | |
| Surplus 1954-55 (Cash Balance) | 2,500.00 | |
| The Fund for the Republic, Inc. | 25,000.00 | |
| Unallocated State Funds - 1954-55 | 8,000.00 | |
| Carry-over from Duke and Field Funds (1954-55) | 9,000.00 | |
| Sub Total | $ 68,629.00 | |
| **Amount of new money expectable, as of 4/18/56 | $ 12,300.00 | |
| Total amount raised or expectable as of this date | | $ 80,929.00 |
| Contributions to be raised during remainder of fiscal year | | $ 12,151.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Amount raised to date: | |
| The Marshall Field Foundation (1) | $ 5,000.00 |
| The Doris Duke Foundation | 7,000.00 |
| The John Hay Whitney Foundation | 1,000.00 |
| Small foundations | 300.00 |
| Labor organizations | 1,875.00 |
| Small organizations | 100.00 |
| Episcopal Church | 1,000.00 |
| Other Churches | 1,100.00 |
| Board Members | 806.00 |
| Individual Contributions | 959.00 |
| Associate Members | 231.00 |
| New South subscriptions | 3,069.00 |
| Honoraria | 308.00 |
| Interest | 814.00 |
| Sale of literature | 567.00 |
| TOTAL | $ 24,129.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Amount expectable: | |
| Churches | 900.00 |
| New South | 3,000.00 |
| Honoraria | 700.00 |
| Board Members | 700.00 |
| Interest | 300.00 |
| Sale of literature | 500.00 |
| Small foundations | 700.00 |
| Labor organizations | 5,500.00 |
| TOTAL | $12,300.00 |

(1) Only $3,750.00 of this amount applicable to 1955-56 Budget Period

April 18, 1956

FB Routh

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF INCOME RAISED ANEW THIS FISCAL YEAR
October 1, 1955 to March 31, 1956

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CONTRIBUTIONS: | | |
| Individuals | $ 1,765.00 | |
| Organizations | 1,986.00 | |
| Churches | 2,100.00 | |
| Foundations | 13,400.00 | |
| Total Contributions | | $ 19,251.00 |
| OTHER INCOME: | | |
| SRC Dues (Associates) | $ 231.00 | |
| NEW SOUTH Subscriptions | 3,068.50 | |
| Sale of Literature | 567.44 | |
| Honoraria | 307.68 | |
| Interest Income | 890.40 | |
| Total, Other Income | | $ 5,065.02 |
| TOTAL INCOME TO MARCH 31, 1956 | | $ 24,316.02 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Total amount to be raised to be eligible for 1956-57 grant from FFR | $ 55,000.00 |
| Less: Amount raised to March 31, 1956 | 24,316.02 |
| Balance to be raised to September 30, 1956 | $ 30,683.98 |

April 20, 1956

FB Routh

Atlanta, Georgia
April 13, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., Atlanta, Georgia, for the period of January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956.

The following Exhibits and Schedules, together with comments comprise our report:

EXHIBIT A - Statement of Financial Condition, March 31, 1956
EXHIBIT B - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Operating Fund
EXHIBIT C - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, State Organizations
EXHIBIT D - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, Fellowship of the Concerned
SCHEDULE 1- Bank Reconciliation - First National Bank
SCHEDULE 2- Bank Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company
SCHEDULE 3- Schedule of Contributions

COMMENTS

Cash In Bank - Central Office - $14,378.09
Cash In Bank - State Organizations - $37,104.52

All recorded receipts were traced to bank deposits and disbursements were compared with cancelled checks. Bank balances at March 31, 1956, were confirmed by correspondence with the depositories. The Special Projects account includes $20,182.70 belonging to the Fact-Finding Program.

State Organizations' Savings - $89,409.60

This represents funds belonging to the State Organizations, which are invested in U. S. Treasury Bills. These were confirmed by correspondence with the bank holding them in safekeeping at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

Fact-Finding Program Savings - $29,817.30

This also represents funds invested in U. S. Treasury Bills. These were confirmed by correspondence with the bank holding them in safekeeping at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

Payroll Taxes - $2,352.20

This represents unpaid withholding taxes and old-age benefit taxes for both the Central Office and State Organizations for March, 1956.

Due to Special Projects - $1,000.00

This represents funds received from the Fund for the Republic for printing and distributing a pamphlet in cooperation with the Southern Historical Society.

Due to Special Projects - $754.18

No activity occurred in the Commission on Equal Penalties during the period under review. Exhibit D reflects the receipts and disbursements for the Fellowship of the Concerned fund.

Advance Appropriations - $125,000.00

The advance from the Fund for the Republic covers the next six months. The Fact-Finding Program advance covers the next nine months.

General

Exhibit B shows receipts for the Central Office of $19,822.08, and disbursements of $23,852.96, or an excess of disbursements over receipts of $4,030.88.

It should be noted that the $50,000.00 shown under receipts for State Organizations is for a special purpose - Fact-Finding Program. The allocation of the appropriation from the Fund for the Republic for the three months is $28,125.00, which is not shown on Exhibit C, since it was received in 1955. The expenses for the period were $36,868.83, thus reflecting an excess of expenses over income of $8,743.83.

In our opinion the attached Statement of Financial Condition and Statements of Receipts and Disbursements present fairly the financial condition at March 31, 1956 and the results of operations for the three-months period then ended.

Respectfully,

L. E. Campbell

L. E. Campbell, C.P.A.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Financial Condition
March 31, 1956

ASSETS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cash in Bank - Central Office (Sch.1) | | $ 14,378.09 | |
| Cash in Bank - Special Projects (Sch.2) | | 37,104.52 | |
| State Organizations' Savings | | 89,409.60 | |
| Accounts Receivable - Literature | | 80.00 | |
| Inventory - Pamphlets | | 1,230.00 | |
| Fact-Finding Program Savings | | 29,817.30 | |
| Total Assets | | | $ 172,019.51 |

LIABILITIES

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Payroll Taxes | | $ 2,352.20 | |
| Georgia Sales Tax | | 3.17 | |
| Due to Special Projects: | | | |
| Commission on Equal Penalties | $ 341.07 | | |
| Fellowship of the Concerned | 413.11 | | |
| Southern Historical Society | 1,000.00 | 1,754.18 | |
| Advance Appropriations: | | | |
| Fund for the Republic | 75,000.00 | | |
| Fact-Finding Program | 50,000.00 | 125,000.00 | |
| Total Liabilities | | | $ 129,109.55 |
| Surplus, March 31, 1956 | | | 42,909.96 |
| Total Liabilities and Surplus | | | $ 172,019.51 |

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
Operating Fund
January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956

RECEIPTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Contributions (see Schedule 3) | $ 16,709.00 | | |
| Members Dues | 205.00 | | |
| New South Subscriptions | 1,402.50 | | |
| Sale of Literature | 194.48 | | |
| Accounts Receivable - Literature | 4.00 | | |
| Fund for the Republic (see Comments) | 1,000.00 | | |
| Honoraria | 107.10 | | |
| Commission on Race and Housing | 200.00 | $ 19,822.08 | |
| Balance in Bank, January 1, 1956 | | 18,408.97 | |
| Total Receipts | | | $ 38,231.05 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | 14,368.55 | |
| Travel | 1,926.21 | |
| Printing - other than New South | 129.63 | |
| Rent | 420.00 | |
| Printing and Postage - New South | 1,598.51 | |
| Telephone and Telegraph | 516.10 | |
| Postage | 301.51 | |
| Consultant Fees | 455.00 | |
| Special Services | 32.50 | |
| Accounting Services | 120.00 | |
| Executive Committee Meeting | 164.74 | |
| Books and Subscriptions | 154.22 | |
| Accounts Payable - 1955 | 1,793.02 | |
| Georgia Sales Tax | 3.01 | |
| Office Supplies | 277.26 | |
| Office Equipment | 397.58 | |
| Commission on Race and Housing | 25.50 | |
| Miscellaneous | 2.85 | |
| Social Security Taxes | 199.68 | |
| Withholding Taxes - 1955 | 754.10 | |
| Fact-Finding Program | 212.99 | |
| Total Disbursements | | 23,852.96 |
| Balance, March 31, 1956 | | $ 14,378.09 |

EXHIBIT B

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
State Organizations
January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956

RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fund for the Republic - Fact-Finding Program | $ 50,000.00 | |
| Interest Income | 590.40 | $ 50,590.40 |
| Balance in Bank, January 1, 1956 | | 52,446.07 |
| Total Receipts | | $103,036.47 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $ 28,271.62 | |
| Consultant Fees | 1,016.05 | |
| Travel | 46.52 | |
| Local Expenses | 500.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | 53.25 | |
| Consultants' Training Program | 2,553.65 | |
| Irene Osborne | 708.98 | |
| John Hope II | 2,211.26 | |
| Withholding Taxes - 1955 | 1,133.96 | |
| Social Security Taxes | 373.54 | |
| Total Disbursements | | 36,868.83 |
| | | $ 66,167.64 |

Represented by:

| | |
|---|---|
| Citizens Trust Company | $ 36,350.34 |
| U. S. Treasury Bills | 29,817.30 |
| | $ 66,167.64 |

EXHIBIT C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
Fellowship of the Concerned
January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956

RECEIPTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance, January 1, 1956 | | $ 807.24 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Postage | $ 10.00 | |
| Travel | 384.13 | 394.13 |
| Balance, March 31, 1956 | | $ 413.11 |

EXHIBIT D

Bank Reconciliation - First National Bank

Atlanta, Georgia

March 31, 1956

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance per Bank | | $ 16,085.37 |
| Less: Outstanding Checks: | | |
| Number | Amount | |
| 7014 | $ 7.79 | |
| 7570 | 16.00 | |
| 7571 | 5.00 | |
| 7573 | 38.12 | |
| 7576 | 78.29 | |
| 7577 | 354.54 | |
| 7578 | 247.73 | |
| 7579 | 237.73 | |
| 7580 | 185.67 | |
| 7581 | 204.10 | |
| 7585 | 104.80 | |
| 7588 | 29.78 | |
| 7589 | 23.03 | |
| 7590 | 40.00 | |
| 7591 | 134.70 | 1,707.28 |
| Balance per Books, March 31, 1956 | | $ 14,378.09 |

SCHEDULE 1

Bank Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company
Atlanta, Georgia
March 31, 1956

Balance per Bank $ 43,384.68
Less: Outstanding Checks:

| Number | Amount | Number | Amount | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1962 | $ 7.20 | 2760 | $ 187.26 | |
| 2697 | 177.26 | 2761 | 44.80 | |
| 2710 | 20.00 | 2762 | 182.26 | |
| 2720 | 344.53 | 2763 | 84.80 | |
| 2726 | 595.00 | 2764 | 172.26 | |
| 2727 | 98.21 | 2765 | 88.19 | |
| 2730 | 35.00 | 2766 | 98.19 | |
| 2732 | 70.00 | 2767 | 73.95 | |
| 2733 | 70.00 | 2768 | 187.26 | |
| 2739 | 150.71 | 2769 | 182.26 | |
| 2740 | 54.51 | 2770 | 93.19 | |
| 2741 | 55.26 | 2771 | 177.26 | |
| 2742 | 48.76 | 2772 | 182.26 | |
| 2743 | 54.51 | 2773 | 83.19 | |
| 2744 | 10.28 | 2774 | 88.19 | |
| 2745 | 3.00 | 2775 | 172.26 | |
| 2748 | 182.26 | 2776 | 102.09 | |
| 2749 | 84.80 | 2777 | 187.26 | |
| 2750 | 182.26 | 2778 | 83.19 | |
| 2751 | 197.26 | 2779 | 44.00 | |
| 2752 | 82.79 | 2780 | 49.00 | |
| 2753 | 192.26 | 2781 | 139.22 | |
| 2754 | 177.26 | 2782 | 5.53 | |
| 2755 | 88.19 | 2783 | 45.55 | |
| 2756 | 182.26 | 2784 | 100.00 | |
| 2757 | 100.17 | 2785 | 20.00 | |
| | | 2786 | 143.00 | $ 6,280.16 |

Balance per Books, March 31, 1956 $ 37,104.52

SCHEDULE 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

January 1 to March 31, 1956

CONTRIBUTIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| INDIVIDUALS | | $ 909.00 |
| ORGANIZATIONS: | | |
| United Steelworkers of America | $ 1,000.00 | |
| International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union | 500.00 | |
| Community Workshop Association | 100.00 | 1,600.00 |
| CHURCHES: | | |
| National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church | 1,000.00 | |
| Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church | 250.00 | |
| The General Board of Education of the Methodist Church | 300.00 | |
| Division of National Missions of the Methodist Church | 250.00 | 1,800.00 |
| FOUNDATIONS: | | |
| The Doris Duke Foundation | 7,000.00 | |
| The Marshall Field Foundation | 5,000.00 | |
| The Sigmund Silberman Foundation | 300.00 | |
| Edgar Stern Family Fund | 100.00 | 12,400.00 |
| Total Contributions, March 31, 1956 | | $16,709.00 |

SCHEDULE 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROPOSED BUDGET

For fiscal year - October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956; and comparison with actual expenditures for 12 month period September 1, 1954 - August 31, 1955.

CENTRAL OFFICE ONLY

| EXPENSES: | ACTUAL 1954 - 1955 | PROPOSED 1955 - 1956 |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries Central Office | $ 57,404.94 | $ 61,600.00 |
| Social Security Tax | 760.57 | 800.00 |
| Travel | 6,945.15 | 7,500.00 |
| Printing | 10,528.10 | 8,500.00 |
| Rent | 1,335.00 | 1,680.00 |
| Telephone & Telegraph | 1,813.01 | 2,500.00 |
| Postage | 1,378.17 | 2,000.00 |
| Books & Subscriptions | 905.99 | 300.00 |
| Accounting Fees | 420.00 | 500.00 |
| Insurance & Misc. Expense | 170.51 | 300.00 |
| Office Supplies | 4,807.58 | 2,900.00 |
| Annual Meeting Expense | 2,663.42 | 2,000.00 |
| Special Meetings in Connection with Women's Work | 893.37 | 2,500.00 |
| Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy | 150.00 | |
| TOTAL | $ 90,175.81 | $ 93,080.00 |

| ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD | ACTUAL 1954 - 1955 | PROPOSED 1955 - 1956 |
|---|---|---|
| Salary, Executive Director | $ 10,000.00 | $ 10,000.00 |
| Salary, Administrative Ass't | | 6,000.00 |
| Salary, Sec'y to Exec. Dir. | 3,000.00 | 3,100.00 |
| Salary, Secretary-Treasurer | 4,958.28 | 4,000.00 |
| 1/3 Salary, Clerk | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| Social Security for Central Off. Personnel | 760.57 | 800.00 |
| Annual Meeting & Exec. Committee Meetings | 2,663.42 | 2,000.00 |
| Travel | 6,703.82 | 7,000.00 |
| Rent | 1,335.00 | 1,680.00 |
| Telephone & Telegraph | 1,813.01 | 2,500.00 |
| Office Supplies & Equipment | 4,500.00 | 2,500.00 |
| Postage (not including New South) | 1,378.17 | 2,000.00 |
| Printing (other than New South) | 6,335.48 | 2,000.00 |
| Audit Fees | 420.00 | 500.00 |
| Miscellaneous Expense | 127.29 | 300.00 |
| Insurance | 43.22 | |
| Sub-totals | $ 45,038,26 | $ 45,380.00 |
| * INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH | | |
| Salary, Ass't Dir. for Information | $ 6,833.48 | $ 7,000.00 |
| Salary, Editorial Assistant | 1,791.52 | 5,000.00 |
| Salary, Research Assistant | 2,483.49 | 4,000.00 |
| Salary, Clerk | | 2,700.00 |
| 2/3 Salary, Clerk (Circulation) | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 |
| 1/4 Salary, Clerk (Steno) | 494.27 | 750.00 |
| Salary Office Boy (Part-time) | 328.50 | 300.00 |
| New South, Printing & Postage | 4,192.62 | 6,500.00 |
| Envelopes, Addressograph, Plates, etc. | 307.58 | 400.00 |
| Books & Materials | 705.99 | 300.00 |
| Sub-totals | $ 19,137.45 | $ 28,950.00 |

| | ACTUAL 1954 - 1955 | PROPOSED 1955 - 1956 |
|---|---|---|
| **LAISON - STATE ORGANIZATIONS** | | |
| Salary, Ass't Dir. for State Organ. | ? $ 6,083.31 ? | $ 7,000.00 |
| Salary, Ass't Dir. for State Organ. | 3,289.30 | 2,000.00 |
| 1/4 Salary, Stenographer | 494.27 | 750.00 |
| Sub-totals | $ 9,866.88 | $ 9,750.00 |
| **PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT** | | ** |
| Salary, Ass't for Program Development | $ 7,750.00 | To be provided under state training Program |
| 1/4 Salary, Clerk | 494.27 | |
| Program Materials | 200.00 | |
| | $ 8,444.27 | |
| **Women's Work** | | |
| Salary, Director of Women's Work | $ 5,000.00 | $ 5,250.00 |
| 1/4 Salary, Clerk | 494.25 | 750.00 |
| Travel, Director | 241.33 | 500.00 |
| Meetings, travel of participants etc. | 893.37 | 2,500.00 |
| Sub-totals | $ 6,628.95 | $ 9,000.00 |
| Two Clerks - July & August 1955 | 910.00 | |
| **SPECIAL PROJECTS** | | |
| Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy | 150.00 | |
| Grand Totals | $90,175.81 | $93,080.00 |

* Of the total of $28,950.00 proposed to be spent for the Information Service and New South, $6,850.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Doris Duke Foundation grant; $1,500.00 is available as an unexpended balance in the Marshall Field Foundation grant; and $5,000.00 has been promised us from the Marshall Field Foundation for the calendar year 1956. Of this $5,000.00 there will be $3,750.00 available for the current budget period.

| | |
|---|---|
| ** Salary for Ass't Director | $ 2,500.00 |
| 1/4 Salary, Clerk | 500.00 |
| Consultants, salaries & travel | 4,000.00 |
| Travel, Ass't Director | 1,500.00 |
| Total | $ 8,500.00 |

COST ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL CENTRAL OFFICE

ADMINISTRATION AND OVERHEAD

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salary, Executive Director | $ 10,000.00 | |
| Salary, secretary to Executive Director | 3,000.00 | |
| Salary, Secretary-Treasurer | 4,500.00 | |
| 1/3 salary, clerk | 1,000.00 | |
| Social Security for staff | 700.00 | |
| Annual meeting and Executive Committee meetings | 2,000.00 | |
| Travel, Executive Director | 700.00 | |
| Rent | 1,260.00 | |
| Telephone & Telegraph | 5,000.00 | |
| Office supplies & equipment | 4,500.00 | |
| Postage (not including NEW SOUTH) | 4,000.00 | |
| Printing (other than NEW SOUTH) | 2,000.00 | |
| Audit fees | 300.00 | |
| Miscellaneous expense | 300.00 | $ 39,260.00 |

INFORMATION SERVICE AND NEW SOUTH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salary, Asst. Director for Information | $ 7,000.00 | |
| Salary, Editorial Assistant | 4,000.00 | |
| Salary, Research Assistant | 4,000.00 | |
| 2/3 salary, clerk (circulation) | 2,000.00 | |
| ¼ salary of clerk (steno) | 750.00 | |
| ½ salary, office boy | 300.00 | |
| NEW SOUTH printing and postage | 6,000.00 | |
| Envelopes, addressograph plates, etc. | 340.00 | |
| Books and materials | 300.00 | 24,650.00 |

PROMOTION--STATE ORGANIZATIONS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salary, Asst. Director for State Organizations | | $ 7,000.00 | |
| Salary, Consultant | | 2,285.00 | |
| Travel, ADSO - | $1,605.65 | | |
| Travel, consultant | 2,373.66 | | |
| Travel, other | 537.42 | 4,516.73 | |
| ¼ salary, stenographer | | 750.00 | 14,551.73 |

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salary, Asst. for program development | $ 7,750.00 | |
| ¼ salary, clerk | 750.00 | |
| Program materials | 200.00 | 8,700.00 |

WOMEN'S WORK

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salary, Director of Women's Work | $ 5,000.00 | |
| ¼ salary, clerk | 750.00 | |
| Travel, Director | 241.33 | |
| Meetings, travel of participants, etc. | 893.37 | 6,884.70 |
| | | $ 94,046.43 |

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Menefee -

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary | $ 1,000.00 |
| Travel | 733.20 |
| | $ 1,733.20 |

Brewer -

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary | $ 600.00 |
| Travel | 124.85 |
| | $ 724.85 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Manuscript on Cotton Tenancy | $ 150.00 |

QUARTERLY REPORT OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
TO THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

October, November, and December, 1954

## ESPECIALLY ON THE SCHOOLS

Speakers from the Council have been much in demand in the South and elsewhere, usually the requested subject being useful to proceeding with fitting the schools together. Various of us on the staff have talked to the Herald-Tribune Forum in New York, to the Conference of Editorial Writers at Asheville, North Carolina, to the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen meeting at Nashville, to the Unitarians at Charlotte, North Carolina, and in quite a number of local churches.

## TECHNICAL ADVICE

The Council's services have also been in demand for meetings of a new and special kind: where concerned citizens have drawn together to plan for unsegregated schools and want quasi-technical advice on how to work. We have met in this way with the Anderson, South Carolina, Christian Council on Human Relations; the Parents-Teachers Associations, white and Negro, of Rockdale County, Maryland (suburban Maryland); the about-to-be-formed Northern Virginia Council on Segregation and the Schools; Friendship House at Shreveport, Louisiana; a state-wide conference of YM and YWCA student representatives in Louisiana (Baton Rouge); and elsewhere.

## WORK WITH LABOR

Our long-term effort to enlist the active support of the labor movement in the South for progress in desegregation was carried forward with a week's session of the A. F. of L. Southern Leadership Training School for the Southwestern states, meeting at Mineral Wells, Texas, and with a two-day appearance before the training institute of the International

Ladies Garment Workers' Union in New York. Some flavor of the Mineral Wells venture is conveyed by the anonymous written comment of one of the students after the week's session had ended. Anent "Southern Problems," he wrote, "Subject was distasteful, but the guy told the truth, and I reckon it was useful."

TOWARD COORDINATION

The Council perforce has been put into the role of coordinating agency for the work of various national agencies, as they reach more vigorously into the South. We have been thus used by a subcommittee of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House at Washington, the meeting of the National Association for Inter-group Relations Officials in Boston, and two meetings of the coordinating effort resulting from the Herald-Tribune Forum.

In all these coordination appearances, the representatives of the Southern Regional Council have stressed the point that the twelve renewed state agencies being established with Council help are independent bodies with which national agencies may work directly. Thus SRC is no bottleneck for the South. We are glad to help any agency, but the agencies in turn are perfectly free to be in direct association with the Southern Regional Council's friends out in the states.

THE WORLD TO THE SOUTH

We have entertained and informed for periods varying from a few hours to a week, the following visitors from foreign countries:

Mr. Sastrowardojo Surjono, Madiun, Java, Indonesia. Delegate to United Nations, Young Diplomats Project. Sponsored by the Institute of International Education, New York City.

Mr. Fritz Kaestner, 15 Adlestr, Oldenburg, Germany, Ministerial Director. Sponsored by the U. S. State Department.

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Mr. and Mrs. David Ginsburg, 9 Harman Drive, London N.W. 2, England. Research Division, British Labor Party. Sponsored by the U. S. State Department.

Five Indian gentlemen, as follows: B. Rajaram, Bombay; N. Bose, Calcutta; H. R. Kolte, Bombay; R. H. Patel, Ahmedabad; S. K. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

Two on the employing side; three trade union officials. All in this country under the sponsorship of the U. S. Department of Labor.

CENTRAL OFFICE AND THE STATE GROUPS

The Council has in its structure the advantages and disadvantages of a federal relationship. Our major effort is to get going independent agencies in each of twelve Southern states. At the same time events press upon the South an ever more urgent need for performance in a concerted fashion. This controversy came up distinctly in the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council, November 10, 1954. Various members, deeply experienced in the negligence or tolerance to misdeeds which have accompanied states' rights in our federal governmental picture groaned inwardly (and some outwardly), over the prospect of a Southern Regional Council which would allow state organizations to have their head! So, it was agreed that we would do much more to draw up from the state bodies locally planned programs, and to suggest measures of concert.

We think that the groans arose from a fallacious identification of actual state government with state organizations of the Southern Regional Council. The new state organizations of SRC are composed of people whose earnest purpose it is to do what is right, and few are the hardy souls who would boast the same of the formal state governments hereabouts.

At any rate, the upshot of it is that we will carry an increasing burden of program effort; in reality a burden well beyond what was envisioned in the early conversations with the Fund for the Republic as to how

the Council's work would proceed. We are not hinting in the least a disturbance of the budgetary relationship between funds for the central office and funds for the states. In my judgment it is the Council's business to meet this problem out of resources which we find ourselves. But it is now being pointed out that experience thus far in the present situation shows that program coordination is a bigger and more difficult job than had been foreseen.

In the report of October 6th, we reviewed the status of the state groups as of that date. Five had employed professional staff and others seemed nearly ready to do so.

As of this date, seven have engaged their professional staff; two or three are nearly ready to do so; and the remaining two states should be fully launched within a few weeks.

In review:

STAFF EMPLOYED

Alabama:

State Chairman -- Reverend Dan C. Whitsett, First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Alabama. (Well-known liberal clergyman.)

Executive Secretary -- Reverend Robert E. Hughes.(Methodist minister, assigned to this job by his Bishop.)

Agency -- The Alabama Council on Human Relations, Room 206, Moore Building, South Court Street, Montgomery. Telephone 2-0450

The first three months have gone into travel for their Executive Secretary over the state learning people, problems and resources. Several meetings of the principal members of their Executive Committee have been held. They propose to divide the state into several areas and build Board membership and general membership as well as program, area by area. First annual membership meeting under the new name will be February 8th in

Montgomery.

The new Council is as yet too narrowly based, but its supporters are able people of firm purpose.

Georgia:

State Chairman -- Reverend George E. Clary.( Well-known Savannah Methodist Clergyman, now stationed in Atlanta.)

Executive Secretary -- Dr. Guy H. Wells, Atlanta. (Well-known Georgia educator, former college president.)

Agency -- The Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Telephone ALpine 4063.

The Georgia Commission has continued, through long-range campaigns, to assist the building of a public opinion in the state more favorable to integration in the schools. Their Executive Secretary has been picking up the old-established links with local groups which the Commission has had for years. In a membership meeting in November, By-Laws were approved and a new and broadened Board elected.

Louisiana:

State Chairman -- Reverend Albert D'Orlando. (Unitarian clergyman, New Orleans; well respected in the community.)

Executive Secretary -- Milton C. Vigo.(Young, vigorous, Catholic, former school teacher. Well liked, well supported by community groups.)

Agency -- The Louisiana Council on Human Relations, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building, New Orleans. Telephone MAin 4295.

The agency, under its new name, combines the former New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, and the former Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council. Their new By-Laws have been tentatively approved on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. Their Executive Secretary has been travelling widely in the state. A special workshop to

plan program is slated for January 11th.

The Louisiana group has a disproportionate amount of its strength in the city of New Orleans and will need growth in the remainder of the state.

Mississippi:

State Chairman -- Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg. (Vigorous man, fairly recently transferred into Mississippi from Alabama.

Executive Secretaries -- Reverend N. A. Dickson, Union City. (White, Methodist clergyman, interested in race relations, experienced in fund raising and dealing with people, dedicated to a democratic society, native Mississippian.)

Mrs. M. S. Lyells, Jackson. (Negro lady, well-known and respected in the community, experienced in race relations, widely travelled.)

Agency -- The Mississippi Council on Human Relations. For the time being address c/o Reverend N. A. Dickson, Union, Mississippi.

The Executive Committee, at a meeting on December 13th, adopted the new name and agreed to the employment, effective January 1, of the two staff members. The Mississippi Council has undertaken to raise the necessary funds to insure equal salaries for both directors. The Mississippi situation is difficult, but the new staff and those most closely associated with the agency can be trusted to move soundly and effectively in the state.

North Carolina:

State Chairman -- Reverend Leon Russell, Rocky Mount. (Prominent Methodist clergyman, liberal in his outlook.)

Executive Secretary -- Harry S. Jones, Charlotte. (Former Director, North Carolina Division National Conference of Christians and Jews. Skilled worker in the field of human relations, good relationship with local people both Negro and white.)

Agency -- The North Carolina Council on Human Relations, 121

East Third Street, Room 209, Charlotte.
Telephone FRanklin 6-6833.

North Carolina carried through many years an independent Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which some seven or eight years ago found the means briefly to employ paid staff on its own. It subsequently became the North Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, and is now reconstituted under its new name. The move of the state headquarters to Charlotte is significant, as that taps an additional set of friends in the state.

The Executive Secretary has technical experience in this field, and gives every indication of proceeding competently to the strengthening of the movement in North Carolina.

<u>South Carolina</u>:

State Chairman -- Mr. Richard J. Foster, Greenville. (Prominent attorney, Juvenile Court judge, Colonel in the Army Reserve, well respected in South Carolina.)

Executive Secretary -- Mrs. E. H.Spearman, Columbia. (Prominent laywoman, former member of the Board of SRC, long-time worker in the field of race relations, well accepted in both Negro and white community.)

Agency -- The South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, 3315 Colin Kelly Drive, Columbia.

For the very reason that the group in South Carolina, despite all the difficulties of the last eight or ten years, survived and kept something afloat, they encounter now special problems in extending the agency for broader representation within the state. They have many difficulties to face, but those active in the organization are representative of the finest quality of citizenship which the state can boast, and results will be seen.

**Texas:**

State Chairman -- Mrs. James S. Crate, Houston. (Well-known leader among church women.)

Executive Secretary -- Thomas S. Sutherland, Austin. (Formerly director of a state-wide agency assisting the integration of Mexican-Americans.)

Agency -- Texas Commission on Race Relations, 309 West Twenty-First Street, Austin. Telephone 7-8819.

A dwindled body of devotees of better race relations, centered mainly about Houston has had, with SRC aid, the good fortune to obtain a strong and far-seeing Executive Secretary. He will make them grow and reach out over the whole state.

Texas cherishes its independence, the old Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation never did more than affiliate with the Southern Regional Council, and the new plan of linkage with SRC suits their sympathies.

STAFF NOT YET EMPLOYED

**Arkansas:**

State Chairman -- Mr. Fred Darragh, Little Rock. (Co-owner of the Darragh Corporation, manufacturing feed supplies and building supplies.)

Agency -- The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1401 East Sixth Street, Little Rock.

The Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council has been thinly supported for years. The body came together with new attendance on December 2nd, 1954, and reestablished themselves as the Arkansas Council on Human Relations with By-Laws approved by SRC.

They have unusually broad support now and as they extend into Arkansas, flexibly and hopefully, a good deal is to be expected from this body. A membership committee is working on that problem and a personnel

committee is considering applicants for the place of Executive Secretary.

**Florida:**

State Chairman -- Mr. Davisson Dunlap, (attorney), Jacksonville. Barnett National Bank Building, Telephone 3-6261.

Agency -- The Florida Council for Human Relations.

The old Florida Division reconstituted itself December 22, 1954, as the Florida Council for Human Relations. They have divided the state into four areas and have agreed that when the state office is set up, it would be in the central Florida city of Orlando. This portends some change as most of the strength of the group in the past has been in Jacksonville, itself.

Various committees are at work in preparation for an annual membership meeting to be held January 15th and 16th, 1955.

**Kentucky:**

State Chairman -- Dr. Hugh A. Brimm.(A minister formerly head of a Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, and presently head of the Carver School of Missions at Louisville.)

Agency -- The Kentucky Council on Human Relations.

Kentucky likes the special arrangement which they have launched. They have chosen very carefully consultants, five white and five Negroes, located over the state, and are using them in program and in building membership. The members of the Board are particularly skilled and experienced people. While they have not yet employed the single high-type clerical person whom they wish to have for their central office, they have interviewed candidates and will probably hire someone soon. But they are a going concern, and certainly do not deserve listing in any semi-active category.

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**Tennessee:**

State Chairman -- Mr. F. Woods Beckman, (retired administrator; civic leader). 5908 Magazine Road, Knoxville, Tennessee. KNoxville 7-4038.

Agency -- The Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council virtually disbanded three years ago, and the job has been to get a new organization on its feet. They have set themselves up under the name of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. Have elected a broad Board of Directors, have divided the state into three areas, and plan -- Kentucky-fashion -- a somewhat different program for each area.

**Virginia:**

Cooperating State Executive -- Mr. C. Emerson Smith, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Council of Churches, Department of Christian Social Relations, 109 West Grace Street, Richmond. Telephone 3-0274.

A sub-section of the Virginia Council of Churches continues to serve in the field of race relations. We in the Southern Regional Council have worked out a basis of agreement with the Virginia Council of Churches under which SRC will assist into being a Virginia Council on Human Relations. Of this new body, the appropriate section of the Virginia Council of Churches will be formally one of the component groups. SRC's new agency will not seek a mass membership in the state, but will attempt increased coordination of a variety of individuals and agencies interested in progress in the field of race relations. The preliminary negotiations are accomplished, and the meeting is to be held in January or February which would establish the new agency.

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## 1954 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This was probably the best Board meeting the Council has ever had. Unusually good attendance and eager interest by the Board members in policy and program. It is clear from that Board meeting that we can depend on the Board in the future for more active participation in the Council's effort over all the South.

A strong Executive Committee was elected. Marion Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, was continued as president. Only a few vacancies were available on the Board. Toward filling them the preference of the Nominating Committee went to people with business or church connections. Among newly elected persons who have already accepted, were Mr. Hodding Carter, of Greenville, Mississippi, Mr. Jerome K. Crossman, an oil executive and past president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. I. H. Burney, a life insurance executive at Jacksonville, Florida.

## INFORMATION

We have been successful in our appeals to the Marshall Field Fund for additional money for New South, and to the Doris Duke Fund for money to enable us to bring in and get out through our own organizational channels, or through New South, a much more complete picture of what is going on in the South. New South will assume a new guise effective with its February issue, 1955. Among the functions described to the Doris Duke Foundation was what we have called research interpretation -- in reality a problem of translating into terms of this society the findings of social scientists on the whole matter of prejudice and discrimination. This will proceed as part of the expanded information program as soon as additional staff can be found and equipped.

Meanwhile, during the last three months, we have continued to service newspaper men, students, and other organizations with special information needs. Articles in which we have had a hand include one on Southern hate groups sent out by the Associated Press; a similar one in Time; one on the economic status of the Negro in Business Week; one on segregation in Newsweek, and others in the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor. The Virginia Law Review published a significant article on the prospects for integration in recreation, written at our suggestion and with the help of our materials by a brilliant young lawyer named Robert McKay. This analysis may be expected to have some influence on the shaping of future public policy in the Southern states.

The last three issues of New South have enjoyed a good bit of currency as shedding helpful light on the problems of integration: an authoritative analysis of the legalities of the situation; a perceptive field report on attitudes in the mountain South; an historic statement on the Supreme Court decision by Southern Negro educators; and the official progress report on integration in the armed services. None of these significant documents, so far as we know, has been made available elsewhere in print. The volume of requests for these materials shows a steady demand not only from within the South, but from other parts of the nation as well.

We will publish in January what we believe will be a uniquely useful resource -- a 120-page collection of articles from New South in the last decade laying out the main trends in Southern race relations. The background for the action needed today will thus be assembled between one set of covers. We are hopeful that it will prove a significant working tool in educational, church, and organizational activities.

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## LONG RANGE ON FUNDS

The Board meeting made provision for a place as treasurer of the Southern Regional Council, and it is intended to build the Finance Committee around that position. As yet, in spite of diligent efforts, we haven't found the treasurer, but we are trying and hope that before many weeks an effective Finance Committee will be at work.

Meanwhile, we see ourselves within reach of the fund-raising requirements placed on the central office for 1954-55 by the Fund for the Republic. There is a gap of three or four thousand dollars in the figures I keep on a memo pad, but we expect to close it.

Miss Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, will forward a complete fiscal report as soon as the auditor has reviewed the figures.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
1 East 54th Street

June 20, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh,

In reply to your request of June 15 I am glad to enclose six copies of the list of "key people" and six of the supplementary list.

I am sure you will put these to good use.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila C. Kislik

Sheila C. Kislik

Thanked -
22 June 55 -

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 20, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Board Member:

Here is some account of the months of January, February, and March, 1956.

TROUBLES

This has been the period of the flowering of the counter-attack from some layers in the South. The campaign was touched off by the article in the January, 1956 issue of Harper's by the Charleston editor, Tom Waring. The argument there was that the South's side of the argument had not been put. One by one considerable organs of national opinion began to hint that the court had gone too far and that the South was not ready and that the nation ought to ease up and be considerate. Meanwhile the Southern campaign against the NAACP which had thitherto been confined to muttered abuses in the vein of Gerald L. K. Smith and Co. went respectable. The best papers began to say that the South was caught between the two extremes of the Citizens Councils and the NAACP and needed cessation of activity of both. Then the leading political figures of the day said what was called for was moderation.

All of which adds up to pushing the point of view that the Court's decision is unenforceable -- at any rate now.

We have done what we could to steer the South and people from Northern journals toward progress instead of toward inaction.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LETTER

It has been for some time our view that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision would bring economic growth to the South and that defiance would bring industrial doldrums. As defiance mounted in pitch we thought it time to get our doctrine more widely into circulation. Accordingly, we released on March 5 an open letter to State Presidents of Chambers of Commerce in the seven Southern states that seemed to us more recalcitrant.

We spoke of the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, considerateness and good will.... of public policies on segregation dictated by fear and hysteria.... of defiance, resistance, nullification, repression, and intimidation. We went on to praise industrialization and questioned whether new industry sought by the South would be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools was in doubt, where tension and violence existed...., etc.

"Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

"If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences.

"For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together."

The release timed for March 5 got good play in the Southern press and started a ripple of interest in that point of view. At any rate only a few days later the New York Times came out with an important story about industry which had thought of branching out in the South, holding off; and a few days after that a widely-read columnist, Sylvia Porter, spoke quite vigorously of the economic stagnation involved in the course the South was charting. Here or there business people have counter-grumbled that Northern industry seems more anxious to come than ever!

HERE AND THERE

In the travel line, we have serviced toward desegregation Bluefield, West Virginia; a major gathering of Methodist ladies at New Orleans; a large local of Steelworkers in East Tennessee; local Church groups in Atlanta, and some other cities; our own Texas State annual meeting; and similar meetings at North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi; and an advisory group at Highlander Folk School.

Mrs. Tilly has been at her most diligent and effective these last three months, in a time of special strain across the South.

With careful planning ahead-of-time she has met with selective groups of Church women in Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Texas, South Carolina, and Alabama. In all these meetings she got to well over 1500 people.

And some of the meetings were specifically to plan numbers of local meetings which would follow up ideas brought out at the Statewide meetings.

The Alabama meeting was at Montgomery and leading personalities in the bus boycott were participants. The theme of the meeting was building bridges of understanding across racial lines. Mrs. Tilly said that as you listened you felt you were in the presence not exactly of Christians in the first century but of "the first Christians of this century." These were meetings and travel enough; but she squeezed in a Tennessee meeting of the United Church Women, a Brotherhood meeting at Emory University in Atlanta, a retreat at a white college in Northern Georgia, and heavy shares in a couple of denominational conferences in Atlanta. And in addition taught ten classes at local Churches, in World Peace.

We have all along said that when integration occurs it will be because the Church women of the South want it. Mrs. Tilly is doing more than anybody else to get them to want it.

Irene Osborne in this three month period has done carefully pre-arranged travel to our State people in Virginia, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama. In most places local friends make arrangements for her to be in touch with leaders of public opinion and in quite a few places with school officials. Everywhere she was eagerly accepted and she gave a straight practical message on how you get schools together. I think that one of the best things we have done is to get her sent around and heard.

## FINANCE COMMITTEE

At long last we have got the groundwork for a Finance Committee of the Board of Directors of the SRC. Those members from the Southwest met in New Orleans, March 9. Those from the Southeast in Atlanta, March 16. They all agreed that in each State something around two thousand dollars should be fetched together by them - one thousand for the office in Atlanta and one thousand for their own State organization. Performance is another matter, but we shall hope for the best.

## WHAT THIS OFFICE DOES

An old friend came in. District organizer for the Steelworkers. Trouble on his hands in Chattanooga and Charleston. The viewpoint of the White Citizens' Council has got into the locals. How can he rescue the locals?

By showing him analogous situations on a good many other fronts we brought him around to where he could see daylight in his own two situations.

* * *

Same day came in a man from the National office of the Urban League, Word is being put around in Southern city after city where local Urban Leagues depend on the Community Chest for support, that the Urban League helps get colored people into white people's jobs and that nobody should give to the Community Chest and expressed view that workers should refuse to solicit funds. Man wanted to know what to do.

Mostly on that we could only commiserate. But obviously the time will come when the nation will want to know the truth about the rabble rousers who spread this sort of thing.

* * *

A good friend writes in from Kentucky. "What time schedule should we propose for desegregation?" Wrote the man that it is no business of ours to say when American citizens should enjoy their rights. All we can do is contrive local meetings of white and Negro persons. Two weeks later get a letter from the man. Had been to a conference of his friends. "We decided that rather than talking about a time schedule.... the better approach is to consider the methods that are used. Consequently I must agree with you that a time schedule is the wrong approach."

* * *

An agency having supervision of important foreign visitors had steered a group to a Southern State and was having difficulty in arranging with local authorities any contact with the Negro community. Called us for advice. Arranged satisfactory contact in the next city to which the group went.

PEOPLE WANT INFORMATION

Naturally we get a steady stream of letters asking for facts. Nearly half from students. The rest from teachers, Church people and human relations agencies, or just plain individuals. Most of the high school inquiries come out of the Northeast and Northwest.

Here is a not too learned postcard from Brenda Yoes on East 169th Street in New York:

> Dear Sirs: our class 6-2 is having a debate on segregation I would like to know how you feel about it.

Or another from Brooklyn:

> Dear sir: May I please have some information on the Negroes?

A nice young lady sends information to all and sundry.

Ten or twelve people come by each week to pick up items of literature.

Two or three quite special letters every month. Here was a minister in Little Rock who wanted to know every town in the South which had bi-racial advisory committees on schools. We are much used as a source of information on how far things have gotten elsewhere in the South.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

I asked Mr. Alexander to make a list of the sort of things he has been doing.

He helped with getting up regional budget figures for meetings of the Executive Committee. Put together a batch of letters for Mr. Rufus Clement to send out to ask Board members to chip in and help with money. Took entire charge of servicing the Nominating Committee; and did most of the work of inviting the newly elected persons to come onto the Board. Makes all arrangements for meetings of the Executive Committee. Ditto the Finance Committee. Permanent opposite number in Atlanta for John Hope who runs the new training program - that is to say, the Administrative Assistant does all the chores for a program proceeding right across the South.

IN THE STATES

ALABAMA

Staff worked closely with national press in Miss Lucy affair and Montgomery bus boycott. Helped activate student religious organizations at University of Alabama to maintain law and order.

ARKANSAS

Staff and Board working on lost economic opportunities due to activities of pro-segregationists; State Board of Economic Development shows interest. SRC consultant team help workshop with staff and Board.

FLORIDA

Board working on grass roots membership drive. Open letter written to Florida Congressional delegation regretting signing of "Manifesto." Staff working with ministerial groups toward integration of same.

GEORGIA

Guy Wells, Executive Director, under fire from two State agencies. Title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women lifted without hearing by State Board of Regents; State Department of Education moved against his retirement fund, foiled by ruling of State Teachers' Retirement Fund Board upholding his right to freedom of speech. Atlanta Committee taking on new blood and new life.

KENTUCKY

Galen A. Martin, formerly Assistant Coordinator of the Electrical Consumers Information Committee (Washington, D.C.) employed as Executive Director. Extensive use of consultants with desegregating school systems underway.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans Committee issued statement following decision of District Federal Court holding State segregation laws unconstitutional; called for sober thought and honest action. Lake Charles local unit activated.

MISSISSIPPI

New President elected, Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, widow of prominent Delta planter. Rough situation in State has necessitated quiet action by staff and Board in contacting key people.

NORTH CAROLINA

Staff seeking cooperative effort with AFSC in western counties. Putting out topnotch newsletter. Interviews with school superintendents and advisory committees continuing. Dr. Frank Graham to speak at annual meeting.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Staff doing excellent job of documenting economic reprisals. Board member acting as conscience of S. C. through Letters-to-the-Editor. Work with women's groups continues. Second most difficult State in the South.

TENNESSEE

In process of reorganizing Board; seeking Executive Director; will continue consultant program. Local units active in Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis and Nashville.

TEXAS

Rev. Edwin G. Kloppe employed to replace Tom Sutherland who resigned as Executive Director. Rev. Kloppe on half-time basis. Working closely with organized labor and Texas Council of Churches.

VIRGINIA

Staff and Board recuperated from Gray Amendment fight. Working closely with Virginia Council of Churches and Labor. Executive Director writing for national publications. Local affiliates being organized.

WHAT GETS CALLED TRAINING

Apology for the name; we don't like it, but we don't know what else to call it.

We explained a long time ago that one of the next major moves is to bend social science people, Negro and white, in the South to the task of putting the schools together.

And we wanted to do this wherever we could in the presence of leading ones of our State people. That would be a device for getting skills into the hands of lay people. We always knew, on the side, that doing this would sharpen the skills in the hands of social science people.

The Fund for the Republic couldn't help us on getting this launched. We commandeered what was left of last year's State balance and set up $12,000 for giving this a try. To date we have spent six or seven thousand and can run it through May.

We got hold of Mr. John Hope to be a part-time Assistant Director of SRC and to run this program. He has been hooked to Fisk University for a good many years and most lately has been compiling for a Southern wing of the National Planning Association a notable series of reports on the degree to which integration had penetrated industrial employment in the South. (No great degree I may say). John's father was the first president of Atlanta University and John himself is a judicious man who gets things done. He got to work in December, 1955, and built a panel of consultants. Here they are:

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Assistant Professor of Psychology, City College of New York; Associate Director, Northside Center for Child Development, New York.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Dr. Robert Johnson, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dr. William Jones, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dr. Lewis M. Killian, Department of Sociology, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

Dr. Hylan Lewis, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University Atlanta, Georgia.

Mrs. Bonita Valien, Department of Sociology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Harry J. Walker, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. G. D. Wilson, Department of Education, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Miss Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, 104 "C" Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.

These people are available to us at thirty-five dollars a day, plus expenses.

The first purpose is to use them in panels to interchange ideas with our State people.

We have had three such meetings: Virginia, Arkansas, Texas. Total of fifty-five Board members came to the three meetings. Three such panels of consultants were used. Of the six consultants, five were Negro, one was white. From compressed accounts of those meetings I lift a phrase here and there... Chemical-like change took place when specialists and lay persons sat down together.... The consultants never said what to do but would ask, "Have you thought of trying this...." How do you work in a rural area where there isn't regular community organization structure....? How do we know when publicity is helpful, hurtful?.... Consultants deftly queried the group ostensibly for clarification but also to break the problem into manageable parts for constructive and systematic discussion next day.... It was a difficult meeting to close..... So you can see what goes on.

Then for a further thrust of the same thing we fetched together late in March Board people and the State paid staffs from the toughest States: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina. This we called the "Hard Core Conference."

A most instructive occasion. The pith of the argument came down to whether in pursuit of conciliation of disputes racial in character our State staff would be well advised, in denial of any purpose to destroy segregation, to conciliate at all costs. Some said, "Never deny your principles." Others said, "Well, you don't have to go around with a six-inch button on your coat which says: 'Jim Crow Must Go.' Your task is to take what you have and make what you need. Without denying one's principles one can build the new society."

That wasn't quite as far as I and some others would have gone, but you see the tendency. And the beautiful thing about this meeting and the other meetings of the consultants we have had in Atlanta (and elsewhere) was that these eager, sensitively-trained consultants sensed from afar workable, practical solutions. One or two in their number said in effect, "You speak of compromise. There can be no compromise. The law is the law and people must obey." Such statements were met with stony glances. Delicious to see unfolding purpose to take away the rocks.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

January-March, 1956

Press Relations

During these three months, the SRC's work of assisting newsmen, magazines, radio and TV was the heaviest in its history. Tension and conflict in the South have given "outside" reporters an incentive to understand and interpret the region in more depth than in the past. Hence, we have had increased opportunity to get helpful background and analysis into the mass media.

New York Times Survey

SRC staff contributed to both the initial planning and final evaluation of the Times' nine-man survey of the South. We consulted and advised on the overall project. Each of our State affiliates was alerted in advance and cooperated fully with the Times man assigned to the respective State. We think it was an important and useful treatment and are glad to have had a part in shaping it.

Montgomery and Tuscaloosa

The Alabama Council on Human Relations (most particularly its Director, Robert Hughes) played an invaluable part in aiding sound press coverage of the disturbed Alabama scene. Hughes was on the spot during the crucial developments in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa; put newsmen in touch with bona fide Negro leadership and interracial activities. He also quietly assisted student religious groups at the University in organizing and expressing positive campus sentiment. During the height of the disturbances, the central staff was in frequent communication with Hughes. One of the Alabama Council's leading members, the Rev. Thomas B. Thrasher, wrote an excellent article on the Montgomery situation for the March 8 issue of The Reporter.

New York Trip

The Assistant Director for Information spent three days in New York in mid-February, on various missions. Most useful perhaps were background conferences on Southern coverage with the editorial staff of Life, Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly for See It Now, Phil Horton of The Reporter, and the education editor of Time.

The Economic Factor

SRC has long been aware of potential economic restraints on Southern resistance and has sought opportunities to call them to public attention. The current focus on the South provided a good chance. On March 5, the SRC issued a publicized statement addressed to Southern Chambers of Commerce pointing out the danger to the South's economy of the present defiant course. This danger, in terms of industrial recruitment, school-bond marketing, and business boycotts, has since been spelled out in the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, Business Week, and Sylvia Porter's syndicated column. SRC worked with correspondents for these publications and is now disseminating articles in an effort to mobilize constructive leadership in the business community.

Wells Case

As reported elsewhere, Dr. Guy Wells of the Georgia Committee was the object of a major attack by Georgia's pro-segregation leadership. SRC's information staff worked closely with Dr. Wells on press relations, with generally gratifying results.

Other major briefings included representatives of the Associated Press, United Press, AP News features, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, McNaught Syndicate, Minneapolis Tribune, Newsweek, Time's Southeastern Bureau, New Republic, Southern School News, CBS, London Economist, Look, and several Southern dailies. George Martin of the Fund for the Republic's Newsfilm Project spent several days here and in Alabana, assisting and being assisted by us. We are in frequent communication with Martin and his assistant regarding race-relations developments in the South.

Special Fact-Finding Program

The program assisted by a grant of $50,000 from the Fund for the Republic on February 15, 1956, is under way. It was decided that a speedy inventory of desegregation in the seventeen Southern and border States should go forward before the basic machinery of the program was perfected. Accordingly, the Assistant Director for Information and the Research Assistant have given this effort top priority, and a temporary staff member has been added to assist in it. She is Mrs. Bem Price, now of Washington, D.C., formerly with the Associated Press bureau in Atlanta. Mrs. Price's years of experience as a wire service reporter and in public relations work have equipped her well to help us assemble this information. In addition to her field work, we have sent mail queries to each of our State affiliates and to other likely sources.

Central staff conferred in February with Mr. David Loth, who has received a Fund for the Republic grant to do a comparable desegregation inventory for the non-South. We worked out with Mr. Loth a fact-finding schedule which we believe will make possible ultimately a joint publication of the two reports. It is already clear, however, that some of the Southern

data will have to be summarized without using names and places, since the principals involved feel that publicity would jeopardize the success of their efforts.

The desegregation inventory and the recent extraordinary demands of press relations have made it impossible to proceed at full speed on the setting up of the fact-finding machinery in the States. However, we have assembled the names of likely social analysts and, in several cases, have had preliminary discussion with them. Late in March, the Assistant Director for Information held a two-day conference with Prof. Nicholas Demerath of the University of North Carolina, Prof. Mozell Hill of Atlanta University, Prof. C. H. Parrish, and other SRC staff members on the fact-finding program. We are now going forward with the plans developed: (1) Southwide survey of Negro suffrage as priority number one; (2) selection of six strategically located social scientists to serve as coordinators for their areas; (3) a top-flight specialist on suffrage in the South as a central adviser. Demerath has agreed to channel the views of his colleagues in the research field to us and to serve, from time to time, as a consultant to the program. The suffrage project should be well advanced by the time of the next quarterly report.

Publications

The normal flow of materials from SRC to the State groups and key persons in the South continues. New South shows a steady rise in circulation; approximately 5,000 copies are consumed in a normal month. The article by Howard Grimes describing integration in the SMU Theological School (February issue) won particular plaudits; it was distributed by the Friends Service Committee to two-hundred selected educators in the South, and rated a special story in the New York Times. In response to requests from our State groups, a pamphlet has been issued reprinting the two Supreme Court school decisions, with an analysis by Robert Leflar. Other materials of special interest or program use continue to be distributed through our State groups and otherwise.

FOREIGN VISITORS

For the record again, the foreign visitors:

Mr. Frank Tomney, Labor Party Representative, British Parliament.

Mr. Keith Kyle, Foreign Correspondent for The Economist (London).

Miss Susan King-Hall, Journalist, England.

Miss Sqrwat Qureshi, Chief Welfare Officer, Thal Development Authority, Jauharabad, Pakistan.

Mr. Toshimitsu Fukada - Editor Nishinippon Shimbun, Fukuoka, Japan.

Mr. Takashi Suzuki, Aichi Prefecture of Central Japan, Managing Editor of the Chubu Nippon Shimbun, Toyohashi City, Japan.

Mr. Seetaka Hatanaka, President Minami-Nippon Shimbun and Radio Minaminippon.

Mr. Shiro Shimada, Chief Editor and Chief of the Reporting Department, Kumamoto Nichinichi Shimbun, Kumamoto City, Japan.

Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Chairman of the Liberal Party, Capetown, South Africa.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef;o

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 22, 1956

Dear Board Member:

This is the last quarter of the two-and-a-half years of aid to the Southern Regional Council from the Fund for the Republic; and of the second year of aid from SRC to state organizations. Therefore, this has been a time for planning and cogitating and assessing.

Less than heretofore of running around to speaking engagements. Mitchell did bits here and there for church and school groups. Twice to the mountains for such appearances. Once to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, and to other such Institutes at Pennsylvania State University and the University of Michigan. Twice to New York, once for some meeting of the American Jewish Congress, and once for a speech before the editorial staff of Time-Life-Fortune. A week-long session with the Texas Federation of Labor. Two runs to Tennessee, trying to get a state organization aloft there.

One most interesting occasion was the meeting arranged in Washington in September by Father Shean of Rock Hill, where substantial agreement appeared to SRC's method of fetching local people together to plan on the facts what they had best do about the school system.

ORGANIZATION

Quite a good deal has moved along in the way of organizing SRC. The Executive Committee had a satisfying two-day session at St. Helena's Island in South Carolina July 21-22. Later on the Nominating Committee of the Board of Directors of SRC met and made its selections of additional names to be chosen to the Board and for officers and for the Executive Committee.

At the July meeting of the Executive Committee Mitchell told the Committee that he would, in January, 1957, fulfill on his long-term plans and resign his valued job as Executive Director of SRC, and prepare for a transferral to the Scottish Highlands. Subsequently, a special subcommittee of the Executive Committee has figured out what to do about a replacement, and has fastened upon a recommendation of a successor to Mitchell, for possible election by the November 14-15, 1956 Board meeting.

And the Executive Committee took action looking toward the end of SRC aid to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations at the end of this calendar year. The Mississippi Council has let us know that they will keep going as a volunteer body.

Further on the matter of organization: SRC, at its central office a little better than squeaked over the top in its year-long effort to raise independently of the Fund for the Republic $55,000, in order to enable it to qualify for the third increment of the original 1954 grant from the Fund for the Republic. And the state organizations have, with three exceptions, met their fund-raising quotas also; and one or two of the exceptions will probably have finished their campaigns within another few days or weeks.

## THE WORK WITH CHURCH WOMEN

Mrs. Tilly writes: the days are so full and the evenings often are fuller still. Yet to make a report on engagements, the hours of studying, planning, working, in summary seems little.

I taught three study classes each eight hours, on "Mission U.S.", a study challenging church women to accept a mission to our country. Taught a week at School of Missions, Emory University, and made the exhibits for the school. I was the speaker for one evening.

Held a two-days Retreat for the United Church Women of Georgia at a country camp. The preparation for this required many hours. All the denominations were represented. Dr. Malcolm Calhoun and Dr. George Mitchell threw out the challenges of these days to us. At the evening session, there was so much freedom the women plainly laid before us all their prejudices -- Sherman's march through Georgia, protection of our daughters, etc. To each, someone had an answer. The tenseness disappeared. It was a great spiritual experience for all of us.

I made nine talks to various groups. Much of my time was spent in planning for the Workshop for the Fellowship of the Concerned -- October 30-31, 1956.

THE STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Parrish has been in for major meetings, and for a good but never adequate number of staff occasions. Fred Routh, out of two years of work with the state organizations contributes now a reflective essay on the experience:

Students and observers of the Southern scene have long recognized the diverse nature of their region; the concept of a "solid South" has been recognized as false. Thus, when the Southern Regional Council sought to assist the process of adjustment to the Supreme Court's ruling, which declared segregation on the basis of race in the public schools unconstitutional, a decentralized approach seemed most promising.

The Southern Regional Council went about the task of establishing in the twelve states of the Southern region affiliated state organizations which would grow in autonomy and self-support over a three year period.

At the end of two and one-half years of effort in this direction, it can be said that the work has not been in vain, indeed it has met with considerable success. There are twelve functioning state organizations, though it must be added that one has only recently started to move, and another, Mississippi, has not proved effective enough to justify further aid from SRC. In the remaining states, however, integrated lay Boards of Directors and professional staff have been of service to the process of desegregation.

In Kentucky, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, state affiliates have worked directly with school boards, either state or local, to plan what might be done toward desegregating local school systems. In three of these states -- Kentucky, Texas and Arkansas -- the state affiliates have contributed to successful efforts to achieve desegregation. The Kentucky affiliate has been working, with some success, with the State Board of Education on the problem of teacher integration. The Arkansas Council did noble service in the Hoxie situation. The Texas Commission played a significant role in testifying before the State Board of Education's public hearings.

Several of the states, notably Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, and Texas, have created and extended a group of local affiliated groups, thus reaching down to the grass roots level.

South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama have done a good job of documenting instances of economic reprisal and pressure against Negroes and whites who stood for integration.

In the hard-core area of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina the efforts have largely consisted of a holding action against the currents of prejudice and reaction. Yet

even in this area there have been accomplishments. During the little more than two years since the Supreme Court decision, opposition has hardened in the region, and lines have been more closely drawn. Some people who were for "good" race relations under the old separate-but-equal doctrine have left the ranks of pro-integration organizations and are either silent or, in some instances, have joined White Citizens Councils or other resistance movements. In spite of this, the state affiliates continue to grow in membership and fund-raising ability.

On the negative side of the ledger, at a time when the needs of the region and individual states cry for full-time program activities, professional staff has been occupied with other matters. A great deal of effort has gone, by necessity, into purely organizational work; staff time has had to be given to membership recruitment; in too many instances state staff have been saddled with fund-raising. State organizations -- mainly with two professionals at most -- have been called upon to provide a wide range of needed skills.

The central office has developed a set of criteria for evaluating state affiliates. Heaviest weight is given to integrated Board and staff and to program effectiveness; other considerations include memberships gained, funds raised, public recognition, publications, and involvement of key people.

Increasingly in the past year state groups have run into resistance forces beyond their power to cope with. There has been a solidification of resistance across state lines -- it has become regional in nature and national in impact. The central office has been called upon time and again to assist the state organizations or local communities to help offset this growing monolith.

As we face the third and last year of the current grant the central office will seek to give the state organizations a further push toward autonomy and self-support. Special regional effort is needed to create a climate in which state groups can function. More effective means of meeting region-wide attacks by resistance groups must be devised. Further methods of offsetting the propaganda of the segregationists must be developed. While continuing to assist and cooperate with affiliated state organizations, the central office must strengthen its regional functions if the state groups are to have a chance at success and longevity.

| NAME | TOTAL PAID TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS BY SRC 10/1/55-9/30/56 | FUND RAISING GOAL ESTIMATED & NOTIFIED BY LETTER 8/7/56 | FUNDS RAISED BY SEPTEMBER 30, 1956 | TOTAL MEMBERSHIP SEPTEMBER 30, 1956 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | $ 8,033.00 | $ 2,500.00 | $ 2,977.46 | 502 |
| Florida | 12,750.12 | 3,500.00 | 5,263.21 | 406 |
| Georgia | 12,750.12 | 3,500.00 | 4,372.74 | 676 |
| Kentucky | 8,122.00 | 2,000.00 | 2,270.79 | 259 |
| Louisiana | 7,635.00 | 2,000.00 | 2,052.15 | 270 |
| North Carolina | 12,110.00 | 3,500.00 | 4,032.00 | 526 |
| South Carolina | 12,550.00 | 3,500.00 | 3,501.03 | 407 |
| Texas | 11,800.00 | 3,500.00 | 2,347.75* | 201 |
| Virginia | 10,660.00 | 3,500.00 | 4,859.17 | 606 |
| Arkansas | 12,750.12 | 3,500.00 | 2,087.70 | 168 |
| Mississippi | 11,800.00 | 3,500.00 | 2,377.51 | 272 |
| Tennessee | 5,412.75 | 1,500.00 | 984.39 | 201 |
| Totals | $126,373.23 | $36,000.00 | $37,125.90 | 4,494 |

*unofficial

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THE STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH

Harold Fleming writes:

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs" for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

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SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion-makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble -- and disseminate -- specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic

arguments for desegregation -- arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

## CONSULTANTS' HOPE

John Hope, with his consultants service program, did Georgia toward the end of September. They had quite a good attendance from the Board of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, and some of the choicest of the consultants. Much was learned in a two-day occasion.

Approximately fifty participants, white and colored, from communities large and small all over Georgia (Atlanta, Macon, Gainesville, Rome, Monticello, Augusta, LaGrange), contributed to the success of this conference. It marked a new phase in SRC's consultant service program of assistance to state affiliates.

The conference was organized and developed by the staff and consultants of the Georgia Committee, in cooperation with SRC staff and two SRC consultants. Dr. William Jones of the University of Tennessee and Dr. Herman Long of the Race Relations Department at Fisk University, SRC consultants, joined eight Georgia state consultants in conducting three free flowing but intensive discussion groups.

Specific concern the question of how community leaders could develop workable programs aimed at the desegregation of the public schools. The three discussions of ten to fifteen persons each were built around the following questions: How do we mobilize and organize the community for effective action to eliminate segregation and dissemination? (Community Organization); how do we determine the essential body of facts (information) needed by this organized group? (Fact-Finding and Self-Survey); and how do we communicate the necessary information to the community as means of getting action?

The problem of widely differing social climates in various communities and the implications of problems arising from such difficulties were carefully canvassed as an element in formulating programs of action that would effectively involve key leadership in the various communities in the process of public school desegregation and other timely projects aimed at equalizing opportunity at the community level.

After two sessions of open informal discussion, reports of the findings of each group were made to the total conference, and a thorough discussion followed, giving opportunity for all to share in the findings of each intensive discussion group. An interpretive summary, based on the joint findings of Fred Routh and Hylan Lewis, was presented by Fred Routh.

The significant new departure in this conference was the use of a technical analyst, Dr. Hylan Lewis, who observed the proceedings, and will appraise with recommendations for improvements. This will provide the basis for continuing improvement in our leadership training and involvement effort and efficiency of the consultant's service program.

## FOREIGN VISITORS

| | |
|---|---|
| July 23 | Peter H. Chew, Student, Balliol College, Oxford, England. |
| July 30 | Dr. Georges Housiaux, Socialist member of the Chamber of Representatives, maintains a law practice in Huy. 13 Rue des Vignes, Huy, Belgium. |
| Aug. 3 | George Thomas, member of Chairman's Panel, House of Commons, and a Methodist Lay Minister. House of Commons, London. |
| Aug. 10 | Seth Kobla Anthony, until recently: Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior; next winter: Senior diplomatic post with the newly created Foreign Service of the Gold Coast. P. O. Box 1115, Accra, Gold Coast. |
| Aug. 20 | Mr. Gendikas, Athens, Greece. Recent graduate from Columbia University in engineering. |
| Aug. 25 | Mrs. Ai Kumi, Lawyer, Japan. |
| Sept. 11 | Michael A. Foster, Student. Balliol College, Oxford, England |
| Sept. 11 | Kenneth Adams, Student. Balliol College, Oxford, England "Applegarth", Stocksfield, Northumberland, England |

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Sept. 17 Masotsha Mike Hove, Member of Parliament of Central African Federation, P. O. Box 1893, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

Sept. 18 Georges Brausch, Government Official, Belgian Congo

THE AUDIT

Mrs. Ruth Alexander, as Secretary-Treasurer, will report in detail on figures as soon as the Auditor completes his work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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# THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By Leslie W. Dunbar

# The Southern Regional Council

By Leslie W. Dunbar

Abstract: The Southern Regional Council evolved from the Commission on Interracial Co-operation formed in 1919. Shaped by and shaping Southern history, it has reflected whatever has been best in Southern ideals, taking its present structure in war-year (1944) optimism and declaring against segregation in 1951. Odum's founding vision sought to solve the South's racial problems through a commanding regional body's oblique attack on underlying stresses—economic, social, political—but events early forced the Council to focus on race solely. Disruption of traditional racial patterns by the civil rights movement may now allow a shift in emphasis from human relations to human resources. Commitment combined with objectivity has been the hallmark of publications and information services. The council comprises a co-optative board of 100, which directs policy, and a staff. Autonomous but in close liaison are state Councils on Human Relations which have general membership. Because the Council is noncompetitive and has enjoyed trust, it frequently administers programs through and with other agencies. Flexible and unencumbered by restraining policies, the Council looks to embody a future South of constructive dialogue and cultivation of resources.

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*Leslie W. Dunbar, Ph.D., Atlanta, Georgia, has taught at Cornell University, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke College. He worked for the Atomic Energy Commission, 1951–1954, and was a Guggenheim Fellow, 1954–1955. He was Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council from 1954 to 1961 and has been Executive Director of that organization since 1961. He has contributed articles to various journals and magazines.*

THE Southern Regional Council (SRC), twenty years old in 1964 and successor organization to the former Commission on Interracial Co-operation begun in 1919, has been an indigenous strand of Southern history. In some measure, which others must estimate, it has also helped shape that history. Contrary to the view widely held, a concern for racial justice and democracy has always been an element of the Southern tradition, and, even when ineffective and hard-pressed, was never altogether extinguished among the region's whites. The Council has embodied and increased this element, deriving strength and opportunities from its growth, shortcomings from its vicissitudes.

### FORMATION

The Council was formed during the war years, at one of those occasional moments in the region's history when there was a widespread opening of the mind of the white South to a disposition toward, and even a hope for, change. Indeed, without this happy climate the Council would not, perhaps could not, have been established. But a large part of the Council's difficulties since have had their origin in the same happy fact. For the Council was intended by its founders to be a body of commanding regional stature and authority; indeed, the prominence of a large number of the 292 white persons who signed the "Atlanta Statement" of 1943 promised that it would be. This founding assumption withered quickly, however, as the liberal moment passed and prestigious names deserted the infant they had helped birth, and as over the South Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. When the Council in 1951 took an explicit and public stand against segregation, many—but not all!—remaining whites of power quietly departed. In the last few years, there has been a return, not of the same persons, of course, but of new men of prominence, and the white side of Council membership again approximates in distinction the Negro membership.

If it may seem passing strange for an employee of the Council to write in these detached terms of it, the explanation is at once both simple and basic. For the Council, as was said before, is a part of the South's history, and one must look at it not only with love but with realism. The Council never had nor has a realistic chance to be anything more than the South at its best. It can never exceed—though of course it can fall short of—its environment of men and ideals and intelligence.

### AIMS AND METHODS

The intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council was Howard W. Odum, who saw in its creation the possibility of an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development. True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the Council set out in its early days with all these interests. Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations. Somewhat paradoxically, Odum's strategy may now, twenty years later, be the road for continued usefulness of the Council.

Again, this is said with the detachment that sees the Council not merely as an organization to which one has grown deeply attached and identified,

but as the representative of liberalism in the Southern region. The civil rights movement will have overcome the old race relations of the South for but unsatisfying results if the same energy and intelligence are not soon addressed to making the political, social, and economic life of the region—and the nation—adequately responsive to the needs of the newly emancipated people; this is to say that emphasis must shift from the cultivation of human relations to the cultivation of human resources.

Even in the boldness of its first days, the Council proposed as its methods research, information, and interracial dialogue. Essentially, these are still the methods. Especially since 1951, when the Council publicized its stand against segregation, its research and information work has been faced with an interesting challenge. Thoroughly committed to one side of the era's most bitter controversy, the Council has, nevertheless, claimed objectivity and factual accuracy for its research publications and information services. Combining partisan commitment and objectivity is sufficiently rare as to be a delight for those who attempt it, and the steady growth of attention to the Council's publications and the rather dizzying increase of demand on its information services suggest that the attempt has not failed.

Early publications of the Council had an impressive circulation. Among them, such pamphlets as *The South: America's Opportunity Number One* (1945); Rupert B. Vance, *Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation,* with an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia (1946); and Dorothy Dickens' *Wanted: A Healthy South* (1946) reveal something of the initial thrust of the Council. Among the many publications of this pre-1954 period, another which had wide attention and direct influence on Southern practices was *Race in the News* (1950). The Council has always had a basic interest in limitations on suffrage, and has reported and commented frequently. Two pamphlets in particular, released in 1957 and 1959, and both written by Margaret Price, had substantial impact on the legislative history of the civil rights acts. *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights* (1961) received careful attention by the incoming Kennedy Administration. George McMillan's *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement* (1960) has been widely used in Southern police training. Vivian W. Henderson, *The Economic Status of Negroes* (1963) and Robert Coles, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study* (1963) offered light and bearing on basic issues. Many of the Council's recent publications have sought to interpret confused events to a perplexed but deeply concerned nation; an example of these was Howard Zinn's *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (1962). With caution, SRC has ventured into book publication; to date, there have been Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Indiana University Press, 1961); Muse, *Ten Years of Prelude* (Viking, 1964); and James McBride Dabbs, *Who Speaks For the South?* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1964). Through the years, a monthly magazine, *New South,* has come out.

## THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In 1954, the Council ceased being a membership organization in the usual sense. Originally, it had absorbed and maintained several state groups created under the guidance of its predecessor, the former Commission. Now it was to decentralize, establishing in the various Southern states Councils on Human Relations, to which all membership was transferred and which, about 1957, became legally autonomous bodies. The Southern Regional Council is now a cooptative body of about 100 members.

Between it and the state Councils on Human Relations the relationship that has developed is somewhat like that between parents and their adult children: as intimate as desired, but not binding. The state councils are an expression of the "grass roots" philosophy of one of my predecessors, the late and much beloved Dr. George S. Mitchell. They, and their many local chapters, give strength, outreach, and a capacity for local attentiveness and action. It is within them that the old, and still firmly held, belief in the essentiality of interracial contact and dialogue and co-operative action on real problems is today largely expressed.

The present stucture has also had the unintended beneficial consequence that, freed from the exigencies of a mass membership, SRC has during these years of tension been able to move, usually quietly but generally freely and effectively—one believes—in field work of many kinds. There have also been unending consultations with people well outside the orbit of civil rights movement; during these years, the much lamented breakdown of communication between the races has not been nearly so real as that between the white South and the rest of the nation, and SRC has been one of the few open transmission lines.

A not so beneficial consequence has been that the new structure almost inevitably yielded, as a by-product, a heavily staff-oriented operation for SRC. This has enabled SRC to develop an unusual degree of flexibility of program and versatile staff skills; but surely long-run interests, not only of the organization but of the liberalism which it expresses for the South, require that the SRC lay membership—"the board"—resume active policy direction. Or, to put it differently, in the days of "massive resistance," when only defense strategies were possible, they were probably best left to the professionals; in the fluid and progressive present, lay leadership all over the South must assert itself in behalf of the new opportunities.

This is not to say that the "board" is idle. Its members comprise a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, active in all fields of struggle and reform. But for the most part the conspicuous leadership they supply is outside the program activities of the Council itself. They greatly strengthen that program, however, and not only by the weight of their names. At least as important is the base they give to SRC's strategic contacts and influences throughout the region, and the deeper dimensions they give to the staff's understanding of events and policies by their frequent informal reports.

There seems to be a growing intellectual awareness throughout the nation that some measure of conflict, even a large one at times, is indispensable to social reform. Yet concurrently, we have the emergence and growth of the new profession of "intergroup relations," which has always, even though sometimes unacknowledged, the aim of minimizing if not preventing conflict, and of containing it whenever loosed. Another paradox is that the most radical wing of the civil rights movement has a thorough intellectual devotion—almost obsession—to a fuzzy "power structure" theory of social control and change, surely almost the purest of conservative theories.

### THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Undoubtedly a good bit of SRC's work, both in the field and at the writing desk, in the decade since 1954 has sought to minimize conflict and to reach the "power structure." More in keeping with the founding vision of SRC has been the program which since early 1962 has been its largest; that is, the administration of the Voter Education

Project. Here is a combined effort by all the principal civil rights groups and many local Negro organizations to increase voter registration dramatically and, in decisive places, decisively. The Project, which will close its field work in late 1964, promises to telescope into a couple of years the voting growth which by normal trends would have taken a decade or more. Voting is no panacea and registration even less so, but without them there is no progress at all.

From the Project, SRC will draw and publish research findings, directed at the question of the effectiveness of organized activity to counterbalance depressing socioeconomic conditions. But for the present, the Project can illustrate another facet of the SRC program. Only because SRC is a noncompetitive and generally trusted agency has it been able to administer the Voter Education Project. In other ways too numerous to list, a great deal of SRC's activities involve co-operation with other agencies.

## THE FUTURE

As the Voter Education Project is loyal to SRC's founding hopes, so too is the state Council on Human Relations movement. The ties between the state groups and SRC are today drawing steadily closer, and nearly everywhere the state groups and their local chapters are stronger than they have ever been. How they may prosper in the future depends chiefly on two questions. Can they shift from being defensive bands, waging a brave fight against hostile racists, to the role of creative artisans, contributing to an intelligent and humane cultivation of all the human resources of the region? Will white and Negro liberals of the South continue to find a biracial association a valued instrument for achieving their interests?

SRC's own future depends also on these same questions. We shall have the rule of civil rights in the South, but only the bold would today predict whether we shall also have an integrated social order. We stand a better chance of building one if Negroes and whites continue to believe that it is worth-while to join and work with each other, with a candor which embraces their separate identities and their common interests. The Council has taken pride in being a useful organization, free of restraining strategies and versatile enough to meet many issues. For the future, how the Council may evolve depends, as it always has, on the configuration of Southern society.

# THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

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## I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined

themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that

[1]W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South.* N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee.* N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream.* N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers,* depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

[2]Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

*Fathers and Sons,* when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

## II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation

[4]Myrdal, *op. cit.,* p. li.

[5]There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today*. For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, White supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit non-whites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

## III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "four-score and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new na-

[6]A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

tion conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as

humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administra-

[8]*Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9]See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

tions have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

[10]See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11]The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

## IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy

[12]cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1958.

requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we

[13]Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution,* March 1958; and "Regional

can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Préjudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

## V

Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

[14]Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15]I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old

unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against ~~300~~ 30 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

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# The Annealing of the South

By

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# THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

*Anneal:* to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society

loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War,

and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Ne-

groes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines com-

mittee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

# A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"

*By Benjamin Muse*

SOME OF THE misinformation and scientific error which we have to combat in Virginia and the South I find gathered together in handy form in a book which descended upon us last summer entitled *Race and Reason.* This book is written in a scholarly style; it is redolent with erudition and crowded with impressive allusions. But in substance it is like the exhortation of a Ku Klux Kleagle who has exchanged his bed sheet for an academic cap and gown. If the reader has abundant patience and a strong stomach, it can serve a useful purpose as a compendium of current misinformation on the subject of race.

A casual reader who is new to the subject, or whose reading has been confined to the Citizens Council type of commentary, might guess from the text that the author had devoted a long career to scientific studies related to the races of man. But the author is Mr. Carleton Putnam, a former airlines executive, who retired six years ago and turned first to writing biography — a biography of Theodore Roosevelt. His career as an anthropologist started three years ago, and that more or less by accident.

Mr. Putnam is a Northerner, a "Yankee,' as the cover of his book proclaims—which lends a flavor of generous comradeship and dramatic emphasis to his message. He was seized with a feeling that the segregationists of the South were getting the runaround in the national controversy, and he resolved to bring his superior talents to their rescue. "I could not but believe," he explained in his book, "that so far as it lay within my powers my purpose should be to embolden their anthropologists and relieve their consciences."

It was an article by our own Virginius Dabney and an editorial rebuttal, which appeared in *Life Magazine* in September, 1958, which kindled the flame in Mr. Putnam's bosom. He rallied to the segregationist cause in a letter to *Life,* then a longer one to President Eisenhower and one to Attorney General Rogers. The first two of these letters received only perfunctory acknowledgment and the third was not acknowledged. But copies of the so-called "Putnam letters" were widely circulated and published in the South. A committee in Birmingham, Alabama, raised upwards of $40,000 and had the letter to the President reprinted as advertising in various Northern newspapers. Though the letters and their author were thunderously ignored in the rest of the nation, Carleton Putnam was hailed in the South as a "Daniel come to judgment." He was "overwhelmed," to use his own words, "with courtly expressions of gratitude."

The demand for a more extensive expression of Mr. Putnam's views was obvious; hence *Race and Reason.* The author worked with a celerity which

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was remarkable. By the following August the book was practically written; on August 3 he addressed a manuscript to various persons, among whom I had the honor of being included, for possible comment. Where lesser men had spent a lifetime in laborious pursuit of anthropological truth, Mr. Putnam in ten months had exhausted the accumulation of pertinent scientific knowledge and found the answers. He came down from the mountain with the final peremptory truth locked in his handsome brief case.

I met the author at a dinner while the book was incubating, and let me say that Mr. Putnam is a gentleman of distinguished presence and impeccable courtesy. He is sincere, I think, in his belief that he has uncovered a transcendental truth that others who have dabbled in anthropology have been unable to grasp. I was surprised, however, when he asked me to recommend some books on the race problem, as he hadn't read much in this field.

In our brief conversation, Mr. Putnam was obsessed with what he calls "equalitarianism." He argued from the unshakable premise that the opponents of segregation are trying to make all men equal.

In a brief correspondence which we had, I wrote to Mr. Putnam:

"I might go farther than you in advocating discrimination, in the sense of selectivity, in education. I submit that your basic error lies in using race as a criterion."

It seems as simple as that. But the "equalitarianism" confusion runs all the way through *Race and Reason,* and its segregationist readers are given a long new word to apply to their opponents. "Equalitarians" are denounced with monotonous redundancy.

I don't know any equalitarians; none of us seeks to make all men equal in personal attainment, or imagines that such a thing would be possible. But, though "equalitarianism" may be a new word to some, the idea which it vaguely suggests is familiar to all of us, and it is one of the major stumbling blocks on the road to interracial understanding. Mr. Putnam's confusion is the confusion of thousands of even well-meaning Southerners. Integration is envisioned as a process of bringing poor, ignorant and uncouth Negroes in to have dinner with educated white people, or into the Country Club. Many a white person is afraid that his expensive restaurant will be invaded by Negro janitors; it never seems to occur to him that white share-croppers never visit his restaurant.

All of us believe in deference to intellect and ability. No one wants to see an unskilled laborer, whether white or colored, accorded the same respect, rewards and privileges as the president of Harvard University, for instance — or the president of Howard University. The monstrous error lies, of course, in judging any individual by his race.

Mr. Putnam is apparently prepared to stand or fall on the proposition that Negroes are inferior in innate ability to whites, but he has gathered together in *Race and Reason* a few odds and ends not directly related to his anthropological thesis. He doesn't raise this unpleasant subject himself, but when a correspondent asks the question, he says: "The Communists have made the integration movement a part of their conspiracy."

We have heard that smear *ad nauseum,* and we have found that those who throw it around are rarely capable of rational cogitation. But one comment occurs to me in passing. The Communists *do* pose as enemies of race discrimination, and, by the apparent rule-of-thumb, we should be against

anything the Communists are for and for anything the Communists are against. Now I read that the Communists are taking measures against alcoholism and that they are sternly in favor of sexual morality. It seems obvious that those who are completely hostile to Communism should go on an alcoholic binge. And, if sexual morality is a part of the Communist conspiracy, where does that leave the red-blooded superpatriot?

Another one of the simple-minded people who provided Mr. Putnam with questions asked:

"It makes my blood boil every time I see a Southerner bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro. How can anyone take sides with such people?"

The thought doesn't make Mr. Putnam's blood boil. His answer:

"Two wrongs don't make a right. The fact that it is wrong to bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro does not make it right to integrate him. . . ."

It is obvious that the white man who bullies a Negro is not on the point of integrating him, and we are left with the essential answer: "Two wrongs don't make a right."

That would not be the Ku Klux Klan answer; it is a cut above that. The Klansman views bullying Negroes as a wholly righteous exercise and, if the Negro doesn't resist, he sees no wrong on either side. The two-wrongs comment is an apt illustration of the attitude of the more decorous Citizens Councils and of a shockingly large element of the white public. It is evidenced in the common practice of arresting Negro victims and allowing white bullies to go free. After interracial violence, however orderly and passive and irreproachable the behavior of the Negro victims may have been in the face of white aggression, we hear the unctuous comment: "There are two sides to the question." — or: "Both sides were at fault."

When a white man bullies a Negro, it is not one wrong but two. The Negro is also wrong. He is wrong just by being a Negro, and, when he is unhappy with segregation his sin is compounded.

Mr. Putnam probably didn't mean to be as blunt as that. A strain of lofty benevolence runs through most of his book. Following a familiar practice of racist propagandists, he calls great and good men to the witness stand however remote in time or place their range of vision may have been from the situation to which his argument is addressed. The author quotes voluminously from Lincoln's reflections on the situation which he observed over a century ago, and to be perfectly fair he quotes also from Lincoln's debating contemporary, Stephen A. Douglas; he cites the comment of Lord Bryce on conditions existing in 1880; he brings in observations of the saintly Albert Schweitzer on the savages of Lambaréné as if that great humanitarian were talking about the Negro American; he even invokes the noble eloquence of William Ewart Gladstone. The English statesman made no reference whatever to the subject of race, but it was nice to have him associated with Mr. Putnam and his book.

At the same time other famous names are withered with the Putnam frown. Arnold Toynbee is demolished with a wisecrack. Franz Boas is browbeaten without mercy; the world had a high opinion of Boas as an authority on the races of man, but the retired airlines executive met him in his own field and laid him low.

The thesis which Mr. Putnam pursues with such devastating vigor is the notion, once widely held among schol-

ars, that the Negro is limited by his racial origin and is innately inferior to the white man. That notion is still widely held, admittedly or subconsciously, by an enormous element of the white public. It is the very essence of race prejudice in so far as race prejudice has a rational basis. In recent years that theory has been blasted in many quarters by the sheer demonstration of Negro capability, and I think in not many more years the weight of such evidence against the theory of Negro inferiority will be overwhelming. As educational and employment opportunities are opened to him, the Negro American is rushing forward in intellectual, cultural and economic achievement.

In the entire 19th Century fewer than 2,500 Negroes graduated from college in the United States. In 1930, 27,141 Negro Americans were in college, and in 1956, 196,000. With increasing integration, accurate estimates are no longer available but the number must now have gone over 200,000. The image of the Negro American is changing all the time and it will change mightily with each new class of Negro college graduates which enters the stream of our national life.

Scientists have long since repudiated the theory of innate inferiority. Dr. Oscar Handlin, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Harvard professor, who traced the rise and collapse of the racist theory in his *Race and Nationality in American Life,* said: "By 1940 it was difficult to find a serious, reputable exponent of the racist views once so widely held."

That, of course, was written in 1957, before Mr. Putnam turned his attention to anthropology. Other reputable exponents seem to have come forward. Dr. Wesley Critz George, a retired professor of zoology, anatomy, etc. at the University of North Carolina, 73 years of age, spent last summer in a study of "what science has revealed with regard to racial differences," and will shortly publish his report. What science revealed to Dr. George has not been publicly stated, but, as he was paid $3,000 for the undertaking from the emergency fund of Governor John Patterson of Alabama, there is little doubt as to the kind of revelations which were ordered.

Mr. Putnam recommended a reading of an article by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, which appeared in *United States News and World Report* in 1956. But he neglected to recommend the reading of a public statement from eighteen of the nation's leading anthropologists and psychologists which followed the McGurk article. In the latter statement it was noted that the American Anthropological Association and the division of the American Psychological Association concerned with social issues, among others, had placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics. Then these 18 scientists from the nation's leading universities stated flatly that "any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

Mr. Putnam states that Southerners "talk of states' rights when they should be talking anthropology." Perhaps he is right. Ten days ago the anthropologists of the United States issued a resounding statement. It is pertinent to note that this was not the expression of a few eccentrics, of a "leftist" faction, or any faction. The resolution was adopted by the American Anthropolog-

ical Association by a vote of 192 to 0, and it read:

"The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

Bearing witness to the truth is basic to all that we do in the movement for equality of all Southerners and Americans. All that we do to eliminate discrimination in its practical manifestations is an expression of the truth, a reconciliation of the American ideal with truth, in the matter of race. And just as widespread error has clouded the controversy and produced a degree of intellectual debasement in many quarters, it is the truth which ultimately will make us free.

*Reprinted from the New York Times, Sunday May 3, 1970*

# Southern Integrationists Feel Betrayed—by the North

**By PAT WATTERS**

**"We shall not surrender merely because there is an old idea in town, a new slavery in the wings, a new generation of despair"**

ATLANTA.

*The enemy is no longer the racism of the state house. The opponent is now those who occupy the White House. . . . Most of us, white and black alike, who joined the struggle for racial justice in the 1950's and 1960's will stick it out. . . . We shall not surrender merely because there is a new President on the block, an old idea in town, a new slavery in the wings, a new generation of despair. . . . We will win not because of rationality—for what was there rational in a young Negro minister's hopeless boycott of a bus company? What was rational in students ordering a cup of coffee in a five-and-dime store? What chance was there in the streets of Birmingham? What rationality was there in those raised clubs at Selma's Edmund Pettus bridge? We will win simply because we must.*—CHARLES MORGAN, a white Southerner speaking at a conference in Washington, D. C., on "New Strategies for School Integration," March 13, 1970.

*Right! Right! I believe that!*—A Negro woman attending the conference, whose son and daughter were recently beaten while attempting to integrate a school in the Deep South.

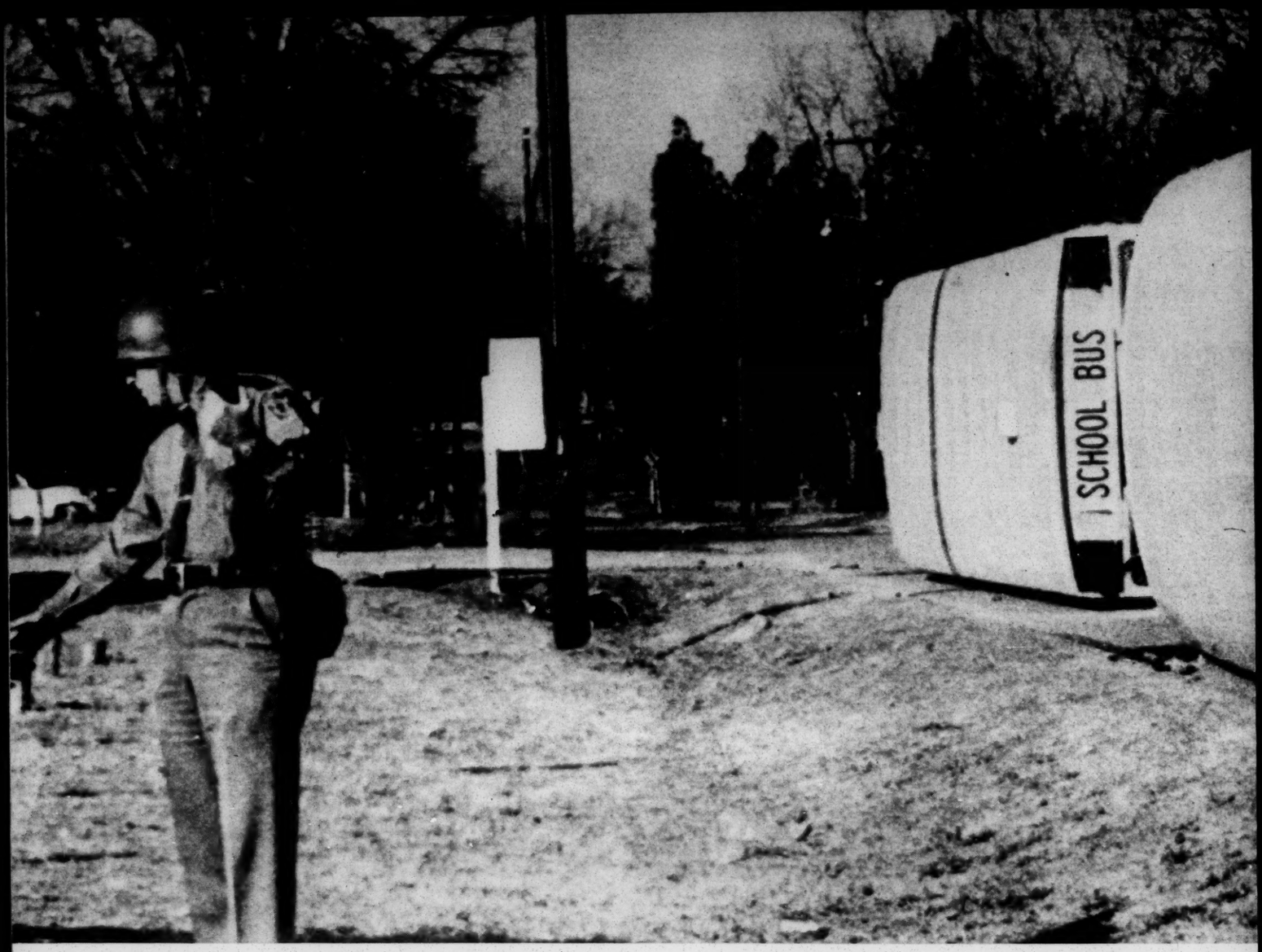
SOUTHERN integrationists — white ones who have risked ostracism from their society and black ones who have, many of them, risked their lives — feel betrayed by the apparent retreat in the rest of the country from the goals of interracial justice. Just when their own struggle seems paying off in terms of fuller and more meaningful integration in many areas, they see the Nixon Administration as courting infamy in history, failing the responsibility of leadership in this most vital of all national problems and following the blind-alley politics of a Southern strategy; they see whites and blacks of all classes in other sections increasingly hostile to each other; and they see with particular scorn "liberal" pundits, politicians and intellectuals folding without a fight for principle, each with his own set of instant rationalizations.

It makes a man like me, a white Southern integrationist, mad. But it doesn't really surprise me, or make me any less willing to keep fighting for integration, or very much less sure of victory—and I think I speak for most Southern integrationists, black as well as white. Northern allies are bemoaning the end of "the Second Reconstruction," and predicting a new era of racist repression in America. But Southern integrationists, living with the memory of the

**NEW STRATEGIES FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION**

The NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND sponsored a consultation on "New Strategies for School Integration" in the Nation's capitol in March, 1970. Some 175 Americans came to Washington for two days of concentrated discussion – including veteran civil-rights lawyers, top academic and government specialists in school desegregation, and parents and grass-roots leaders from the school front – North, South, East, and West.

Pat Watters attended the Washington meeting and here reports on one of its major themes.




**March, 1970: Two buses that had been filled with Negro youngsters on their way to a newly integrated school, capsized the buses, but several were cut by glass.**

first repression, have never fully trusted or entirely depended on the national Government as the only means of achieving a just society down here. This time there are enough of us to make it much harder for men of no principle to sell us out to the racists for political gain. This time we are not going to take it lying down.

I AM talking about a relatively small number of people and I base whatever confidence I feel on the strength of resistance they are capable of sustaining. They are people, black and white, who for a long time have given much of their lives and themselves to the struggle for integration. What they have accomplished is reflected in the climate of opinion among whites and blacks of the general population. Certainly nowhere near a majority of Southern white people could be classified as confirmed believers in integration—but far more than ever before have ceased to be rigid segregationists. Probably a majority accept in varying degrees the token desegregation that has occurred in nearly all areas of Southern life. Likewise, nowhere near a majority of black Southerners were ever involved to the hilt in the great sacrifices and suffering through which the movement's victories were achieved. But far more of them than in other parts of the country are generally considered still to believe in integration, still resistant to separatism—probably all but the most sophisticated of the urban middle class.

Southerners who attended a conference in Washington, D. C., last March of integrationists from all over the country were notable for being less frightened and less dismayed about the current crisis than their fellow countrymen. The meeting was called by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund to develop new strategies for school integration. In one of the workshops I sat next to Miss Barbara Jordan, a brilliant Negro lawyer and politician from Texas, and listened to one Northerner's gloomy analysis of desegregation prospects in his own state. When he ended with the comment that no move for social progress was any longer "viable" in America, Miss Jordan uttered a loud protest. "I just don't believe that," she said to me. "I see so much progress every day back home in Houston."

It is not that she or any of us is fooled about the distance Houston or the rest of the South has yet to go toward the goal of a sane, just society. It is just that we have known all along how very far we had to go, and how far we have come. Such understanding of the realities of the racial struggle has seemed all along to us to have eluded many Northerners, including our allies in the struggle. They have just not realized how strong and resilient and stubbornly persistent the racist mentality, nor how tough and skilled and en-

**after they were stoned and overturned by angry whites in Lamar, S.C. The children escaped before the mob**

during the opposition to it must be.

So we really have never been overly reliant on our Northern allies, never overly impressed with the depth of dedication of many of them. None of this, though, is to ignore or disparage those Northerners who have stuck with us from the beginning, and do understand the menace of racism in all the nuances. Without them, we would have been lost, and now we need them more than ever. But as Negroes in the movement say of whites they trust that he or she has "a black heart," we tend to think of those good allies of ours as fellow Southerners.

We are sorry, of course, to see the fair-weather friends start to fade away, but we do not regard it as a crucial loss. Far more hurtful to our cause and much more painful was the loss a while back of some of the most effective allies we ever had: the young Freedom Fighters who developed, after bitter experience with Southern racism, the black separatist movement.

The white Northern liberals were willing to pull back from a total commitment to integration when it became clear that the goal could not be attained in a few years; we Southern integrationists were more aware of the obstacles we were all up against and never believed that victory was imminent. After a single summer or even several years of battling the rawest kind of entrenched Southern white racism, such young people just gave up. They gave up not only on the South, but also on all of white America, saying that it is hopelessly racist.

I happen to think they gave up too soon, but can certainly understand and sympathize with how they felt. And it was not just Southern racism, that killed their faith, but Northern liberalism's acquiescence in this Southern racism as well. Most of them say that the breaking point came at the Democratic national convention in 1964, when liberals wanted them to accept a compromise with a Mississippi white delegation which they considered a part of the racist repression that denied democracy to Negro Mississippians and murdered some of those who sought it.

So far, the most prestigious intellectual rationalization of the emerging neo-racism was an article by Professor Alexander Bickel of the Yale Law School. Writing in The New Republic (Feb. 7, 1970), Bickel says, in effect, that the integration ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954 was an impossible dream, that to pursue it is only to "fuel the politics of George Wallace" and that it is not worth the cost anyway.

According to Bickel, integration has not worked in the South because the flight of whites to private schools has led to "resegregation." He argues further that it cannot be accomplished in the North because some black leaders now prefer to have their own schools (with "local control") and because it would be impossible to transport large numbers of inner-city Negroes to schools in the white suburbs. To impose on the South what cannot be accomplished in the North, concludes Bickel, would be unfair.

Of all the cogent rebuttal to the article, the only two

responses that seemed to me to answer him fully without being obsequious to the "liberalism" of the author and The New Republic were from Southerners — Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman and Charles Morgan, Jr.

In lawyer's language that nevertheless breathed terrible Southern scorn, Mrs. Edelman replied in The New Republic:

"To say that we should not vigorously pursue Southern school desegregation because we cannot achieve Northern desegregation is ridiculous. That is like saying because we cannot convict every criminal we should prosecute no criminals. Legal rights have been established in the South. Millions of black children's educational futures depend on them. To abandon them is morally indefensible and tragically defeatist . . . The Bickel piece is simply another in a long line of excuses to cloud the real issues and to renege on outstanding commitments already made . . . A great disservice has been done that will not quickly pass. For again we blacks are shown how flimsy our position is . . . We do not defuse the George Wallaces by selling our principles and becoming more like them—we defuse them by clear and resounding repudiation, with a national tone and policy that makes it clear the Constitution is not a political football. . . ."

Writing in South Today, a publication of the Southern Regional Council, Mr. Morgan answered more in the emotional tones that Southern integrationists know to be the real basis for judging such an article:

"Professor Bickel's article is The Article of national retreat, a convenient, if gossamer, cover under which bona-fide racists, black and white, and the merely mistaken men of South and North might respectably gather prior to an all-out and undisguised attack on desegregation . . . Professor Bickel may not understand the use to which his thesis will be put. He does not seem to understand much about the South . . . Criticism of the Warren Court seems a necessary ingredient of demonstrable scholarship among some law professors who feel that if they are not brighter than the Court,—which is, of course, the true teacher as well as maker of constitutional law — then they are either not bright enough to teach or, alternatively, to be appointed to the Court if fortuitously asked."

Mrs. Edelman, a skilled young Negro lawyer, fought racism through years of grueling and sometimes dangerous work in Mississippi; now, as director of the Washington Research Project, which seeks to improve Government programs on behalf of the poor and minorities, she is one of the most tough-minded of a number of Southerners who are working in other parts of the country for the cause. Mr. Morgan is a lawyer who in 1963 had to leave Birmingham, his boyhood home, because of business and terrorist retaliation against a speech that he made denouncing the racism of his respectable friends and holding them responsible for the bombing of a Negro church where four young girls attending Sunday school were killed. Since then, as director of the Southern regional office of American Civil Liberties Union, he has won important safeguards for the emerging democracy of the South in the courts, particularly his successful suits to eliminate discrimination in jury selection.

SUCH people have heard every conceivable excuse for not doing what is right and just about race in the South, or for not taking a stand, and have rejected them. They listen now to Northerners discovering their own excuses and are not impressed.

The Southern integrationist's experience with the realities of "the Second Reconstruction" prevents his too deeply despairing of its demise. What the nation attained during the decade and a half after 1954, when it once again considered itself committed to racial justice, is not to be understated or disdained. But it has been overestimated. In effect, we got court decrees and laws that reinvigorated the Bill of Rights and in a very real way gave democracy a chance in the South for the first time. But the Bill of Rights had been there all along. The great crime done by the nation to the South after the First Reconstruction was failure to enforce this most basic law — and this failure has in various degrees been continued with the new laws and decrees.

From the Supreme Court decision in Brown *v.* Board of Education onward, in each new judicial or legislative demand for abolition of segregation, the South could have moved in one of two ways—toward full integration, or the way, time after time, that it did go. What was achieved (and accepted) was tokenism, the barest minimum of compliance. The top to the bottom of white Southern government and society bent most of their meager resources and all their considerable will during this crucial time to exploiting every gullibility, uncertainty, hypocrisy and inability to understand racism in the rest of the country, neglecting, all the while, problems of terrible magnitude.

The South, already the least equipped of any section to deal with its problems, has been in a state of flux and turmoil as a result of feeble enforcement for 16 years. It has been distracted and handicapped from performing the most basic functions, like educating children and, most tragically, even feeding many of the poorest of them, and this has been disastrous to the white as well as the black South. As the nation is now paying for the first great betrayal of the South after Reconstruction in its problems with poor, undereducated Southern blacks and whites who have migrated to other parts of the country, so will it pay in some future time for what its more recent failure of responsibility to enforce the law has done to another generation of Southerners.

ALL that was needed at any step along the way was firm and fair enforcement. All that is required now is to see through the rationalizations of a President who poses as a stern "law-and-order" man and yet demurs at enforcing the laws against segregation—with the excuse that the task is too difficult and delicate.

President Nixon's deplorable statement on school segregation in March was full of the ambiguity he probably is compelled to employ while trying to follow a Southern strategy in the party of Lincoln. But to Southern integrationists, long accustomed to double talk by moderates back home, the President's meaning seemed all too clear. He vowed strong dedication to the constitutional and "human" terms of the 1954 school integration decision. But then he categorically denounced busing, the necessary means for achieving integration in many instances. He called for stern opposition to illegal school segregation, while pointing out that segregation caused by "housing patterns" has not been declared illegal by the Supreme Court. (If this *de facto* situation is condoned, it could, by skillful gerrymandering, or simple lying, make all segregation, in the South as well as the North, legal.)

He made a distinction between the "claims of integration" and "those of education," a distinction which integrationists and the Brown decision would deny exists. He preferred "good faith" compliance to "educational disruption," and in the lexicon of Southern race relations that means only one thing—segregation as usual. Finally, he seemed to confirm a negative interpretation of his ambivalent statement by proposing to spend part of a $500-million allocation in 1971 and a billion dollars in 1972 not to implement integration but to improve "racially impacted" schools (those that are all black or mostly black).

Southern integrationists are all too familiar with the practical effect of all this. In the early 1950's cities and towns in our region built new Negro schools that were even better than the white ones, trying to bolster the case for "separate but equal"—a concept honored previously only in the breach. Even after separate but equal was declared unlawful, the whites, still frenziedly building, could cry plaintively, "Why, the niggers already got the only air-conditioned school in town!" Now the Nixon Administration proposes its own version of the same idea which amounts, in Charles Morgan's words, to "separate but quality."

AGAIN, we Southern in-

**INTEGRATION, PEACEFUL: As a Negro classmate watches, white children arrive for their first day at a previously all-black junior high in Yazoo City, Miss.**

tegrationists have not been fooled by the Administration's ambiguity about race relations. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert Finch, is one of the symbols of the Administration's respectable streak, and we have seen many Southerners of good will in the same sad plight that he is in. Such men serve the racists and the ends of racism by providing them with a respectable front. A man in such a position can do little to further the goals he believes in, and yet he fears what would happen if he should give up what little influence for sanity he might have.

That other supposedly good influence in the Administration, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, seems to us, at best, not to understand the South or racism, and, with his recommendation that racial problems be treated with "benign neglect," he placed himself among the worst of those erstwhile friends who hurt more than help us. Such friends were a major factor in the failure of enforcement that plagued us when there was supposed to be no ambiguity about Federal intentions. Even with men like them in power in the late 1950's and early '60's, when majority opinion in the nation was said to support our cause, Southern integrationists saw clearly that "all deliberate speed" was mostly deliberation and no speed; again and again, we saw the Justice Department unwilling or unable to protect the rights, and all too often the lives, of those seeking to abide by the Constitution. Only after the murder of great leaders or the kind of racist mayhem that occurred in Selma, Ala., were public opinion and the Congress stirred enough to pass the civil rights legislation that we got.

At dismal conferences after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act representatives of Federal agencies explained the guidelines by which they would, presumably, enforce its various sections. These well-intentioned bureaucrats knew they would be dealing with the most respectable elements of Southern society — officeholders, educators, businessmen, lawyers, judges, and so on; they simply could not comprehend that *these* were the racists — and that they were capable of lying, cheating, stealing, destroying, betraying trust and honor, and, ultimately, abetting murder in the interest of racism.

I HOPE it is not unfair or unkind to say that what the Southern interracial cause has lost so far in the retrogression of the rest of the nation is mainly good intentions. In men like Paul Rilling, who resigned as director of the Southeastern Regional Office of Civil Rights of H.E.W., protesting the Nixon Administration's racial policies, we lose good friends, but little in terms of needed enforcement. Too often, the best such men could give beleaguered,

wronged Southern integrationists (for example, black parents whose children faced daily humiliations and beatings in schools with token integration) was sympathy and expressions of mutual frustration.

But how much do we stand to lose from the men of bad intent who have embraced, and likely will embrace in increasing numbers, the Administration's approach to race relations? Southern integrationists were not surprised in 1964 when the Goldwater campaign, that homegrown rightist movement which threatened to become the mainstream of national politics, merged so smoothly with entrenched Southern racism; the attraction was mutual—and dangerous. The grip on real power that these two camps have in the present Administration already has been felt in the weakening of what enforcement there had been and in the encouraging of new strategies of racist intimidation. (A Negro minister who said he was brutally beaten by state troopers and sheriff's men at the Brandon, Miss., jail after a civil rights demonstration last February quoted one of the troopers as telling him, "It is a different ballgame now.")

THE legal reforms won in the past decade and a half provide the weapons that Southern integrationists will use to continue to fight. The power of the vote and the courts are most important. Not insignificantly, both have already been threatened from the top of the Nixon Administration. Fortunately, neither attempt at retrenchment has met with full success.

Congress, in its tax-reform legislation, put severe restrictions on funds foundations may grant for voter registration and still enjoy their tax-exempt status. "This is a punitive measure," protested Vernon Jordan, a Negro Southerner, in futile testimony before the Senate Finance Committee. "Today we see the friend turning upon us and becoming an ally of the racists we confront daily in the South." Jordan was then director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, which helped register more than a million Negroes who had been disfranchised before the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The new tax law hampers but will not stop the voter registration effort.

The Nixon Administration made an even more dangerous attack when it sought to eliminate from the Voting Rights Act a requirement that Southern states with a record of previous disfranchisement of Negroes get Justice Department approval of any change in state registration laws. Those who finally defeated this move were aware that it would have opened the way for white racists to impose again the notorious tests and procedures whose discriminatory administration before the 1965 act was the main means of depriving Negroes of the vote. In this, Congressional liberals showed more than the ordinary grasp of the realities of racism.

Perhaps the Supreme Court did, too, when, despite the efforts of the Administration to get another delay, the justices last October unanimously ordered 30 Mississippi school districts and 14 others across the South to carry out plans for integration immediately. For the most part, the districts achieved orderly compliance without too much difficulty—just as we have known all along they could. The transition has, of course, not been without trauma, including some racist terrorism and the exodus of many whites to makeshift, racist private schools. But the decision, coming after 16 years of defiance and dishonesty, moved the South into what may well be its consummate racial crisis, the final confrontation between racism and the Constitution.

For the first time, school systems, large and small, have been taking the steps that they might have taken from the beginning to achieve real integration. They seem to have done so out of fear of—if not respect for—the Supreme Court. Many white Southerners still need the excuse that they are being forced to do what they know is right about race—and their response to the Court has at least been made ambiguous by the default of the executive branch. But the Federal judiciary has had many Southern school officials under court order for more than a decade. Many Southern integrationists have thought all along that one or two exemplary exercises of the power of the Federal courts to fine or jail lawbreaking officeholders would achieve far more, and be more just, than the executive department's reliance on depriving the children of Federal school aid. It was the old segregationist Governor of Georgia, Marvin Griffin, who said, as his reason for not courting the risk, that being in jail "kind of crimps a Governor's style."

GOV. CLAUDE R. KIRK Jr. of Florida stated the same sentiment less colorfully when he declared that paying a $10,000-a-day contempt-of-court fine for continuing to block integration of Manatee County schools "would not solve the problem." His seizure in April of school officials' power in order to block an integration plan on grounds it called for too much busing was the most serious resistance to the new Supreme Court ruling. And Federal Judge Ben Krentzman's response, the threat of the fine, was perhaps the most effective handling of such lawlessness in all the history of schoolhouse-door grandstanding by Southern governors.

The case, however, heightened the conflict between the executive and judicial branches regarding school integration. Governor Kirk was confident that the Justice Department would support his appeals, aimed at the Supreme Court, for modification of the Manatee plan. "I urge parents, students and the public to be patient and work with us and the Department of Justice now that we are working together as two separate sovereigns before a court," he said, confidently.

The Justice Department had earlier indicated enmity to busing when it entered a "friend of the court" brief in the Charlotte, N. C. school integration case. This remarkable brief went so far as to suggest that United States District Judge James B. McMillan might have committed "an abuse of discretion" in ordering a busing plan thorough enough to achieve racial balance in Charlotte. The brief, filed by Assistant Attorney General Leonard, was described by The New York Times as "in line" with the President's segregation statement. The courts had already delayed from April 1 to Sept. 1 implementation of the plan, which civil rights lawyers had expected would provide a national model. The Justice Department brief listed court rulings which, it said, caution the courts against upholding any plan for achieving a precise, system-wide racial balance that would "require a school board involuntarily to make unreasonable increments in transportation expenditures, the number of students bused, distances traveled, and the like."

Civil rights attorneys are seeking in appeals to bring all Southern school districts under the new Supreme Court ruling by next fall. The practical effect of the national retreat may well be determined by the outcome of the conflict between the executive branch and the judiciary in this matter of busing.

The Senate's rejection of both of the so-called strict constructionists from the South nominated by the President to the Supreme Court was thus a stunning rebuke to Southern-strategy politics. But the Senate seemed more to repudiate the mediocrity than the racial attitudes of the kind of Southerners the President was forced to choose among. In the context of the Southern strategy, his preference for a "conservative" had to mean an enemy of integration; it is a secondary matter that such Southern "conservatives" are, none of them, of the caliber of the Court. Law-abiding Southerners, happy as they were over the defeat of the President's first two choices, would have felt a good deal better if the Senate majorities had more plainly stated opposition to the segregationist records and predilections of both men.

Once more, liberalism showed its ignorance of the strategies of racist politics. Avoidance of the real issue allowed the President the demagogic opportunity to say the two men were rejected because they were Southerners. Southerners have been among those quick to argue with the logic of that charge,

**INTEGRATION, PEACEFUL: A white girl waits to register at a grammar school in West Point, Miss., which also had no whites before a court order.**

and to suggest various highly qualified Southern judges who would have no trouble getting Senate confirmation, among them United States District Judge Frank Johnson, Jr., of Montgomery and Judge John Minor Wisdom of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

NEGRO Southerners, by and large, support the Supreme Court's recent integration order. They may be even more disillusioned than Northern black people, but they value education. Many still agree with the preponderance of sociological evidence that integrated experience is a necessary ingredient of education. But beyond that, virtually all know out of their Southern experience that the white power structure will put the most money, the best equipment, where white children go to school—*and they want in.*

For this reason, they have, for the most part, been leery of a plan brought to them on a recent tour of the South by Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. Innis is a New Yorker who believes that blacks attending integrated schools run by whites are damaged emotionally and educationally. He proposed that Southern school districts be carved up to give black communities local control—with tax money divided according to the number of pupils in separate black and white districts.

Negroes know that Mr. Innis is not the enemy, even if to some he seems to be playing into the enemy's hands. They know that whites, who still have power in the South, are not going to give them anything worth controlling. Even segregationist governors with whom Mr. Innis met in his filibuster through the South seemed cool to the CORE plan—partly no doubt because they are aware that he lacks support among Negro voters. The one community that semed interested was Mobile, Ala., where Negroes are perhaps more frustrated than anywhere in the South at the success of white resistance to integration. Southern integrationists have been bemused by rumors that the Justice Department likes the CORE plan and may have suggested Mobile to Mr. Innis as a likely place to push it.

If Southern integrationists have regarded the Innis invasion as another example of Northern innocence about Southern racism they were for the same reason neither overly discouraged by the initial success of the Stennis Amendment to the education appropriation bill, nor much encouraged when it was finally taken out of the bill. To them, the measure introduced by Senator John Stennis of Mississippi was a typical ploy, which was on one level, no more than an effort to perpetuate a hoary article of Southern racist faith: that the nation ought to get the mote of racism out of its own eye before messing with the beam in that of the South. The amendment's statement that, as a matter of public policy, school desegregation enforcement should be uniform throughout the country was not without ironic overtones for those of us not impressed with enforcement in the South. Most of all, it served to show the naïveté of Northern liberalism and the sad spectacle of Senator Abraham Ribicoff's supporting it because he deplores Northern hypocrisy.

How could he have thought he advanced the cause of integration by supporting any-

thing having to do with John Stennis? Hypocrisy of Northern liberalism is enshrined already in two provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which seem contradictory to Southern integrationists. One demands an end to *de jure* segregation of schools, a Southern condition, and the other forbids busing to end *de facto* segregation, a Northern condition. All that a Southern integrationist can say to the North about its *de facto* segregation is the simple truth we know about all segregation, and this most humbly: Regardless of how it comes about, *de jure* or *de facto*, it is wrong and hurts both races; it is an institutional expression of racism, and it must be ended because the cost of not ending it will be the life of the nation.

James Baldwin evoked the Negro spiritual's metaphor of "the fire next time" to sound the same warning. But those who have lived in the South (like people who have lived in South Africa, Rhodesia, or Nazi Germany) know an even more dreadful vision than the apocalypse; they have experienced the death of the spirit that comes when racism rules. In the South we have seen so much needless suffering, the blight cast on so many lives. No one escapes—whites least of all. You can see it in the faces of both black and white, in the very way they walk and hold their bodies—joyless, stunted, sexless. We have felt racism's blight at work on our friends, our very families, our own secret lives. Numbness, even more than fire, threatens America if it fails to build a just interracial society.

Negro Southerners are, I think, far more angry than their brothers in the rest of the country who talk the fashionable rhetoric of revolution. They do not indulge such talk much, are still trying to fight within normal frameworks. But if the policies and mood of the nation should finally, with consummate folly, force them outside, they would be capable of real and effective insurrectionary action—far more so than the constant talkers of it. "If I can't have my freedom," they are saying, "nobody else in the United States is going to have any either."

THE nation may, indeed, desert them—but it does so at its own peril. At the conference on new school integration strategy, Negro Southerners recited the dreadful recent versions of the dreary old story of white racist terrorism. I talked with two of the Negro high school students from Lamar, S.C., who were on school buses attacked by a white mob which state and Federal police had allowed to gather on the grounds of an integrated school—men and women armed with bricks, chains, clubs.

"My first feeling was of death," said Clarence Brunson, 18 years old. "I could see myself dying. There was no chance to fight back."

Annette Johnson, 16, said: "I was scared to death they would come in and kill us. They were on one side of the bus. The patrolmen were on the other. We were scared to go out either side."

Here, then, is the perspective for viewing the racist retreat in the rest of the country—in terms of two decent, middle-class teen-agers afraid for their lives as a result of having acted within the law, and being just as afraid of law enforcement officials as of the mob, and having a rational reason in Southern reality for both fears.

This, too, is the perspective for judging apologists for the racist retreat, from the President on down, in their tender concern for the sensibilities and conveniences of children, except when it comes to the need for integration—this symbolized in the hysteria over busing. For the sake of sanity, we integrationists cling to our ingrained sense of Southern sardonic humor: To travel country roads of the South this very day, as I have recently done, is to see in broad daylight constant and flagrant busing of children as it has been going on for a century — white pupils being transported past black schools to white schools, and vice versa. And of course the busing hysteria is only one more example of the segregationist Southerners' ability to embroil the rest of the country in secondary considerations. They will always concede the first point—what the law says. But they will obfuscate and litigate endlessly over the second—how the law might be enforced.

In the South today, some schools ordered by the courts to be fully integrated are in point of fact all-black in enrollment; parents of the white children have put them in those shabby and inadequate private schools thrown up by the racists to avoid integration. Sadly, such white children suffer. But the public school is at last a lawful one. The black children are at least enjoying whatever the school district can afford to put into education. And these schools remain open to the white children any time they want to come back on an integrated basis.

(A Mississippi school principal expressed relief that the worst segregationists among his white pupils had retreated to the private schools; without them, he said, the transition to integration would be less difficult, though some of them were already trickling back into the public school and that seemed the likely thing to happen generally. White Southerners, like black ones, have proved time and again since 1954 that education of their children is the most important thing to them, more important than living up to the ranted expectations of their racist leaders.)

The solicitude that the President and others have expressed about the rigors of busing seems based on the same misplacement of values that allowed segregated schools to exist against the law in the South. If some children are inconvenienced by having lawful schools, this is nothing compared with the harm done by unlawful ones, by the debilities to both races and all classes from the separation and isolation of children, one from the other.

This is the essence of what the South has to tell the nation about racism. You can't have priorities higher than the Bill of Rights. You can not have just a little bit of denial of freedom. It is all or nothing. The Supreme Court's order of full integration brings the South at last to this all-or-nothing reality.

Maybe the Supreme Court realized that it was now or never not merely in the South but in all America for this ultimate confrontation with racism. As it has been in the South, then, so let it be in the nation. Already Senator Walter F. Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, has emerged as a new kind of Northern spokesman for integration in the current crisis, unfooled and possessed of the same essential understanding of the issue that Southern integrationists have. "I do not know what the politics of human rights is today," Mondale said recently. "I sense that it's less popular than it's been for a number of years. But unless we sustain it, the cause of the country is lost."

Maybe most white Americans are as bad as the Southern Congressmen and the black separatists think—but I don't believe it. I don't take that dim a view of my fellow Americans, any more than I do of my fellow Southerners. I see now more and more Southerners coming to grips with the reality of racism, really overcoming the racist conditioning of their childhood; and I see many, many children in a new generation —black and white—growing up together and sharing not just a culture, as we always have in the South, but sharing in rights and dignity as well. More and more, such progress will depend on forcing the confrontation between the madness of racism and the sanity of America's idealism. In such a showdown, I believe, most people will opt for sanity. The greatest irony in the current crisis of faith in America is that it will lead the nation to its own final showdown between sanity and insanity. ■

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Reprints —

# Some Race Related Deaths in the United States

## (1955-1965)

These are cases involving violent death between the races in the South. The list is of course not complete; it is not restricted to cases involving civil rights. It is compiled from newspaper accounts, and in some instances, where cooperation could be obtained, reports from officials.

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**1965**

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| **Freddic Lee Thomas (N) 9-3-65** | Near Greenwood, Miss. Body found on highway. Thomas' half brother claimed victim was slain to deter voter registration efforts. Coroner's inquest ruled hit-and-run accident. No arrests. |
| **Thad Christian (N) 8-28-65** | Near Anniston, Ala. Allegedly shot by white man while fishing. Suspect charged with murder in arrest warrant. |
| **Perry Smau (N) 8-27-65** | Greensboro, Ala. The 87-year-old victim had voiced opposition to demonstrations. He was beaten and tongue cut out. Civil Rights groups denied complicity. Two Negro suspects in custody, one indicted on murder charge. Victim was robbed of $26. |
| **Arthur James Hill (N) 8-20-65** | Villa Rica, Ga. Shot during argument with whites. One white suspect held for grand jury action on voluntary manslaughter charge. |
| **Jonathan M. Daniels (W) 8-20-65** | Hayneville, Ala. Episcopal seminarian slain after release from jail for civil rights demonstration. White man, member of prominent family, accused of shootings that killed Daniels and wounded a Catholic priest. |
| **8-22-65** | Suspect Tom L. Coleman, arraigned for murder and assault with intent to kill; jailed for 11 hours, released on bonds of $10,000 and $2,500. Grand jury brought indictment for manslaughter, and assault and battery. Defendant acquitted of manslaughter charge. |
| **Johnny Queen (N) 8-8-65** | Fayette, Miss. White off-duty constable named in the pistol slaying, which was not connected with any arrest. |
| **Andrew Whatley Jr. (W) 7-29-65** | Americus, Ga. Shot from passing car during racial disturbance. Two Negro men indicted by grand jury as murder suspects. |
| **Robert Wilder (N) 7-18-65** | Ruston, La. White policeman accused in pistol slaying. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **Willie Brewster (N) 7-15-65** | Anniston, Ala. Shot while driving home from work. Three white men indicted by grand jury on murder charges. Shooting climaxed a week of anti-Negro rallies by National States Rights Party. One of the men, Hubert Damon Strange, was convicted of second degree murder and given a ten (10) year prison sentence. All-white jury. The other two, Johnny Ira DeFries and Lewis Blevins, still face murder charges. |
| **James Waymers (N) 7-10-65** | Allendale, S. C. White man charged with murder in shotgun slaying. Area was scene of recent civil rights demonstrations. Accused acquitted Oct. 21, 1965, after entering a plea of self-defense. |
| **O'Neal Moore (N) 6-2-65** | Bogalusa, La. Victim was one of city's first two Negro deputy sheriffs and was shot by a white man while walking beat in Negro community. Suspect charged with murder, released on bail. |
| **Frederick L. Humphrey (W) 3-26-65** | Hattiesburg, Miss. Shot after the victim, a constable, stopped car of Negro suspect during racial unrest. Murder charge pending. |
| **Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo (W) 3-25-65** | Shot on Hwy. 80 between Selma and Montgomery, Ala. Detroit housewife returning to Montgomery to transport civil rights marchers. Three klansmen charged with murder. |
| **10-2-65** | Collie Leroy Wilkins tried for murder. Jury hung. Mistrial declared. |
| **10-19-65** | In a second trial Wilkins acquitted. Charges still pending against other two suspects, William O. Eaton and Eugene Thomas. All three received 10 year sentences for conspiracy to violate Federal civil rights statute. Bond set at $10,000. The three will appeal. All-white jury. |
| **Rev. James Reeb (W) 3-12-65** | Selma, Ala. Four white men accused in bludgeon death of white civil rights sympathizer; three indicted on murder charges. Three defendants acquitted. |
| **Jimmie Lee Jackson (N) 2-18-65** | Marion, Ala. Slain by white state trooper as victim, according to witnesses, tried to shield his mother from beating during demonstration. No arrest. Grand jury cleared trooper, identified only by surname. |

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| **Ollie W. Shelby (N) 1-22-65** | Jackson, Miss. White sheriff's deputy accused of shooting 18-year-old Negro in prison. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **1964** | |
| **Frank Morris (N) 12-10-64** | Ferriday, La. Died of burns suffered when his shoe repair shop was fired by arsonists in area of racial unrest. No arrests. |
| **Frank Andrews (N) 11-28-64** | Lisman, Ala. Choctaw County. Shot in back by white sheriff's deputy. County solicitor said victim was attacking another deputy. No arrests. |
| **Charles Sammie Marrow, Jr. (N) 10-29-64** | Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot in back by a white man reportedly "to protect an attractive white waitress in a downtown restaurant." Acquitted in criminal court. |
| **Hubert Orsby (N) 9-9-64** | Near Pickens, Miss. Body of 14-year-old youth found in Big Black River wearing CORE T-shirt. Coroner's jury ruled death by accidental drowning. |
| **James Andrew Miller (N) 8-30-64** | Jackson, Ga. Shot by white man during racial flare-up. Victim had been beaten by whites a few days prior to shooting. Coroner's jury ruled slaying a case of self-defense. Shooting suspect cleared. |
| **Billy Wayne Wallace (W) 8-9-64** | Dallas, Tex. Shot during racial row in city park. Two Negroes arrested. One indicted for murder with court action pending; the other suspect was no-billed by the grand jury on same charge. |
| **Charles E. Moore (N) 7-12-64**<br>**Henry Hezekiah Dee (N)** | Meadville, Miss., near Tullulah, La. Both bodies mutilated. Recovered from Mississippi River. Had been missing since May 2, 1964. Charges against two white men dismissed without prejudice Jan. 12, 1965. Prosecution said lacked enough evidence. |
| **Lemuel Penn (N) 7-11-64** | Near Colbert, Ga. Victim was Washington, D. C., educator. Shot by whites while returning from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Ga. Four Klansmen arrested; three indicted for murder; two tried and acquitted. Federal indictments against six white men charging conspiracy to deprive Penn of civil rights dismissed in district court, appealed to U. S. Supreme Court. |
| **James E. Chaney (N) 6-21-64**<br>**Andrew Goodman (W)**<br>**Michael H. Schwerner (W)** | Philadelphia, Miss. Three civil rights workers slain after their release from jail. 21 white men arrested, charges dismissed by U. S. Commissioner. Federal grand jury later indicted 18 white men on felony and misdemeanor charges of conspiring to violate the victims' civil rights. Federal judge voided felony charges against 17. Misdemeanor charges pending. Justice Department is appealing the rulings. Trial of the 18th suspect pending in federal court in Atlanta. |
| **Mrs. Johnnie Mae Chappell (N) 3-23-64** | Jacksonville, Fla. Shot while walking along street during racial unrest. Young white man sentenced to 10 years in the shooting. |
| **Louis Allen (N) 2-1-64** | Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker slain some time after testifying against a white man charged with killing another Negro. No arrests. |
| **1963** | |
| **William Kinard (W) 10-18-63** | St. Augustine, Fla. Victim slain as he and two other whites drove with shotgun through Negro area. Two Negroes arrested on murder charges. Court action pending. |
| **E. B. Bryant (W) 10-18-63** | Jackson, Miss. White gas station attendant slain after squirting water from hose on Negro drinking from "white" fountain. Negro suspect charged with murder, sentenced to life imprisonment. |
| **Virgil Ware (N) 9-15-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Thirteen-year-old youth killed by two white teen-agers while riding his bicycle in suburban area following downtown church bombing. Defendants received probated seven-month sentences and a stern lecture on second-degree manslaughter charges. |
| **Johnny Robinson (N) 9-15-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Killed by police after church bombing and rioting. No arrests. |
| **Denise McNair (N), age 11, 9-15-63**<br>**Addie Mae Collins (N) age 14**<br>**Cynthia Wesley (N), age 14**<br>**Carol Robertson (N), age 14** | Birmingham, Ala. Killed while attending Sunday School by exploding bomb at church where civil rights rallies were held. No arrests. |
| **John L. Coley (N) 9-4-63** | Birmingham, Ala. Suffered fatal wounds from shotgun pellets during rioting after a race bombing. No arrests. |
| **Andrew Lee Anderson (N) 7-17-63** | Near Marion, Ark. Slain by group of white citizens and sheriff's deputies after white woman said he had molested her 8-year-old daughter. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. No arrests. |

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| **Medgar W. Evers (N) 6-12-63** | Jackson, Miss. Shot in back as he arrived home from civil rights rally. He was field secretary for NAACP. White man tried twice, but hung juries brought mistrials. Accused Byron de le Beckwith now free. |
| **Frank G. Link (W) 6-7-63** | Lexington, N. C. Killed during rioting. Three Negroes convicted—one sentenced to serve four to seven years for second-degree murder, and two sentenced to six-month terms on charges of engaging in a riot. |
| **William L. Moore (W) 4-23-63** | Near Attalla, Ala. Mailman from Baltimore, Md., making one-man protest march across Alabama slain by bullet. Grand jury failed to indict white suspect. |
| **1962** | |
| **Paul Guihard (W) 10-30-62**<br>**Ray Gunter (W)** | Oxford, Miss. Guihard (news reporter from France) and Gunter (local TV repairman) slain during white rioting over admission of James Meredith to University of Mississippi. No arrests. |
| **Leroy Parks (W) 9-6-62** | Dallas, Ga. Victim was among masked nightriders calling on a Negro woman who was charged in the slaying. Coroner's jury ruled shooting justifiable homicide. Suspect moved North after release from jail. |
| **Cpl. Roman Ducksworth Jr. (N) 4-9-62** | Taylorsville, Miss. Shot by white policeman when the Negro refused to move to rear of interstate bus. No arrests. |
| **1961** | |
| **Eli Brumfield (N) 10-31-61** | McComb, Miss. Shot by policeman during racial unrest. No arrests. |
| **Herbert Lee (N) 9-25-61** | Liberty, Miss. Civil rights worker shot by a white state legislator. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. |
| **Frank Coleman Dumas (W) 6-1-61** | Shot to death in his home. Preston Cobb, Jr., 15 year old Negro, found guilty of murder Aug. 16, 1961, and sentenced to die. Case retried, ending in sentence to life imprisonment. Motion for new trial pending. |
| **1960** | |
| **William Nance (N) 8-27-60** | Near Winchester, Tenn. Body found in Lakeview Lake with slugs from three different guns and weighted with large rock. No arrests. |
| **Albert Pitts (N) 7-23-60**<br>**David Pitts (N)**<br>**Ernest McPharland (N)**<br>**Marshall A. Johns (N)** | Monroe, La. White employer arrested, then released in the shooting of five of his employees; four died. Victims accused of making threats. Records of Dist. Court, Parish of Ouachita, Monroe, La., reveal that no bill of indictment or information was ever filed. |
| **Mrs. Mattie Greene (N) 5-20-60** | Ringgold, Ga. Died under falling debris when her home was dynamited. No arrests. |
| **1959** | |
| **William Roy Prather (N) 11-1-59** | Corinth, Miss. The 15-year-old boy was killed in anti-Negro "Halloween prank." Eight white youths charged with the slaying, six of whom were turned over to juvenile court. One indicted on manslaughter charge. |
| **Tommy Dwight (N) 6-13-59** | Dalton, Ga. Four white men fired supposedly over the heads of a group of Negroes intending to "scare" them, but four fatal buckshots hit the 11-year-old victim. The four were indicted on charges of involuntary manslaughter. Charges reduced to misdemeanor and three of the men sentenced to serve one year. One of these permitted to serve the year outside jail. |
| **Jonas Causey (N) 5-10-59** | Clarksdale, Miss. NAACP requested investigation and action against 15 policemen accused of the slaying. No arrests. |
| **Mack Charles Parker (N) 4-25-59** | Poplarville, Miss. Abducted from unguarded jail cell and shot to death. No arrests. |
| **1958** | |
| **James Henry Ellison (N) 9-20-58** | Chattanooga, Tenn. Shot from a passing car occupied by two white couples. No arrests. |
| **Ernest Hunter (N) 9-13-58** | St. Mary's, Ga. Slain while in jail. White policeman accused of shooting reported that he and victim engaged in a struggle. No arrests. |
| **Joe Franklin Jeter Sr. (N) 9-13-58** | Atlanta, Ga. Shot by white policeman who said victim was resisting arrest. Grand jury returned "no bills" on three charges. |

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| **Richard Lillard (N) 7-26-58** | Nashville, Tenn. Died after a beating in local workhouse by three white guards. They were indicted on murder charges on Aug. 15, 1958. Each was acquitted on Jan. 16, 1959. |
| **Woodrow Wilson Daniels (N) 7-1-58** | Water Valley, Miss. Died of brain injury nine days after beating. White sheriff acquited of manslaughter charge. |
| **Willie Countryman (N) 5-25-58** | Dawson, Ga. Shot in his backyard by white policeman. Federal grand jury failed to indict the policeman, who had been accused in another death one month earlier. |
| **John Larry Bolden (N) 5-3-58** | Chattanooga, Tenn. The 15-year-old boy was shot by white policeman. No court action. |
| **James Brazier (N) 4-25-58** | Dawson, Ga. Victim died a few days after beating at hands of white policemen. Federal grand jury refused to indict four accused officers. |
| **George Love (N) 1-8-58** | Ruleville, Miss. Killed by 25-man posse. No arrests. |
| **1957** | |
| **Willie V. Dunigan (N) 11-18-57** | Lomax, Ala. Shot by sheriff's deputies outside his home. Deputies were looking for person(s) who earlier wounded another deputy. No arrests. |
| **Charles Brown (N) 6-25-57** | Near Yazoo City, Miss. White man charged with shooting the victim, a young airman, who was visiting at the home of the suspect's sister. |
| **James Hollis (N) 2-3-57** | Griffin, Ga. The 17-year-old boy was slain and a white housewife wounded by husband who found them together partially clothed in his home. A grand jury failed to indict the husband. |
| **1956** | |
| **Mrs. Maybelle Mahone (N) 12-5-56** | Near Molena, Ga. Shot by white man for "sassing" him. The 71-year-old suspect was first given a life sentence on a murder charge, Aug 1, 1957, but was found "not guilty for reasons of insanity" the following March 21, 1958. |
| **Mrs. Bessie McDowell (N) 6-14-56** | Andalusia, Ala. Killed by white father and son, who were indicted on first and second degree murder counts. |
| **Rev. C. H. Baldwin (N) 4-22-56** | Near Huntsville, Ala. Victim struck by heavy rock. White man convicted of second-degree manslaughter, sentenced to 12 months at hard labor. |
| **Dr. Thomas H. Brewer (N) 2-18-56** | Columbus, Ga. Prominent physician and NAACP leader shot by white man. Grand jury refused to indict. |
| **Milton Russell (N) 1-21-56** | Belzoni, Miss. Burned to death in his home. Whites suspected of foul play. No arrests. |
| **Richard King (N) 1-6-56** | Eufaula, Ala. White man given life sentence for pistol slaying. He was later paroled, violated his parole and "might be back in prison," according to Barbour County's court clerk. |
| **Edward Duckworth (N) 1-56** | Raleigh, Miss. White man reportedly admitted the shooting but claimed self defense. Suspect died of heart ailment while awaiting grand jury action. |
| **1955** | |
| **James E. Evanston (N) 12-24-55** | Near Drew, Miss. Body of school principal found in Long Lake with neck broken and no water in lungs to indicate drowning. Negro press called it civil rights slaying. Death officially ruled suicide. |
| **Clinton Melton (N) 12-3-55** | Glendora, Miss. White suspect was indicted on a murder charge and later acquitted. |
| **John Earl Reese (N) 10-22-55** | Near Longview, Tex. The 16-year-old boy died of injuries from shotgun blast into cafe from a moving car. Two whites indicted for murder, one given a five year suspended sentence. |
| **Emmett Till (N) 8-28-55** | LeFlore County, Miss. The 14-year-old boy from Chicago was slain after "smart-alec" talk to a Mississippi white woman. Body found in a river, beaten and shot. Two white men indicted for murder and acquitted. |
| **Lamar Smith (N) 8-17-55** | Brookhaven, Miss. Victim was shot down on lawn of county courthouse in broad daylight. A grand jury failed to indict three accused white men. |
| **Rev. George W. Lee (N) 5-7-55** | Belzoni, Miss. Killed by a shotgun blast from a car carrying several whites. No arrests. |

'CRAVEN RETREAT'

# THE VIEW FROM MADDOX COUNTRY

**REESE CLEGHORN**

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*Atlanta*

Some years ago, when I was sitting in a restaurant in Oxford, Miss., a plastic place where William Faulkner usually jerked out the juke box plug before dining, it occurred to me that at least some of the problems of mankind might be solved by a very simple plan. It was during one of the neap tides of integration crisis at the University of Mississippi, and the restaurant was filled with students. The pleasantries and *non sequiturs* of their conversations drifted over the booths; there was an appealing kind of soft inexactitude about it all, whether the subject was dormitory life or a misspent weekend. I had recently returned to the South after a period in New York, during which I had encountered City College students, head-on. What, I remember thinking, would happen if one could bundle up half the students of Ole Miss and deliver them to City College, to be replaced by a like number of City College students? It was, I thought at the time, a plan of such great potential benefit to all that it should be brought to the attention of the highest authorities in the land: perhaps even the chief federal marshal. The soft under-craniums of Oxford obviously needed the abrasiveness and intellectual effrontery, and of course the liberalism, of those Northern cousins; and clearly City College students could profit from any softening influence whatever.

Now I realize that, far ahead of my time, I was thinking about the biggest bussing scheme of them all, something neither Abraham Ribicoff nor George Wallace would tolerate for a moment. Besides, I am no longer at all sure that the plan has merit. Southern liberals have traditionally been "kept in their place" with apparent evidence that their models and superiors, the folks to be emulated and the ones whose respect ought to be earned, were of another breed: the men of the North. I now doubt my Ole Miss-City College plan because I am no longer sure that tough Eastern under-craniums produce anything better than soft Southern under-craniums. Maybe, in the spirit of the times, I am becoming a Southern ethnic.

As I look at school integration seven years later, I am aware that it is more than ever a subject whose appearance varies, depending upon where you sit. To be exact and not altogether frivolous: I sit in an old house on Peachtree Way in Atlanta. We are just around the corner from a handsome little white building of Corinthian grace, which was the national headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan in its glory days; now it is a Catholic rectory. I am a WASP; this is a kind of Catholic ghetto. Atlanta is a Southern city; it has a Jewish Mayor and a black Vice Mayor. Not many blocks from us is a new $5 million, neo-ante-bellum governor's mansion which would have done justice to Kwame Nkrumah in his palmiest days. It is inhabited by a man who, according to official Georgia protocol, is His Excellency—Gov. Lester G. Maddox. In my yard, an albino squirrel is at play; one white squirrel among the gray.

That is where I sit, not in the "rational" confines of a university or a court of law but surrounded by a Southern sea of workaday incredibilities, and they are visible. Most of the nation's people live amid absurdities and incredibilities and irrationalities at least as great, but they are not as visible. And so I am less startled than some people to see Senator Ribicoff and Senator Stennis arm in arm; Governor Maddox and Roy Innis pulling at the oars together; "militants" like Julius Hobson concurring with George Wallace, and Prof. Alexander Bickel of Yale advancing propositions very much like those advanced by the Great Constitutional Lawyers who used to be hired by Southern states to fight for the preservation of white supremacy. (They did not purport to be arguing against equality or against Negroes, but simply for "equal treatment for the South," for consideration of the wishes of the [white] people, for a realistic, nonemotional acceptance of the fact that integration would not work.)

My view is from "Maddox country." Some of the more obstreperous and enduring political segregationists on my particular turf are immensely enjoying the thought that the Nixon Administration, despite recent protestations, is engaged in "craven retreat" (Leon Panetta's accurate words) and "benign neglect" (Daniel P. Moynihan's words) in dealing with racial problems, now that the 1970 Congressional elections draw near. They may enjoy the spectacle even more in 1972, when George Wallace probably will sweep those Deep South Presidential votes which the "Southern strategy" is intended to capture. It does not occur to them that the Nixon Administration is simply trying "to be fair to the South" because it is now pretty well integrated. This does not occur to them because it is absurd and they are realists, if anything. They sit where I sit, in "Maddox country," and they know what is going on in the South. They know and enjoy political scheming of the most craven variety. They know the Administration's descriptions (and most Southern Senators' descriptions) of the civil rights retreat are mere self-serving piffle. They do not believe the explanations fool even Connecticut Senators: the white supremacist spirit of the South is rising again, isn't it, and Senator Ribicoff would like to be elected Vice President or appointed to the Supreme Court, wouldn't he? So their reasoning goes. My Senator, Herman E. Talmadge, has just praised Senator Ribicoff as a courageous man.

That is the view from Maddox country. Our Governor's more savvy admirers are not deceived about what is going on politically and, really, neither is a single Southern liberal that I know, black or white. On home

ground they, the same old crowd of white supremacists, and we, the same old crowd of hypocritical, bleeding-heart liberals, are familiar with the politics of the absurd (a state palace for Lester Maddox to live in) and the politics of the craven (a federal government trading the welfare of children for Republican Congressional candidates and electoral votes down South). It is not nearly as difficult to believe what the Nixon Administration is doing, when you view it from Maddox country, as it seems to be when seen from more civilized and less traumatized observation points. It is old stuff. Low profile or not, it is routine political venality.

The admirable efforts of Leon Panetta, while he was still with HEW, and others to enforce the civil rights laws (aren't those the real "strict contructionists"?) have been rebuffed. Now a Cabinet-level committee has been established to negotiate with the white supremacists of the South, with Vice President Agnew as chairman and a 1964 "Southern strategy" Goldwaterite, Robert Mardian, as staff director. The Supreme Court is being changed. It is now clear that Senator Ribicoff's move in assisting Senator Stennis' efforts to weaken the pressure for school desegregation in the South has had a falling-domino aftermath. Professor Bickel's now celebrated *New Republic* article urging compromise with Southern white supremacists and black separatists—and that was the true thrust of it, whatever he now says—has established an intellectual fabric—squishy soft in its reasoning and erroneous in its facts about South and North, but respectable in its origins—which will be used for bad ends by many lesser men. From Maddox country it is also clear what a federal policy of "benign neglect" would mean: a repetition of the Compromise of 1877, so that "local control" in the form of the Maddoxes and Wallaces could survive. What we would get, in reality, would be benign neglect of the Constitution, as we had for a century after enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment. President Nixon's recent policy statement on school desegregation stressed that local boards frequently can handle these matters better than the federal government. The statement was, with a few exceptions, a declaration of nonleadership rather than of leadership at the federal level; and there is every evidence that the action will not match the words even on the matter of eliminating the deeply rooted results of almost a century of *de jure* segregation in the South. It was exactly this matter of trying to eliminate *de jure* segregation in the South that brought about the removal of Panetta, the surrender of Finch and the rise of Mardian.

There is even a new respectability for old arguments that Negroes are intellectually inferior: Dr. Arthur Jensen's conclusions on race and IQ might have received little notice five years ago, and none at all if they had come from the University of Mississippi; but they came by way of Berkeley and Harvard, and thus their susceptibility to misuse is greater—as is being demonstrated by the white Citizens Councils (which, incidentally, have recovered from a decade of decline and are growing in strength).

Within the South, these national trends already are damaging the forces for progressive change. Gov. Linwood Holton of Virginia, Gov. Robert Scott of North Carolina, Gov. Robert McNair of South Carolina, Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas, had all strongly urged their publics to accomplish school desegregation in reasonable and orderly fashion; and until the national trend of recent weeks their positions were not fanning the old flames of resistance. Holton and Rockefeller (both Republicans elected with heavy black support, not by the segregationist "Southern strategy") move on as before, but Scott and McNair have had to hedge a bit to protect themselves politically. Perhaps more significantly, Gov. John McKeithen of Louisiana took for a time a more or less moderate position on race; now he is trying to outdo Wallace as an advocate of the neo-segregationist position. Wallace is claiming credit for moving the Administration, and Gov. Albert Brewer is forced once again to be a yes man to Wallace's position, even while running against him for another term. In Georgia, Maddox's style often offends the increasingly middle-class electorate, but his position on school desegregation has been strengthened; opponents no longer can argue that his posturing is ridiculous because the battle is over.

As if to assert that the nation may yet be converted to a Southern point of view—not the growing Southern

*"But Now, Maybe if You Black Children Would Just Sit in the Back of the Bus."*

viewpoint that integration is right and fair but the old view that was thought to be dying—Governor McKeithen recently put full-page ads in *The New York Times, Newsweek* and other publications. His pitch cynically lifted the thoughts, and even the words, of some Northern liberals and used them to justify the South's worst inclinations. "Full Partnership," the ad's headline proclaimed, by which it meant that Louisiana wanted full partnership in the Union. Louisiana has attempted to obey the law, the ad said, and now all it asks is that it "be treated the same as any other state in the nation." Governor McKeithen, whose photograph accompanied the copy, even italicized these words: "*We believe in civil rights.*" But if the Governor of Louisiana now believes in civil rights, he does not believe in federal efforts to secure them, and he cannot truthfully cite any substantial Louisiana state efforts to secure them in places where they are denied by strong white supremacist elements.

Not long ago one would have supposed, and probably Governor McKeithen would have supposed, that the nation would scorn such sophistry. But it is exactly the kind of sophistry that is emanating now from some of the country's most prominent newspaper columnists, intellectuals and liberal politicians. I suspect that the Governor's ads, paid for by "voluntary donations from thousands of Louisianans and their neighbors" (just which highway contractors and/or which oil companies operating in Louisiana?) have had some impact. The worst part of the South has always benefited from an unwillingness on the part of civilized men to believe that anyone in America could be as politically craven as politicians frequently are in the South on matters of race. Simply to grant that a man like John Stennis is sincere when he says integration should come to the whole country is outrageous. But Stennis is being believed, so why not believe McKeithen, Wallace or Maddox when they say they believe in civil rights? It was a blessing that Maddox went to Washington, carrying ax handles and causing a scene, just as more dignified Southern spokesmen there were beginning to win their case on the Hill. Governor Maddox's mere presence with his ax handles showed people what it was all about.

Craven politics: The newspapers of Jackson, Miss., and Columbia, S.C., which now have unusually good White House contacts, were the first to report the forthcoming dismissal of Leon Panetta as HEW's chief civil rights enforcement officer. When Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* called the Republican chairmen of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana for comment on Panetta's dismissal, all four laughed. All said they had expected it.

For months the White House staff had been sending memoranda bearing Southern segregationist complaints to the offices of HEW Secretary Robert Finch and Panetta. Now we have confirmation that Paul Jones, who was Georgia's Republican chairman at the time, had even sent a message that if HEW would restore federal school funds for one recalcitrant Georgia school system, he was sure large party contributions from several donors could be obtained in return. The White House sent the message to Finch's office. The message was clear.

In February, a Georgia "freedom-of-choice" group (how ironic that term seems when it describes, as it usually does, those who would not have tolerated freedom of choice in the days of impregnable segregation) visited the White House to speak for its "neighborhood school concept." Harry Dent told them, according to an *Atlanta Constitution* report on February 20, that President Nixon intends to use the Agnew Cabinet-level committee to take command of the Administration's desegregation policies. "And Dent indicated that the President's policies would not make the Georgians unhappy." The group left the White House "reassured," a spokesman said.

So the battle cries of the segregationists are growing stronger, and with good reason. Roy Harris, an old-line Georgia white supremacist and Citizens Councils leader, currently revels in the developments he can report in his weekly political newspaper, the *Augusta Courier*. In a recent issue he noted that Senator Ribicoff had exposed Northern hypocrisy; said white supremacists may win now because of Northern fears of bussing ("a new word on the tongues of nearly everybody"); quoted Vermont Royster of *The Wall Street Journal*, who had written that "the attempt to integrate this country's schools is a tragic failure"; happily reported words from black "militants" Dan Watts and Julius Hobson that seemed to echo his own segregationist viewpoint; and quoted Professor Bickel's article at length. Addressing himself to his segregationist readers, Harris added: "Now, we shouldn't reach the conclusion that the fight is won. The battle isn't over. . . All this means is that we are making some progress and that if we are willing to stand up and fight with sledge hammers instead of powder puffs we are obliged to win. . . . All of us who have been in the thick of the fight from 1954 until now have believed it would take from two to three generations to win this fight. We knew we couldn't win it by ourselves. We have known all along that we had to have the help of the white people outside of the South."

There is no doubt that Harris and others of his viewpoint will verbally "fight with sledge hammers," and some, of course, will physically do it with ax handles, as they did recently in Lamar, S.C. Harris has been consistent. He always did say the fight would take a long time, but that it would be won when real integration began to come outside the South. And it is true that the Southern resistance has frequently outsmarted the federal effort which never truly has been very strong and consistent, precisely because the enforcers always thought the battle was about over, and the resistance always knew it was not.

What is happening now within the South is that Nixon's "Southern strategy" has rekindled all the dying fires. But it is not true, as Harris and Bickel both argue, that integration currently is impossible on a national scale and that, this being the case, it should not be pressed hard in the South. Bickel asked whether it is right to require a small, rural and relatively poor segment of the nation's population (the rural and small-town South, that is) to "submit" to a kind of schooling "that is disagreeable to them (for whatever reasons, more or less unworthy)." This argument revives the "invisible man." A large part of that small,

rural and relatively poor area is black, does not feel that it is being forced to "submit," and usually has found nothing disagreeable about the fact that at last it has begun to make real progress toward school integration.

Yes, we are told, but the "vanguard" of black opinion in the nation is no longer interested in integration. Is Roy Innis "vanguard" and Julian Bond, who disagrees with Innis' kind of separatist position, not? Someone is putting us on. When Innis came to Atlanta recently, he conferred with Governor Maddox and reported the Governor's response to his separatist views on schools was "very heartening and encouraging." He did not consult with Bond, also a Georgia state official; Bond would not have heartened him. Vanguard?

Innumerable examples of successful school integration can be cited. One thinks of Greenville, S.C., where white students welcomed blacks with banners and decent local leadership made things work; or Jackson, Miss., where the school superintendent could report "extremely smooth" transition in a system 47 per cent black; or scores of others. The fact is that the number of places in the South where integration has been self-defeating, once it has arrived, is relatively small.

But these numerous examples are being ignored. Some are dismissed on grounds that they do not involve a high percentage of blacks or are in places where resistance was not strong. Aberdeen, Miss., is a small town with a high school that has been 50 per cent black since last September. There were no incidents when Aberdeen closed an all-black high school and fully integrated grades 10, 11 and 12. Very few whites departed. Despite the big educational lag of black high school students who had never been to a good school, education has proceeded at Aberdeen High School. Team teaching, individual instruction and a number of other devices have been used by a school administration determined to make integration work.

The brightest white students have not been penalized; they have benefited from the increase in individual attention, and apparently they are generally making faster progress than were their counterparts a year ago. The achievement levels of the black students, meanwhile, have been rising. (Remember the Coleman Report?) There have been no unusual disciplinary problems. A black student was elected president of the student body, with a majority, without a run-off against two white students. The athletic teams are fully integrated, and the school has taken pains to see that blacks and whites have shared alike in such hallowed endeavors as the selection of cheer leaders and homecoming queens and maids of honor. A lively student newspaper, far from being mousy about the biggest subject in the local high school, has done a complete job of reporting on the changes and on student and adult opinions about it all.

What is the real message of Aberdeen? It is not that the majority of the town's white people wanted school integration or that it was successfully achieved through some extraordinary assistance in funds and other aid from outside. The real message is that school administrators and officials, confronted finally with integration, and knowing they must make it work or have no public school system, have used all their considerable skills to make it effective.

What happens now to such conscientious people? Enemies of the change may scold them for moving along, questioning whether even in the face of a court order they had to make things go well. If they had stalled, or encouraged the private school, or discriminated within the building, or made life unpleasant for the new arrivals, maybe now the fight against integration could be won. Maybe Aberdeen could have gotten by with token integration. That is the local spin-off from the "Southern strategy."

Except for the spectacle of seeing one of the two national political parties openly playing race politics as Southern demagogues have played it (not the "nigger-nigger" and States'-rights Southern demagogues but their successors, who speak of belief in civil rights and disbelief in guidelines, or racial balance or federal force), the most disturbing aspect of the new national trend is the blithe adoption of Southern segregationist terminology and terms of discussion. Now we hear nationally, not just in "Maddox country," that *the goal* should be "quality education." That should always be the goal of education, of course; but now the term is used to oppose integration, as Southern demagogues have always used it. Now we also hear that it is "time to end the civil war," as Geoffrey and Roscoe Drummond wrote in a recent newspaper column. By this is meant that the federal government should stop leaning hard on the South (if it ever did); and this in turn means it should stop leaning hard on white supremacists in the South. We now hear frequent references to school integration as "racial balance," a term which usually is altogether misleading because it describes a goal and a result hardly ever involved in plans abolishing the dual school systems of the South. And finally, bussing is now at the center of debate, although school integration in the South has steadily reduced bussing. What has happened to the terms of the national discussion? They, too, have been captured by Southern neo-segregationists.

There is another dimension in this shifting of the terms of debate. It has to do with emphasis on "lowering our voices," to use President Nixon's term, at the moment when voices should be raised. People who raise their voices loudly against the politicizing of the school desegregation process—people who, like Panetta, rightly call it "craven retreat"—are now dismissed, even in some liberal quarters, as intemperate zealots. We are urged not to attribute the worst motives to the Nixon Administration, the nation's racial situation being so delicate. On the contrary, voices should be raised, loudly, *because* the racial situation is delicate and because this playing politics with children further widens the racial gap. It is no service to the country to counsel a quiet rationality that does not permit calling political opportunism exactly that and which is too refined to entertain the thought that Richard Nixon and Lester Maddox can operate with the same motivations.

All of these developments (the developments in the media and academic worlds may do more than the "Southern strategy" to reverse the nation's progress) suggest that the South is once again being cut adrift. And of course the white supremacist element—which is hardly ever called that now, although the country is

quick to name black power when it appears—wants the South adrift. Then we can have "local control," "self-determination" and "neighborhood schools." Do Southern liberals have a right to expect those at the end of their life lines, those in places of power in Washington and New York and other cities ouside the South, to continue to hold on? I don't think white Southern liberals have any such right; with relatively few exceptions they have not been the real heroes or the real sufferers in the struggle. But black Southerners can claim that right. The nation still has not made good on the promissory note they hold. People in power, whether it be governmental, intellectual or communications power, ought to be garnisheed to make good. Those in places of influence who do not think so ought to be moved out of the way.

And I think they will be. In Maddox country it is clear that the struggle, as Roy Harris says, is not over. He is calling in his reinforcements. So should we. Behind those who are tired and discouraged and prone to tacitly accept the racist underpinnings of arguments made by John Stennis and Roy Innis, there are younger replacements, many of whom have been tempered in the Southern civil rights movement. They know that reconstruction sometimes must precede reconciliation, and that as long as John Stennis represents a million Mississippi blacks our concern must be mainly for them, not for him.

There seems to be good evidence that the current activism of college students, generally described as student radicalism, is progressing not mainly toward a major force of organized radicalism in America but toward a tough new reformism with *perspectives* that are, in the present milieu, radical. The student radicalism already has yielded perspectives of truth, but not yet a functional politics. On the other hand, liberalism is ineffectual today exactly to the extent that it lacks those radical perspectives. We have learned that, without them, liberals are capable of producing Vietnams and Chicagos, and the kind of reasoning process that now has shifted the terms of debate on the schools. Liberals who lack a radical perspective—a perspective slicing through the nation's erroneous pretensions about itself, its institutions and the world, and comprehending that civics books are usually filled with facts that add up to lies about how government works—are incapable of dealing effectively with the main processes of public life in America. Let them be replaced by an influx of the new liberals (the label "liberal" perhaps will not be used): people who are not radically destructive but creative. If that happens the earlier liberalism, which for a time became our national orthodoxy, will not be followed by a middle American copout or a drug-culture dropout but by a liberalism that has been made functional again.

Mr. Nixon's "silent majority" did, after all, give him less than half the votes in the 1968 Presidential election, and this after eight years of Democratic rule and in the midst of one of the most unpopular wars in American history. What is there to prove that the nation, though it may have been ready for a pause, will long accept a retreat that is patent political opportunism? I may be wrong, viewing the scene through all the strange prisms of Maddox country, but even in the disarray of liberalism Spiro Agnew does not look like the wave of the future.

Sent to Frank Loescher
+ Alfred Kramer (Natl Council Churches)
12-7-55

3 Items

The Clarion-Ledger
November 30, 1955
Jackson, Mississippi

PRESBYTERY UPHOLDS EVICTION OF MINISTER BY DURANT'S CHURCH

The Rev. Marsh Calloway told the Central Mississippi Presbytery Tuesday his elders at Durant Presbyterian Church "kicked me out because I spoke against the Citizens Council" and declared that he would bring the charge before the statewide governing body of the Presbyterian church.

The Central Presbytery, acting on a request by the congregation of the Durant church voted to "dissolve its pastorial relationship" with the Rev. Mr. Callaway. The action was made effective on December 31 as a compromise between the minister's request that he be allowed to remain until March 31 and the elders' request that he be fired immediately.

The Central Presbytery is the church's governing body for the central district of Mississippi and composed of ministers and laymen.

The Rev. Russel Nunan, pastor of Greenville Presbyterian church and a member of a Presbytery subcommittee which investigated the situation at Durant, told those present Tuesday:

> "This committee found that there is no question involved concerning the Rev. Mr. Callaway's theological convictions, character or morals, or that there is no question about his social beliefs in the light of the customs of the South. But there is a serious personal conflict between the pastor and certain members of the congregation."

Nunan added, "It is my opinion and, I believe, the opinion of the committee that the Session (Durant elders) acted in error in saying bluntly "Youre fired." And that the Session acted in error in trying to shut him up in the pulpit."

Prior to taking up the Durant church's request that Callaway be officially fired, the Presbytery heard charges by the minister that forces outside the church caused the split between him and the congregation.

He said that following a mass meeting in Tchula last September, E.W. Hooker, a member of the Methodist church and the first chairman of the Holmes county Citizens Council, met with the elders of the Durant Presbyterian church "to discuss me."

> "The Citizens Council is tied up to this to the nth degree," the Rev. Mr. Callaway declared with much feeling. "I charge that my elders got their information and inspiration, that lead to kicking me out, from the Citizens Council."

The elders of the Durant church presented a paper to the Presbytery denying the minister's charges. The paper, which was read by Moderator Ralph Landrum, said in part: "... Mr. E.W. Hooker had nothing to do with the church asking Rev. Callaway to leave... The only thing discussed at a meeting of the elders and Mr. Hooker was a book written by Sherwood Eddy. Mr. Callaway was not discussed at all... But as there were many rumors about the relationship between Mr. Callaway and Dr. Minter" it was decided by the elders that Callaway should be asked to resign.

Sherwood Eddy, an 80-year-old controversial figure from another state, was instrumental in setting up a cooperative farm in Holmes County furing the depression. Dr. Dave Minter and Eugene Cox, who now live on that farm, were called before a mass meeting in Tchula in September and accused of advocating racial integration. Both men denied the charge.

Rev. Callaway stood at the meeting and called it "undemocratic and un-Christian. Shortly after the meeting he was asked by his elders to resign. He refused and the matter was brought before the congregation which unanimously endorsed the elders' action. This brought the matter before the Central Presbytery, which voted to dissolve the pastoral relationship because "it is obvious that the situation at present is not to the best interests of the church, the pastor, or the Christian cause... regardless of who is at fault."

Callaway is 60 years old, short and stockily constructed. His grey hair

has thinned considerably. Before the vote was taken by the Presbytery, he said to them: "I am chagrined and ashamed that this Presbytery would sit here and allow these men (Durant elders) to kick their pastor out on his ear just because he doesn't go along with them.

"It's not the money I'm worried about when I ask that the date of dissolution be set on March 31. I can get along. I just believe deeply that the future of the church is at stake. If this Session gets its way here today it will mean that every minister will be under the thumb of his elders. This goes much deeper than waht has been called a clash of personalities. It strikes at the church government itself."

He charged that his elders boycotted church services after the Tchula mass meeting by "passing the word" with a series of telephone calls to members of the congregation.

"The Sunday before the Tchula meeting," Rev. Callaway said, " we had one of the largest crowds in several months... But because I dared stand up for what I believe, my services were boycotted and I was asked to resign."

Callaway is a native of Texas, but has pastored Mississippi churches for about 12 years. Before going to Durant he was in Drew and Columbia.

Outgoing Holmes county Representative Ed White of Lexington attended the Presbytery meeting. He spoke several times in favor of letting the written complaints of the elders be read to the group.

White, who is also an officer in the Holmes county Citizens Council, was among the group which called the mass meeting in Tchula last September.

Alabama Council Newsletter
November 1955

## MINISTER BEATEN, FORCED TO LEAVE WILCOX COUNTY

Last September a 50 year old white Lutheran minister assigned to a Negro church wasbrutally beaten and forced to flee Wilcox County for fear of his life in an incident that never came to light.

Pastor A. F. Gianvittario was assigned to the Oak Hill Community Lutheran Church and private elementary school last March despite poor health. Preaching against the moral laxity of many of his parishioners over a period of several months, the bootlegging and prostitution business in the "hong tongs" scattered throughout the backwoods began to fall off. Their owner, a white operator of an Oak Hill service station, and part-time deputy sheriff, sent Pastor Gianvittario threatening messages through his parishioners. In addition the minister's practice of paying $2.00 per week for his personal laundry resulted in unrest on the part of house maids who generally worked full-time for Oak Hills families for $11.00 - $14.00 per month.

In August an ultimatum was given him by the businessman to get out of the county or risk death. On Sept, 12th as Rev. Gianvittario strolled down a deserted road to Oak Hill, the service station operator drove up beside him in a car. "When are you going to leave the county?" he demanded. The minister replied, "When God calls me." In a rage the man screamed, "I'll show you who is God! I'll get your guts!" Holding him at the point of a pistol, he pulled a heavy walking stick from his car, knocked the pastor down and proceeded to beat him about the head and body. No resistance was offered. The assault ended with the approach of an auto whose driver assisted Rev. Gianvittario to escape.

In clothes soaked with blood he made his way to Selma where he was relieved of his Oak Hill assignment. His ecclesiastical superiors recommended that no legal redress be taken in fear for the other Lutheran mission work in the country.

To George Mitchell:

Herewith material just received about which I talked with you.

Copies by air mail went to Mr. McCaine.

Thanks for everything.

Cordially,

Francis Harmon

5 P.M.
Monday

RECEIVED DEC 14 1955

C
O
P
Y

RICHARD E. CAREY
209 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

December 8, 1955

Mr. Francis Harmon
464 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

My dear Mr. Harmon:

I was indeed happy to converse with you this morning on the DeLaine matter and I deeply appreciate the interest exhibited by you.

As I told you over the telephone, it would be most helpful to me on the Habeas Corpus proceeding if same become necessary, to have some testimony from persons who are familiar with the law enforcement methods employed by South Carolina and persons who will be able to testify to the fact that in the event DeLaine is returned to South Carolina that he could not obtain a fair trial by reason of the prejudice of the law enforcement officers, and by further reason of the terror now existing throughout South Carolina and other parts of the south.

I am also happy to learn of the interest exhibited by Columbia University and the willingness of the Dean of the Law School to prepare a brief as amicus curiae. If and when such brief is prepared, I would like to have a copy in order to be certain that there will be no conflicting statements as to the facts.

In order that you might have a clear picture of the facts leading up to Rev. DeLaine's present predicament I am herewith enclosing a brief summary of the instances leading up to DeLaine's flight from Lake City, South Carolina. These facts should be brought to the attention of the Dean of Columbia University Law School for guidance in preparation of his brief.

I am also enclosing herewith two photostat copies of the letter which DeLaine received on October 7th prior to his flight from Lake City. I am also enclosing herewith two photostat copies of the newspaper publication showing the broken windows in Rev. DeLaine's home and I am also enclosing herein two copies of the ruins of Rev. DeLaine's home which was destroyed by fire in Summerton.

I would also like you to request the National Council of Churches in South Carolina to send a petition to Governor Harriman stating that Rev. DeLaine was attacked in his home on the night of October 10, 1955, and that he fled from South Carolina to escape being murdered by his attackers and as such he is not a fugitive from justice but a fugitive from injustice and should not be returned to South Carolina, for he has committed no crime as he shot back at his attackers to mark the car in which his attackers came pursuant to the instructions of the Sheriff. Then, too, said petition should include a statement setting forth that the present reign of terror in South Carolina prevents Rev. DeLaine from getting a fair trial and if he is sent back to South Carolina he would be lynched or shot on arrival. A petition to the Governor containing the aforementioned statements would have great weight coming from South Carolina.

Kindly advise me of your reaction to the contents of this letter.

Thanking you for the splendid support that you have given me in this matter, I am

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Richard E. Carey

REC:MW
Enc. 3

(The following is a copy of a letter addressed as follows:

Rev. J. A. Delane. Collard

City

and Post Marked from Lake City, S. C. Oct. 7, 1955 at 11:00 A.M.)

J. A. Delane

We have been notified by the best of authority that you are the one that started school segrigation mess at Manning, S. C. and that you was run out of manning four dirty filthy work. Maby you dont know Lake City but you are going to find out real soon. Several hundred of us have had a meeting and pledged our selves to put you where you belong, if there is such a place. I wonder if ever heard about the Negrow Postmaster that was sent to Lake City and notified to leve. He refused. However, he left, but in a coffin. So we have decided to give you 10 days to leave Lake City and if you are not away by then rather than let you spread your dirty filty poison here any longer. We have made plans to move you if it takes dynimite to do so. This is final

(The above is an exact copy, including misspellings and bad grammar.)

MEMORANDUM OF FACTS LEADING UP TO
DELAINE'S FLIGHT FROM SOUTH CAROLINA
ON THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 10TH, 1955

1. In 1949 DeLaine supported the movement in Clarendon County, South Carolina, to outlaw segregation in the public schools of South Carolina. In the height of his activities he was driven out of Clarendon County to Summerton County, South Carolina.

2. In Summerton County the KuKlux Klan began threatening DeLaine and in 1951 they burned down his home and drove him out of Summerton under threat of death.

3. From Summerton County DeLaine fled to Lake City, Florence County, South Carolina, where he continued the fight to outlaw segregation in the public schools. In March, 1954, the Ku Klux Klan burned down the farm house of Rev. DeLaine and to this date no one has been brought to justice for this vicious act.

4. In May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision outlawing segregation in the public schools in the south, and from May 17, 1954 on DeLaine's real persecution began in full force. The Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Council assaulted DeLaine and his family as they walked the streets of Lake City using indecent and abusive language to them and openly making threats against the life of DeLaine and his family, and DeLaine and his family fearing for their lives, did not go out of their home after dark.

5. The aforementioned threats on the life of DeLaine and his family continued until September 11, 1955, when in the nighttime automobiles filled with white people drove by the home of Rev. DeLaine and threw bricks, bottles and other missles and fired shots through the windows of Rev. DeLaine's home breaking the windows in said home. DeLaine thereafter notified the FBI, the Federal Judge in South Carolina, the local authorities such as the police and the Sheriff of said assault and requested their aid and protection. DeLaine received no protection from the police, neither did the FBI furnish such protection. The Sheriff of the county to whom DeLaine complained advised DeLaine to shoot at the automobile containing his attackers the next time they descended upon his home.

6. During all this time threats against his life continued, and on October 6, 1955, members of the Ku Klux Klan and white Citizens Council burned down the church

of Rev. DeLaine in Lake City, and to date nothing has been done by the authorities in Lake City and Summerton County to bring the guilty parties to account.

7. On October 7, 1955, DeLaine received a threatening letter which among other things gave DeLaine ten days to leave Lake City and upon failure of DeLaine to leave, his attackers, the Ku Klux Klan and white Citizens Council would dynamite him.

8. On Midnight of October 10, 1955, automobiles containing white people drove upon the home of DeLaine and began firing shots into his home. DeLaine and his wife fled their home, the wife crawling upon her stomach to avoid being hit by bullets. DeLaine, however, while being pursued and remembering the instructions of the Sheriff to shoot at the car the next time a car appeared at his residence, did shoot at the car for the purpose of enabling the Sheriff to identify the car by means of the bullet holes and thereby apprehend his attackers. DeLaine continued his flight to New York. Under the circumstances above set forth DeLaine is not a fugitive from justice but a fugitive from injustice for he was attacked in his home in the dead of night and a man's home is still his castle even though that home be in South Carolina. If DeLaine had not sought safety in flight, he would have been murdered by the attackers.

9. Rev. DeLaine has a son who is now fighting in Korea for democracy that is denied him at home.

10. On or about October 27, 1955, officers of the South Carolina law enforcement divisions headed by O. L. Brady, broke into the home of DeLaine in Lake City and found a microscope bearing the name of Robert M. Browne of 238 King Street, Chappaqua, New York. Mr. Brady wrote to Mrs. Robert M. Browne at the Chappaqua address requesting her to notify the South Carolina authorities if the microscope was stolen and if stolen they would be able to locate same. The microscope in question was sold by Mr. Browne to Joseph A. DeLaine, Jr., who is now serving in the Armed Forces in Korea, and a son of Rev. DeLaine and Mr. Browne wrote the South Carolina authorities informing them that he had sold the microscope to Joseph A. DeLaine, Jr.

PUBLISHED CASES OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE OR THREATS DURING 1955

ALABAMA

Macon County--State Senator Sam Engelhardt of Macon County reported to the Senate Education Committee, "We've got 196 colored teachers in Macon County and the board tells me they'll fire everyone of them that takes part in this agitation for integration." -- CHATTANOOGA TIMES, 7/21/55

Selma--White Citizens' Council members estimated that 16 out of 29 Negroes signing a school integration petition in Selma had lost their jobs because of the educational work of the citizens.--CHATTANOOGA TIMES, 9/8/55

ARKANSAS

Parkin--The Rev. Ed Jones, white minister, said he was dismissed in February, 1955, as pastor of Fortune Baptist Church near Parkin because he preached segregation in the church was un-Christian.--ATLANTA JOURNAL 3/20/55

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson--The Rev. Roy C. Delamotte, white Methodist minister, was not accepted by any congregation after protesting a resolution in the Mississippi Annual Conference calling for continued segregation.--JACKSON DAILY NEWS 6/21/55

Yazoo City--Only two signatures (signers have left the county) remain on the Yazoo City petition presented to Board of Education last August 6. Majority of signers lost jobs, have been refused credit or services. Some well-known firms refusing service to signers have been Coca Cola, Nabisco, Colonial Bread, Falstaff, Schlitz, Blue Ribbon, Pabst.--AFRO AMERICAN 11/26/55

Jackson--Falstaff Brewing Company of St. Louis, Missouri has withdrawn life membership from NAACP following a boycott of its beer in Mississippi.--JACKSON STATE TIMES 11/30/55

Durant--The Rev. Marsh Calloway reported that elders of Durant Presbyterian Church fired him because he spoke against Citizens' Councils, CLARION LEDGER 11/30/55

NORTH CAROLINA

Guilford College--One of the 34 signers (white) of an integration letter to the Guilford School Board was fired from a part-time job. Another signer (white) submitted his resignation from a full-time job because of protest received by his employer. WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL 9/6/55

The C. M. Mackess, signers of the integration petition, were sharply criticized and there were threats of boycotting their furniture business. WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL 9/7/55

Greensboro--Jo Lee Fritz, (white) director of Wesley Foundation, a Methodist Church organization at Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, was dismissed from her job because of her activities with NAACP Youth program in North Carolina. -- JOURNAL AND GUIDE 11/5/55

SOUTH CAROLINA

Millings--Negro high school principal and elementary school teacher dismissed following petition for integrated schools.--AFRO AMERICAN 5/1/55

Clarendon County--Three Negro teachers said they were not rehired by the Summerton District of Clarendon because their father and the husband of one signed an integration petition.--TWIN CITY SENTINEL 8/25/55

Supt. of Education (a retired minister) L. B. McCord said economic pressure might be applied in certain cases in the future "when it is clearly needed."--TWIN CITY SENTINEL 9/6/55

Orangeburg--State Senator Marshall Williams said Negroes must be shown that the NAACP and the Supreme Court won't lend them money if employers fire them. Acts against petitioners calling for integration included eviction from houses, denial of credit at local banks, foreclosures of mortgages, demotion or discharge from jobs, death threats, and refusal of food purchases.--JOURNAL AND GUIDE 9/17/55

Firms refusing to service Negroes in Orangeburg County include Standard Oil, Coca Cola, Sunbeam Bread, Ford Motors, Lance Company, Curtis Candy Co., Lays. From other companies services were available only on cash basis.--PITTSBURGH COURIER

Twenty-five additional persons in Sumter, 18 in Orangeburg, and four in Summerton withdrew their names from integration petitions following white newspaper suggestion that white readers "confer" with colored petitioners.--AFRO-AMERICAN 10/1/55

Batesburg--The Rev. George Jackson Stafford's resignation from pastorship of the First Baptist Church was accepted because some of his anti-segregation views differed from his congregations. Pressure had been brought to bear by Federal Judge George Timmerman. --THE STATE 11/1/55

Orangeburg--The Rev. John Murray, Methodist minister, was recently transferred from Orangeburg County to Gilbert, S. C., because congregation protested his support of a resolution. The resolution deplored economic sanctions against Negroes with integrationist views.--THE STATE 11/1/55

Columbia--An announcement was made of the dismissal of Dr. Chester Travelstead as dean of the School of Education, University of South Carolina, because of his views on integration.--ATLANTA JOURNAL 11/24/55

Elloree--L. A. Blackman, victim of pressure squeezo and threats, said he had no plans for leaving the town. He is NAACP president.--CHATTANOOGA TIMES 12/8/55

TEXAS

LaGrange--Since 13 Negro citizens signed a school integration petition a month previous, three had been fired from jobs. Threat of cancellation of automobile insurance had been made to one signer.--TEXAS OBSERVER 8/30/55

Alabama Council Newsletter
November 1955

## MINISTER BEATEN, FORCED TO LEAVE WILCOX COUNTY

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## Ministers Losing Pastorates

Rev. Roy C. Delamotte - JACKSON DAILY NEWS (Miss.) of June 21, 1955 reported that Rev. Delamotte had been appointed to a Methodist Church at the Annual Mississippi Conference meeting the previous week. After a speech condemning Jim Crow the church informed the Conference that he was undesirable, and the Conference did not find a church willing to accept him.

Rev. Ed Jones - ATLANTA JOURNAL of March 20, 1955 reported that Rev. Jones had been dismissed as pastor of the Fortune Baptist Church near Parkin, Arkansas in late February, 1955 because he preached that segregation was sinful. He was working in Memphis at the time of the news story.

Rev. G. Jackson Stafford -- Resigned October 19, 1955 (effective Nov. 28, 1955) from pastorship of Batesburg Baptist Church, Batesburg, South Carolina, under pressure for racial views. Pressure originated by Federal Judge George Timmerman, who is chairman of Board of Deacons.

Rev. Robert Trotman -- ATLANTA CONSTITUTION of June 28, 1954 reported the resignation of Rev. Trotman upon the request of the deacons. This followed a sermon in which he approved the May 17th decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. He is from Lumpkin, Georgia and the church involved was the Bronwood Baptist Church in Terrell County, Georgia.

Rev. Marsh Calloway (See Clarion-Ledger story enclosed.)

FFR - Displaced Person

SAMUEL NEWMAN, M. D., F. A. A. P.
NEWMAN BUILDING
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

February 6, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing copy of a letter by the Rev. Harry M. Wilson, Pastor, First Christian Church, Danville, Virginia, published recently in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, concerning the Referendum voted on Monday, January 9th.

Mr. Wilson's letter led to his resignation as pastor of the First Christian Church. It seems to me that this reflects a sad state of affairs in the spiritual, cultural, and religious life of our times. At a time when forceful and outspoken men are so needed to sustain and invigorate the best in our American culture and civilization they are punished for discharging their supreme duty in the community.

I happen to know that Mr. Wilson came to Danville twenty-eight months ago at a great financial sacrifice. He is now in need of an opportunity to continue his life's calling. What is more important society is in need of a man of his caliber and spiritual and religious outlook.

Mr. Wilson does not wish to make his case a "cause celebre". I therefore appeal to you to do everything within your power to make it possible for Mr. Wilson to obtain an outlet for his work for which he has dedicated his life so creditably and nobly.

Yours very sincerely,

SN:ia

Address: Rev. Harry M. Wilson
148 Clarendon Circle
Danville, Virginia

Harry M. Wilson, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, born and reared at Paducah, Kentucky. Trained at Phillips Seminary (Ohio), Ohio University (Athens) and West Virginia Teachers College (Montgomery). Had a pastorate in Washington, D.C; (Fifteenth Street Christian Church); Huntington, West Virginia, (Vinson Memorial Christian Church). While in the latter pastorate he was given the award "Citizen of the Year" for intergroup activities. From 1948-1953 he was Regional Director National Conference of Christians and Jews, New Orleans, La. Came to Danville, Virginia, October 1, 1953 and resigned in January 1956 as an aftermath of his engaging in the opposition fight against the Referendum authorizing the state legislature to amend section 141 of the constitution to preserve segregation in the public schools.

He is a cooperative minister in the Brotherhood interest of the Disciples and engages in civic enterprises as his ministerial duties will permit.

Letter by Harry M. Wilson to Richmond Times-Dispatch just a few days before the Referendum vote on Jan. 9, 1956.

Editor:

January 9 is decision day for Virginians. Let us place our religious and moral principles and precepts above every other consideration when we register our decision by the ballot.

Through their leaders, all the great religious bodies have advised against the Referendum. There are enough religiously minded voters to overwhelm the proposed referendum. Politicians are trying to lead us to make a decision that is both immoral and illegal; what is so obviously wrong morally cannot be made good by its being made into law.

The public school system is threatened with dissolution. Private schools cannot be supported by public revenue. Where, then, is the money coming from? The politicians don't say for they don't know.

The proposal for a referendum is an attempt further to lead Virginians into a change that will surely bring about educational chaos. Circumvention of our great Federal Constitution will lead to further and widespread disrespect for law. Religiously-minded people cannot condone or encourage such an evil spirit.

Let us put respect for public education, love of country and obedience to our religious precepts above political expediency by thoroughly defeating the proposal for a convention. By defeating this thing we retain the opportunity to force the dissolutionists to make a new and moral and legal approach to the solution of the problem which is admittedly a serious one.

Virginians are Americans also. Let us vote that way on January 9 and keep the record clean for future generations to follow.

(Rev.) Harry M. Wilson
First Christian Church
Danville, Virginia

HCF
for your personal files
FBR

317 W. Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
May 2,1956

Dear Fred:

Below is some information I think the office should have before it comes out in my report at the end of this month.

Brown & Chisolm Insurance Agency, 270½ Ashley Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina, reported to me today, (Wednesday, May 2, 1956) that the Title and Guaranty Company of Spartanburg, South Carolina, has revoked their fire insurance license with their company. The Spartanburg Company sent a agent to pick up the license from Brown and Chisolm, stating to them that, because of the high ratio loss, the Title Company was pulling out of Charleston, South Carolina. Brown and Chisolm have found out that the TITLE COMPANY has not pulled out of Charleston. They still have their White Agencies in Charleston. This move to revoke Brown And Chisolm Fire Insurance License, came immediately after the hearing of the State Park Case in which Brown and Chisolm were two of the defendants in the case against the State of South Carolina to open its State Parks to Negroes. Brown and Chisolm were doing around $ 56,000.00 worth of fire insurance when their license was revoked. It is estimated that Brown and Chisolm can do around $ 200,000.00 worth of fire insurance if they can get in with some other company. So far they have not been able to connect with another company.
Brown and Chisolm have contacted the following companies who have agencies in Charleston or in South Carolina, but they are being given the run around. Marquette Casualty Co., 600 Civic Center Bldg., New Orleans, Louisiana; Allstate Insurance Company, 7447 Skokie Boulevard, Skokie, Illinois; Georgia Casulty and Surety Company, 70 Fairlie Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia; and American Southern Insurance Company, Ponce De Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia.

The Lt. Governor of South Carolina, The Honorable Ernest Hollings of Charleston, South Carolina, unveiled the headquarters of the White citizen council for Charleston County last evening (Tuesday May 1, 1956) The building is located at 161 Calhoun Street, Charleston, South Carolina. A large shingle advertising the citizen council hangs in the front of the building.

Orangeburg, South Carolina:

The Faculty and student body of S.C. State College, are very bitter against the action taken by the Trustee Board and President of State College in expelling the student council president Fred Moore from the college for his part played in the strike at the college a few weeks ago. Immediately after the strike was over the President of the College called the faculty council together and offered a recommendation to expel Moore then, but the faculty council voted 12 to 2 against expelling Moore. Two days after the faculty council had its meeting with the President, the trustees of the college along with the President expel Moore. The Faculty members and students feel that they have been sold out by the President of the college.

The students might have gone on another strike if the parent of many of the students had not met at State College, Sunday and admonished they students not to strike again. The parents sent for the President to meet with them, but he refused to do so. Letters are being sent to all parents who have children at State College, to meet again, Sunday, May 13, 1956 in the auditorium at the college. What steps the parents will take in this matter will not be known until the next meeting. Negroes all over South Carolina are totally disgusted with the President of State College.

Dr. Furgerson, head of the Biology Department of State College, has sent his resignation to the President of the college. Dr. Furgerson stated that since the trustees did not see fit to elect teachers at this time, he was seeking work elsewhere. At the last trustee meeting, the President of the college was re-elected but the faculty would have to be investigated further. W.C.Bethea,board secretary added that the investigation would continue--especially into the activities of the faculty and the faculty would be elected at a later date. This move by the trustees has embittered the faculty. S.C.State College may lose some of its best prepared teachers because of this activity by the board of trustees.

" THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL" PLEASE DON'T RELEASE

Rev. Henry L. Parker who was dismissed from his Parrish in Orangeburg, South Carolina by Bishop Curruthers of Charleston, South Carolina may accept a call to the St. Paul Episcopal Parrish in Atlanta, Georgia. Rev. Parker is to speak at St. Paul, Sunday, May 13,1956. South Carolina will be losing a capable leader, but Georgia will be gaining one. I told him to get in touch withthe office in Atlanta as soon as he is settled. Parker has received quite a few other offers also, but I am trying to prevail upon him to accept the Atlanta position.

Yours truly,

Jim

# MEMO

To Harold

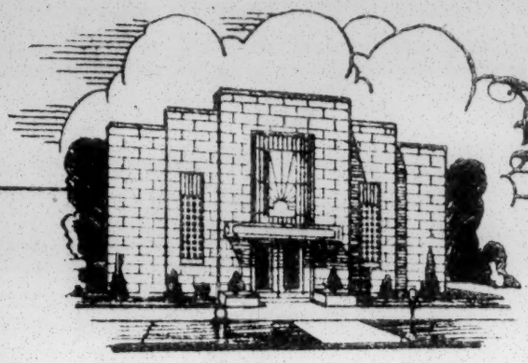
Thought you might like to see this

Bill H

J. M. O'DOWD, PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

Displaced Persons

ELIZABETH A. O'DOWD, VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY



Florence Morning News

PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING BY
THE FLORENCE PRINTING COMPANY

FLORENCE · SOUTH CAROLINA

June 24, 1956

Dear Bill:

It was wonderful talking with you on the phone Friday. I wanted to write you then or yesterday, but I have been out of town. Things, for me, have been somewhat turned upside down of late, so I seldom get to do things when I should, or when I'd like to.

You wanted some personal information? I suppose what you want is what has prompted my decision to move--your exhaustive job here covered me up until your April 4 issue, so I won't go back any further than that.

The race situation isn't any better. The Klan is bigger and the WCC boys haven't taken up their sheets yet, but only their loathing for the inferior people who people the Klan prohibits them from putting on the mask designed for violence. All right, so I'm prejudiced. At least in the South it's a novel kind of prejudice.

Bill I could stay here forever writing deathless prose for the illiterate masses except for two disturbing factors: 1) I'm enjoined from making any comment on the most vital news development of our time; and 2) My family, in two generations besides my own, suffers too much through my presence here.

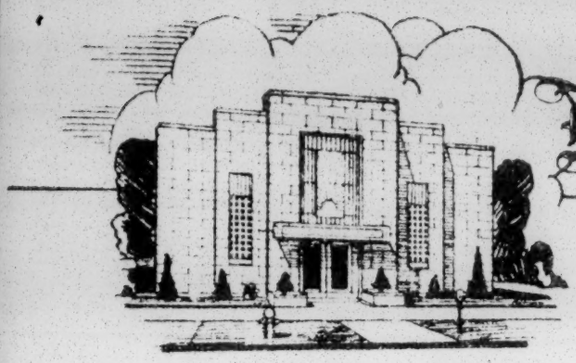
Taking the first one first: An editor who can't edit is about as useful to society--and himself--as a eunuch in a harem. Just because a prophet finds the usual lack of acceptance in his own land, he isn't guaranteed a fair hearing in another land, but the chances are better. I don't want to write editorials on the race problem every day, but when developments demand comment, the comment should be made. I need to go where I can at least say something.

The paper needs for me to go. Opposition against us continues, and will remain so long as I am here. You are familiar with the type comments we got--directed at me. That's fine. When I go much of the opposition to our paper will leave with me. I owe it to the paper--and to the ideals of journalism I love--to be the patsy.

Another editor can come and make constructive comment--and

J. M. O'DOWD, PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

ELIZABETH A. O'DOWD, VICE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY



Florence Morning News

PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING BY
THE FLORENCE PRINTING COMPANY

FLORENCE · SOUTH CAROLINA



be heard. He will not be the little boy who grew up among the people he is trying to reform. He might be the same kind of sob I am, but he will have the advantage of being a "foreign" sob.

The acceptance of the paper is all-important to me. Things have not improved since we have changed our editorial policy, and Daddy agrees that they will not change until I leave. He's all busted up about the thing, but accepts my views on the value of my leaving. He accepts the views for the second reason more than for the first--

Which brings us to number two. He has been most uncomfortable. He's near 70 and finds himself in the position of watching a reputation he has built since 1912 going down the drain. Some of his old friends are uncomfortable around him because he has a son who believes in equal rights for all men.

He worries about me. Many of his friends are doctors who treat the county's share-croppers (Klan types.) They tell him about the threats voiced against my safety. It's a wise father who knows his own son, and he can almost measure the hero blood in my body. Us ain' make no martyrs in dis family--at least, few willing ones.

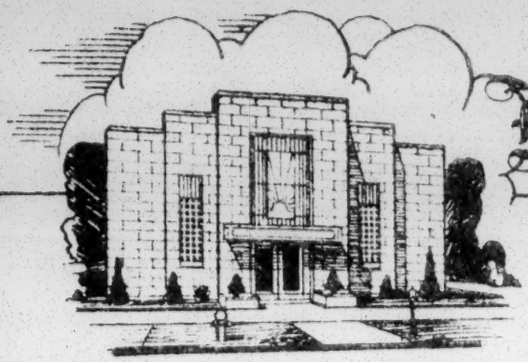
The Democratic Convention here, you'll remember, measured my popularity. My public stock has gone down since then. Example: A vestryman in our church has been a friend of our family since he was born. He watched me grow up in the church, and we have always been close. Some of the things he says about ~~hxxx~~ me are quite shocking. People I have known all my life cross the street to avoid meeting me. I'm not stretching any points.

Frances, of course, is quite concerned about me. Watching an idealistic husband become themain social cancer in his home town is hardly comfortable. And Johnny, 6, is starting to catch it. He isn't invited to parties, and he hears his father called a "nigger lover." Hardly a healthy atmosphere for a youngster.

These are some of the reasons I want to leave. I could go on, but you can get the full picture without my drawing it for you.

J. M. O'Dowd, President and Treasurer

Elizabeth A. O'Dowd, Vice President and Secretary



Florence Morning News

PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING BY
THE FLORENCE PRINTING COMPANY

FLORENCE · SOUTH CAROLINA



Anyhow, I want out. Frances wants out. The children need to get out. The paper'll be better off without me; and, Daddy is willing for me to go.

I want a place where I can make honest, moderate comment on things that demand public consideration. Not a so ap box, just a desk behind a policy that's open to argument.

Needless to say, any efforts of yours will be more than appreciated. The papers you wanted are in the mail--and if I end this, it can be too.

Thanks a lot Bill,

Jack O'Dowd

June 27, 1956

Mr. Reese Griffin
2758 Cherokee Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I am very glad to have your correspondence of June 16th, and have reported its facts to the Rights of Conscience program of the American Friends Service Committee. It is a simple matter for me to hear how important a figure you are in Methodist circles in the Macon area.

It is a small company of us who try in these days to tell the truth, and I am glad you are of the company.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Suggested person

RECEIVED JUN 18 1956

2758 Cherokee Avenue,
Macon, Georgia,
June 16, 1956.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will be interested to learn that two Macon ministers have lost their pulpits on account of their stand on the question of segregation. One of these is Rev. Ronald Merrix who for some time had served very successfully as rector of St. James Episcopal Church ~~Episcopal church~~ on the Hill, here in Macon. Mr Merrix had taken a moderate though firm stand on the matter of segregation and on the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools. Mr. Merrix had been a member of the program committee of Macon White Ministerial Union.

Once each year the white Ministerial Union and the Negro Ministerial Union have a joint meeting. This meeting was held several weeks ago. As the program committee was preparing for this joint meeting Mr. Merrix suggested that we make use of a panel discussion on the subject of segregation. This suggestion was carried out and the discussion proved to be interesting and helpful. Soon after this joint meeting Mr. Merrix was forced out of his pastorate because of his activities in the area of race relations.

I also am a member of this same program committee. When this program committee decided to have the panel discussion I was asked to work up the plans for the panel and also to serve as a member of the panel. During the discussion some one raised the question concerning some immediate steps which might be taken to improve race relations. I suggested, for one thing, that white and Negro missionary societies might occasionally hold joint meetings. I further suggested that that the experiment of holding daily vacation church schools with both white and Negro children attending and the faculties made up of white and Negro teachers be tried.

Now, for the last four years I have been serving as the retired supply pastor of Bass Memorial Methodist church here in Macon. This is a small suburban church. The record will show that this church has made considerable progress during these four years. A few days after this inter-racial meeting of the Macon ministers ~~Some~~ some of the members of Bass church held an indignant meeting. At this meeting it was suggested that I write a statement to be published in the Macon papers to the effect that what I had said in the panel discussion did not represent the views of Bass church. I refused to do this. I told them that they could write anything they desired At that time some of these dissenters began to plan to force my from the pulpit of Bass church.

A short time later I was invited to address the Macon Optimist Club on the subject of The Minister and Segregation. The address was very moderate and objective, as the manuscript of this address will show. } that enclosed

The address was well received by the members of the Club. But the resentment among some of the members of this church became so acute that it forced me from the pulpit of this church. At the recent session of the South Georgia Conference I was not reappointed to the pastorate of this church.

It has come to the place where a minister will lose his pulpit of he says anything in favor of integration. It is not a matter of what he says nor how he says it He must not dare say anything at all. Good people and well informed people are being swayed by unholy emotions and unchristian prejudices.

Mr. Mitchell, I believe you have your office in the same building with Rev. G.E. Clary. You may ask him concerning my reliability and standing in my conference.

With every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Reese Griffin

Reese Griffin.

Ps. I once served as a presiding elder in my conference. For twelve years I was executive secretary of our Conference Board of Education.

R. G.

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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October 30, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Nat R. Griswold
Nat

Arkansas victims of economic pressure are not perhaps comparable with the glaring cases in some states. The three cases reported herein have not been considered by us serious enough for personal investigation. We had our information from an employee of the Department of Education. If you wish~~ed~~ a further investigation, we could follow-up for you.

L. T. Black, Box 209, Eudora, Arkansas. A teacher in the Negro school of Parkdale, Arkansas not reemployed on the recommendation of his Negro Principal for non-cooperation. According to the report given to the Associated Press by the Chairman of the Board of Education, the Principal first recommended that Mr. Black and four other teachers not be reemployed because they had refused to sign the petition for an interposition amendment sponsored by segregationist James Johnson. When the Board refused to fire on the first charge, the Principal recommended he be not reemployed because of non-cooperation. (You have a clipping from the Arkansas paper on this case in the late summer.)

Mrs. N. K. Lusk, 116 North Poplar, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. A teacher in the Parkdale school not reemployed on the identical charges related above in the case of Mr. Black.

F. W. Baker, 905 Christian Street, Forrest City, Arkansas. A teacher in the Negro school at Hughes, Arkansas, not reemployed. Information given to the father of Mr. Baker by the County Supervisor of Schools is to the effect that Mr. Baker was not reemployed because he is a minister and that ministers in other parts of the South were taking the lead in stirring up trouble.

As indicated above, we do not know whether these three persons have had difficulty in being reemployed as teachers, real possibility under the circumstances we would think. We do expect to get first-hand information on these.

NRG:vwp

November 6, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the instances of economic pressure you reported. If you learn any more about these or other incidents, we'll appreciate your passing it on.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

# FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

RECEIVED NOV 9 1956

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Teacher, Miami
MRS. WARREN ZEUCH
Vero Beach

November 7, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Response to your memo regarding victims of economic pressure has been delayed by absence from the office - probably nullifying any assistance we might have given. Only three such victims have really come to our attention.

1. Mrs. Mabel Reese, editor of the Mount Dora Topic, whose opposition to the unethical actions of the county Sheriff early in 1956 resulted in an opposition newspaper which folded, but left a dent in the economy of Mrs. Reese.

2. Mrs. Ellen Fetter Roberts, a member of our Board, who teaches school in the most recalcitrant section of the state. She has had to resort to legal action twice to maintain her job. There has been no provision for legal assistance to such persons in her education association, and it did not reach proportion for the Conscience Victim program of the American Friends Service Committee - but indicates a need which doubtless will be multiplied in the months ahead.

3. Dr. Coggins, a health officer who lost her job due to having lunch with a Negro nurse. Actually Mrs. Coggins will not suffer too greatly it appears, but she did lose her job and this is reprisal. For another person it might have meant severe hardship. She has gone into private practice with her husband.

Sorry for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

Wm. K. Williams, Exec. Dir.

WKW/ck

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
ORANGEBURG, S. C.
FRED T. LAUGHON, JR.
PASTOR
PASTOR'S STUDY

November 8, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

May you be assured that I am so grateful to you and to Jack Stafford for your interest in me these days. I am so grateful to you for the fact that you are keeping your interest confidential.

You know more than I do the kind of pressures we have to live under in times like these. What I have is a mere drop in the bucket to what our mutual friend, Clarence Jordan has to suffer. I am ashamed to even think that I have a problem here when I know what some of my Negro friends have had to face for years.

My only regret is that I can't make my witness as clear as I'd like to . I accepted the call to this church just a few weeks before the Supreme Court decision and then arrived just a few weeks after. Coming from Virginia, I am thought to be a "northerner". I have kept my efforts limited to principles that were not so much a matter of race as denominational prodedures. For example, "We don't have to discontinue our mission giving just because all of our Southern Baptist Seminaries have a few Negro students. That has been a long practice among us." I preach fairness, honesty, kindness, etc., and say very little about Race, but evidently it is understood what I mean, and for that I am glad.

I will stand it as long as I can be of help. I don't want to be a quitter.

One of my best memories is that of Dr. S. C. Mitchell teaching me history at the University of Richmond.

Thank you for what you are doing.

Sincerely,

Fred Laughon

November 6, 1956

Reverend Fred T. Laughon, Jr.
First Baptist Church of Orangeburg
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Laughon:

The Rev. G. Jackson Stafford has written confidentially Dr. George Mitchell, our director, of your difficult situation.

We are all too familiar with the grievous price that men of principle may be called on to pay in the South these days, as the case of Mr. Stafford illustrated.

If your circumstances become more pressing, please feel free to call on us for such advice and assistance as we can give.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Rev. G. Jackson Stafford

RECEIVED OCT 24 1956

G. JACKSON STAFFORD, CHAPLAIN

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL

DUBLIN, GEORGIA

October 23, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

About this time last year, the distressing circumstances which resulted in my resignation as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Batesburg, South Carolina, were coming to a climax. Today, I received a letter from the Reverend Fred T. Laughon, Jr., pastor of the First Baptist Church of Orangeburg, South Carolina, stating that similar circumstances will force his resignation shortly.

Mr. Laughon has held, as I did, a personal and conservative opinion on Christian race relations which the politicians in his church cannot tolerate. The situation in Orangeburg has been brewing for some time and will come to a climax shortly.

I am writing on my own initiative to ask for your prayers for Mr. Laughon and any other assistance that you might be able to give.

It is my prayer that Mr. Laughon will be able to leave Orangeburg with dignity befitting his outstanding ministry and future possibilities. Certainly, let us pray that he will not just be "run out of town" by a small group of blindly prejudiced politicians and would-be politicians - and in the face of Mr. Laughon's agreement with the law of the land and with the well-established position of the religious leadership of America.

Mr. Laughon followed Dr. Roy O. McClain at Orangeburg some three years ago. The church has a membership of about 2000. His ministry has been most acceptable to the members of the church until this summer when several of the deacons began to agitate the racial question. Now, of course, some of his members are finding all manner of fault with everything he says and does, which is the usual pattern in such cases.

Mr. Laughon is pre-eminently qualified to continue his theological studies on the graduate level, and of course to serve as pastor in a challenging situation.

Please bear in mind that any publicity might result in Mr. Laughon's sudden and abrupt dismissal from his present pastorate which could mean severe financial hardships for him and his family, to say nothing of personal embarrassment.

With extreme personal understanding and sympathy for a brother in Christ, and with kindest regards,

Sincerely and cordially,

G. Jackson Stafford

G. Jackson Stafford

P.S. My regards to the fine members of your staff.
am sure Mr. Laughon would appreciate a friendly word from you. I told him I was writing - that you were a great help to me.

# FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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Vero Beach


November 30, 1956

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the moment neither Mrs. Roberts nor Mrs. Mabel Reese need financial or legal assistance. Things have quieted down for Mrs. Roberts somewhat, and Mrs. Reese is continuing her uphill battle. Mrs. Roberts hopes to relocate in a friendlier county and this should ease her situation.

However, anything could happen to upset the status quo at any moment. Should such come to pass, we will immediately get in touch.

Incidentally we have had a couple of new candidates recently as efforts were made to fire a school teacher and health department worker who defended Dr. Deborah Coggins. However, both have been saved by tenure and employment regulations. We are glad that we've had no candidates as yet, but will not hesitate to run up a flare if such a situation develops.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. K. Williams

Wm. K. Williams, Exec. Dir.

WKW/ck

# The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street

COLUMBIA, S. C.

December 6,1956

Mr. Paul Anthony
Information Service
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

Below is the information that you requested of Rev. Richburg and Mr. Blackman:

Rev. Richburg states that he doesn't need any financial assistance for himself at present, but there are several farmers in his community who will need financial aid next spring to buy fertilizer and seeds for their crops.

Mr. Blackman also states that he can do without financial aid if some of the families in his community can get help. There are several families in Mr. Blackman's community whose children are out of school because these children don't have the necessary clothes to wear to school.

Anything Mr. Fuges can do to help these people or any other organization, certainly will be greatly appreciated by all of us. When Mr. Fuges comes to Columbia, I will be more than happy to take him around. If this information is not sufficient, please let me know at once.

Yourstruly
Jim
James T. McCain

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American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

December 12, 1956

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of December 6th following up on some of the cases about which I inquired when I saw you in Atlanta.

It is noted that no assistance either of a legal or an economic nature is indicated at the moment with the exception of the reference to certain families in Mr. Blackman's community who need clothing to enable their children to attend school. There are not sufficient facts given to demonstrate that the difficulties here stem from taking a position on principle, and I would assume that other factors have produced this economic situation. However, I will see if some other arm of the Service Committee might not be able to give assistance.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

December 19, 1956

James T. McCain
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, S.C.

Dear James McCain:

We note in your letter to Paul Anthony of December 6th that there are children in Mr. Blackman's community who are not able to attend school because of lack of clothing. Inquiry here confirms the fact that there is clothing available that can be sent down to this community, and we are trying now to make the necessary arrangements for delivery and distribution.

Any suggestions that you have will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FF/ha

bcc: Mike Yarrow
Paul Anthony
Barbara Moffett
Tartt Bell
Charles Davis

P.S: Will you please advise the amount, types and sizes of clothing needed.

Resolution

The Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, in annual session, April 25, 1957, do hereby deplore the recent action of the State Board of Education seeking to ban student participation in organizations which include young people of all races in national or regional meetings.

This ill-considered action can only serve to isolate young Georgians from their contemporaries throughout the nation, and prevent them from playing their part in valuable national programs. The same narrow principle applied to adult organizations and associations would virtually cut Georgia off from the civilized world. Do we wish to visit this penalty on our young people? To do so, will only earn Georgia the ridicule of enlightened people everywhere.

We will suffer an incalculable loss if organizations that have for years contributed to the spiritual and moral growth of our school children are now driven out of the schools.

We call upon the State Board of Education to consider rescinding what seems to us an unchristian resolution.

SIGNED--

/s/ Mrs. Arthur Styson President

/s/ Mrs. W. E. Letts Secretary

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

Thursday, June 13, 1957

MR. CELLER: (8073)

One (can) hardly tell from members of various Southern states that there has been no deprivation of the right to vote because of a man's color. I like to believe what my colleagues tell me, and I might say that at first blush I do believe them, but there are many contradictions of what these gentlemen state. For example, there is a report by the research office of the Southern Regional Council received from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress which clearly indicates deliberate attempts to exclude Negroes from voting and those exclusions are very serious.

MR. DAVIS (8080)

Now to get down to this amendment the gentleman from New York (Mr. Celler) gave as an authority for some statement he made on the floor here a few minutes ago the Southern Regional Council, Inc. I want to tell you something about the Southern Regional Council. It started off as that organization which was designated as a Communist-front organization by the Attorney General, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

---

MR. DAVIS

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was designated as a Red front, and the American Legion publication, the Firing Line, of May 15, 1957, gave this list of former directors of the Southern Regional Conference who were connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: Charlotte H. Brown, Louis E. Burnham, George E. Clary, Herbert Davidson, J. M. Ellison, Clark H. Foreman, Guy B. Johnson, David D. Jones, George S. Mitchell, Howard W. Odum, F. D. Patterson, Edwin A. Penick, Homer P. Rainey, Ira DeA. Reid, Forrester B. Washington, and Aubrey Williams.

Any organization that has such a long string of directors who have a long

record of connection with subversive and front organizations in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I say is not a respectable source of information for us to use when we are dealing with the bill before us.

WHY PICK ON DIXIE? by Harold Lord Varney

The American Mercury July, 1957

"It is evident in magazine publishing offices, which, with a uniformity now becoming almost compulsive, invaribly give their assignments of stories about the South to race-obsessed foreigners like Gunnar Myrdal or Alan Paton, or to unrepresentative Southerners like Hodding Carter, Harry S. Ashmore, Lillian Smith, Robert P. Warren, Mark F. Ethridge, ---men and women who have achieved a quick, synthetic popularity among Northern South-haters by affecting the pose 'reasonable Southerners.'

".....The staffs of the network news interpreters, headed by such Left-leaners as Edward R. Murrow and Chet Huntley, are unanimously anti-South."

"The climate of opinion in the North is similarly saturated against the South by most of the effective and well-financed organisational molders of public opinion. All the Foundations stand in solid ranks, with their billions, in determined opposition to the traditional Southern viewpoint. Instead of providing a forum for the honest discussion of Southern issues, the Foundations have underwritten a controversial organization in the South, the Southern Regional Council, which is staffed by Southerners who have unreservedly accepted Northern opinion patterns. The Council, in a dignified way, is the clearinghouse of most of the indoctrination of the South which is now in furious progress by Nothern agencies.

"In the last three years, the Council has received a total of $445,000 from the Fund of the Republic of the Ford Foundation. The Council has also been on the receiving end of sizeable funds from the William C. Whitney Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Marion Ascoli Fund, the Sidney Hillman Foundation and others.

"More militant organizations in the field of South-baiting which have received Fund of the Republic money are the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ($50,000) the Urban League ($50,000) the Commission on Race and Housing ($118,954).

"All of these agencies are engaged in the determined task of discrediting in national public opinion the recognized leaders and spokesmen of the South."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM August 26, 1958

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Paul Anthony

Jerry Wilson of Perry County, Alabama has been sentenced to death for robbery of $1.95. Victim of the robbery, 80-year-old white women, claims that violence and attempted rape were involved in the situation. The indictment of Wilson did not cite the rape charge, however death penalties can be given in Alabama for robbery with violence. Wilson is scheduled to be executed on September 5.

Attorneys for Wilson are Judson Locke and Sheldon Fitts. Locke is a member of the state legislature. In June, the State Supreme Court refused to reverse the ruling of the lower court. Thereafter, Wilson's attorneys filed a motion for a re-hearing. This motion is still pending. Governor Folsom refuses to act in the matter as long as it is still in the courts.

Fred Grey, Montgomery attorney, is of the opinion, however, that either thro gh court action are intervention of the Governor the chances are excellent that Wilson will receive a stay of execution of a month or longer.

Bob Hughes has attempted to interest the MIA in taking on this matter. Fred Grey is willing to act as attorney. Two private citizens from Montgomery (Negro) are today in Perry County attempting to arrange with Wilson's family for the power of attorney to act in this case. We will know tomorrow whether or not they are successful.

The following needs to be done:

(1) A New York agency should be alerted to this situation and be asked to sponsor the attorney and provide his fees if such is necessary;

(2) Since it is still hoped and desirable that the MIA will sponsor this, nothing should be done until it is definitely known that MIA cannot act.

(3) The New York agency should be ready to act the first of next week if action is called for. We should know by then whether or not MIA can or will act.

SRC's first interest in this case came indirectly when some six (6) months ago the local Council in Tuscaloosa established a defense fund for Wilson when his case was in the Circuit Court of Appeals.

Reprisals

# Pastor Backing Racial Contacts Dismissed at Georgia Service

By JOHN WICKLEIN

Special to The New York Times.

JUN 8 1959

COLUMBUS, Ga., June 7—A Southern Presbyterian minister was summarily removed at this morning's service as pastor of his church here in a controversy that began when he wrote an article in a national magazine urging "creative contact" between whites and Negroes.

The order dismissing the minister, the Rev. Robert B. McNeill, was read after his sermon by the head of a commission appointed by the Presbytery of Southwest Georgia. The commission has been running the church since Nov. 30, 1958.

In his sermon today in the large old Gothic church, Mr. McNeill alluded only once to what was to come. He had been notified Wednesday; no one else in the congregation knew the decision to oust him had been taken. The minister said:

"There are those in the church who so overtly despise race prejudice that they are willing to wear a black badge of stigma until all racial injustice is wiped out."

After the Rev. Frank C. King of Valdosta, chairman of the Judicial Commission, delivered the report, Mr. McNeill said his final benediction and walked out the front door of the church.

Women members of the choir burst into tears, and several elders and parishioners followed Mr. King to denounce the commission's action and demand that Mr. McNeill be kept on.

"Mr. King, you have been listening to the wrong people," one woman cried. Another said, "You dismissed him just because a few people have come down there and told you big lies about him."

One of the leaders of the

Continued on Page 20, Column 3

# MINISTER OUSTED IN RACE DISPUTE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

opposition to Mr. McNeill was Algie Moseley, a Columbus lawyer and a deacon of the church.

"This is a family situation," he told a reporter, "and I think the newspapers should stay out of it."

Others of the opposition refused to comment.

There was some sentiment expressed that if Mr. McNeill remained, the divisions in the church over the race issue would not heal.

But Eben Reid, a church member, towered over Mr. King and told him:

"If we kick a Christian man and his family out like this, then what hope have we? Mr. King, you and your commission have failed a Christian man and his family."

Mr. McNeill said later that he had been surprised by the commission's action. He said he had hoped in time to resolve the difficulty by accepting a call to another pulpit, but the commission had not permitted him to do tha.

### Appointed 6 Months Ago

Six months ago the commission, which had been appointed at the request of the session to study and act on the dissension within the church, took action that appeared to favor Mr. McNeil and his right to speak on any issue from the pulpit. At that time it dissolved the session, or governing body of the church, which had spent two years in in-fighting over the minister and his views, and took administration of the church upon itself.

It raised Mr. McNeil to the status of an evangelist.

In its report then the commission said opposition to Mr. McNeill "has stemmed primarily from his effort to relate the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the current racial problem in our Southland."

### Wrote Article in 1957

It traced the beginning of that opposition to the minister's publication of an article in Look Magazine on May 28, 1957, in which he urged "creative contact" between the races to solve the South's difficulty. He wrote in part:

"Segregation on the basis of color alone implies inferiority with the further implication that inferiority by nature permits inferiority of treatment.

"The term that best describes our mode of operation is creative contact. It means that even while the state and Federal laws are in contention there should be points of contact between the white and Negro people that are creative. This means representation of both groups on city councils, grand juries, school boards, medical societies, ministerial associations, and other public agencies."

Such sentiments, which Mr. McNeill reiterated from the pulpit, aroused the ire of about fifty of the church's 1,200 members. They began taking steps immediately through representatives in the session to have him dismissed. Later they applied economic pressure by withholding pledge payments and refusing to support his budget.

"One of them," the minister said, "told the session that he was holding his pledge in escrow until the day I was removed. Well, the church must be rich today," he said with a wry smile.

At Mr. McNeill's suggestion the judicial commission investigated the situation, and decided that it would be best to dissolve the session until tempers cooled. At the same time it admonished church members to protect the freedom of the pulpit.

Today's report appeared to reverse the commission's support of the minister even though it praised him for his "sermons of analysis." It also said that under his leadership the church had "fulfilled its right with forthright clarity."

"However," Mr. King said, "the commission feels that the voice of the pulpit should be the voice of the congregation."

From now until another pastor is called, he said, the Presbytery will supply Sunday preachers. The commission said Mr. McNeill would remain on salary and would be permitted to remain in the manse until Sept. 1, or until he found another pastorate. Mr. McNeill said he might remain within the Southern Presbyterian Church but that he was not sure.

There was speculation, denied by Mr. King, that the commission's reversal had been prompted by a note Mr. McNeill published in the church bulletin two weeks ago, mentioning a forthcoming Look article on the racial situation here wirtten by Steve Lesher, a reporter on The Columbus Ledge.

The statement said that although Mr. McNeill had not read the article, he asked his congregation not to pre-judge it, but consider its arguments within the framework of Christian love.

Mr. McNeill, who lost faith in the traditional racial patterns of his native regions while he was in theological seminary, occupied the pulpit here for six and a half years. The minister, who is 44 years old, was born in Birmingham.

Losing his Southern prejudices came hard, the minister said today.

In 1939 he switched from law school to the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond.

"Why, as I look back on it, I hardly know," he said. He got halfway through seminary before, as he puts it, "there was a crack in the dike."

He had refused, as a member of the basketball team, to play against Virginia Union, a Negro college across the town, and when an inter-seminary conference was held on campus, he rebelled at the idea of sitting down at lunch with the Negro delegates. But moral pressure made him do it.

"And I discovered that these men weren't so bad after all," he said.

In his first pastorate, near Birmingham, Mr. McNeill started reading everything on race from Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma" on down.

"And then I realized my old attitude on race just didn't stand up," he said.

The reading stood up well, and later when he rose in the councils of the church, he was able to advise others on what he had found. In 1957 and 1958 he drafted the two reports on the denomination's Committee on Christian Social Relations that were hailed as the most liberal statements on racial issues ever put out by a predominantly Southern church.

Soon after Mr. McNeill came to his pastorate here, he helped organize the Carver Heights Presbyterian Church for Negroes.

His wife shares his views. She said the only thing bothering her today was that people were saying that they felt sorry for her. It would have been well if they had spoken up before, she said.

"They needn't feel sorry for me—I'm from Kentucky," she declared.

It was there that Mr. McNeill met and married her. They've have three children, a daughter 13 years old, and two sons, 10 and 4.

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Special to The New York Times.

NY Times 6/8/59

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"However," Mr. King said, "the commission feels that the voice of the pulpit should be the voice of the congregation," [illegible] until another pastor is called, he said, the Presbytery will supply Sunday preachers. The commission said Mr. McNeill would remain as [illegible] and would be permitted to [illegible] in the manse until [illegible] or until he found another pastorate. Mr. McNeill said he might remain within the Southern Presbyterian Church but that he was not sure.

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FROM THE NEWSCLIP FILES OF - The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Each instance of reprisal has been classified according to "useable", "non-useable", and"obscure." This latter category indicates instances where mention can be made of the situation, but where names, cities, etc., should be left out. In several instances mention has been made of what should be especially obscured.

Generally--names, places, and other identifying information should be avoided whenever possible. There is little question as to the accuracy of these reports and little chance of encountering libel charges. However, thewelfare of the individuals mentioned in these reports should be considered at all times and undue publicity would not be helpful.

PA

*Memo*

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

file - reprints

Jerry Wilson case

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

from Fred Grey - [illegible]

won't go any further than we.

Attorneys -

Judson Lobe - Legislator - segregationist

Sheldon Fitts

---

Jet mag. has - Aug 21 -

article on this -

ECT

Perry County -

No mo in Mntg. working on this case - Presumably facts are in Perry County -

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Last legal event - Atty's. filed motion for review with U.S. Sup. Ct. after Tomorrow prem Ct. adjourns until a other.

---

May grant stay —

---

Lewis of a Oppenheimer ---
Brokerage —

AL 2-2722

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Freeman Fed Gray to work with

Per Durr

Jerry Wilson case

Montgomery —

Robbery 1.95 —

attempted rape —

5 Sep.

Robbery w/ violence

---

Local appeal - clemency

Take appeal to Sup Ct

request of his relatives -

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Foreman -

OX 5-2863

Chuck

Cliff Durrogh

Lenard Budine

Budine called Grey.

M[redacted] DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Bob:

They appreciated insights - knew nothing - thought ACLU - Melvin Wolfe said he was of ACLU —

They not committed. Didn't have power of atty.

Talked to Bob Guthy:

B.H. suggests

1. Get go to make policy Dec. + go to Penny Co.
2. Accept this officially as their case - (MIA)

*Memo* FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

1. ~~[illegible]~~

AL2-2722

Tremont-1-7962-

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Private investig. now trying to get to family - may by Tomorrow be successful in getting power of attorney.

---

MIA - very slow + non-committal. Because of this - Hughes suggests approach be made to ACLU.

---

Court remains in session - no recess.

---

Last year similar case resulted in stay ⊕ Gray feels Oct. is time of concern.

---

Immediately brought to bar - next week if needed ⊠ •

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Lincolnwood Carroll 6 mos. ago
established defense fund for
this guy - Cir. Ct. of Appeals.

DR. GEORGE E. CLARY, CHAIRMAN
DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL, FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. J. McDOWELL RICHARDS, SECOND VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. A. A. McPHEETERS, SECRETARY
MR. L. D. MILTON, TREASURER
DR. GUY H. WELLS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DR. MOZELL HILL, ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

# GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL CO-OPERATION

AN AFFILIATE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.
TEL. JA. 5-4063

CONSULTANTS
DEAN WHITNEY YOUNG
DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL
REV. LUCIUS H. PITTS
DR. RICHARD HENDERSON
DR. E. K. WEAVER
REV. G. MACLEOD BRYON

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples of the South.

Dear Harold:

The following cases of Economic Reprisal because of race views comes to my mind:

Dr William Kirkland young pastor of the Episcopal Church Milledgeville Ga accepted a position on our Ga Committee of Interracial Cooperation as Board Member Educational Board last year. His Church forced him to resign and threatened to fire him if he did not resign. He chose to resign rather than fight it out with his church.

Rev Jordan in Americus a near Americus has experienced the greatest economic reprisals of any one I know because of his race views.

letter head - showing this position acquired by another minister to be mailed to public officials with his church's position with the Ga. interracial Comm.

occurred at Evanston meeting of World Council of churches in 1954 - Dr. Benj. Mays report on human rights.

As delegate Zach Henderson would have voted.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples of the South.

One of his plans of business has been blown up, his insurance cancelled on his property, merchants have refused to purchase the products of his farm -

My own case is one of efforts to apply economic pressure to silence my voice on segregation - The State Road Board if legally possible to have my teacher retirement cancelled -

I am told that President Henderson of Ga. Teachers College is very interested on charge of having voted in Evanston Illinois the wrong way on segregation - I have not the authority for this It is just a report -

DR. GEORGE E. CLARY,
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DEAN B. R. BRAZEAL,
FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples of the South.

Dr Paul Pfautz of the Philosophy Dept at Univ of Ga is experiencing the same kind of treatment. His dean has advised him to resign, saying his salary could not be raised - and was not raised when others on the staff were raised. Paul says it is due to his race position.

I am told a group of Georgia Tech professors were demoted because of refusal to draft one in physics department who had liberal race views -

Lloyd Chapin + Philip Harmon

Ga. St. College for Women -

Regents passed resol. that retirement board look into ~~meeting~~ matter of withdrawing Dr. Wells' pension - if legally possible.

Did remove title - "Pres Emeritus."

Pres. & Hospitalization this was cancelled because ~~[illegible]~~ Title ~~Office~~ removed Dr. Wells

Mr. Freese
Respond
Smith

March 26, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Yarrow:

The Council has become interested in a situation involving Dr. Otis W. Smith, a young doctor who was recently forced to leave Fort Valley, Georgia. The enclosed material will describe that situation and its aftermath.

Dr. Smith's trial and the legal agreements made since the trial are subject to considerable question. Of more immediate importance, however, is the problem of getting Dr. Smith and his family resettled. In that regard and at the request of Dr. Smith and several of his friends we have agreed to call this situation to the attention of the Rights of Conscience Program.

We have explained to Dr. Smith that we do not know of what funds, if any, you have available. And, of course, we are not able to determine the merits of this situation relative to other demands you may have. However, we do feel that if you are able to offer any assistance

such aid would be appreciated and justified.

I trust the enclosed material is sufficient to give you an understanding of Dr. Smith's situation. If further information is needed or if we can assist in any other way, we will be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Enclosures: Background Info. on Dr. Smith
News clip - Atl. Const. March 19, 1958
Sworn Statement from Dr. Smith to
Superior Court of Peach County, Ga.

Background Information on Dr. Otis W. Smith

Dr. Smith began his medical practice in Fort Valley, Georgia in November 1955. In addition to his private practice he served as campus physician for Fort Valley College for Negroes, a state school.

The incident described in the attached clipping occurred on June 25, 1957. Within a week of that date, Dr. Smith was relieved of his position as campus physician and was denied further access to the local hospital. According to Dr. Smith these two incidents reduced his income by approximately one-third. However, he was able to continue his private practice.

On March 10, 1958, Dr. Smith was sentenced to eight months in jail for "using opprobious words in the presence of a white woman." On March 17, after securing an agreement from Dr. Smith that he would leave the county immediately, the sentence was suspended and Dr. Smith was fined $500. Attached is a copy of the statement which Dr. Smith was required to sign before being released from jail.

Dr. Smith is now in Atlanta. It has been necessary for Mrs. Smith to make arrangements for the moving and storage of their furniture and medical equipment. They have yet to decide on a new location.

Dr. Smith has supplied the following information concerning his financial condition. He faces a complete loss of income until such time as he can establish his medical practice in a new area. He owes a remainder of approximately $2,000

of the obligations he assumed on establishing his family and medical practice in Fort Valley. His attorney's fees have amounted to $250 and he owes a personal debt of $500; the amount he was required to pay before being released from jail.

In addition to these obligations Dr. Smith is concerned about having to dispose of a 105 acre farm which he purchased in January 1957. He arranged payment on a long-term basis, in anticipation of remaining in the community. The farm has been considerably improved and fruit trees have been planted on 75 acres during the past year. He now feels that any potential buyer will take advantage of his position; he is concerned about the safety of any Negro tenant who might be persuaded to manage the farm for him; and, threats have been made that any products from the farm will be subject to local boycott.

If these conditions remain, it is likely that Dr. Smith will encounter a considerable loss in disposing of this property.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF PEACH COUNTY, GEORGIA.

The State

vs.

Otis Wesley Smith

No. _____

March Term, 1958

To The Honorable Oscar L. Long, Judge of said Court.

After thorough consideration I find that it would be to the best interest of myself and of this community that I immediately move from the County and establish my practice at some other place.

I, therefore, propose to and request the Court to suspend and probate my sentence on these specific conditions and on such further conditions as the Court may deem proper.

Respectfully submitted,

_____

March 31, 1958

Mr. Lucius Pitts
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pitts:

Enclosed is a letter received today from C. H. Yarrow, Director of the AFSC, Rights of Conscience Program.

The letter speaks for itself and outlines pretty clearly both the hope for aid to Dr. Smith and the problems involved. I trust you will pass this information on to Dr. Smith.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Ltr. from C. H. Yarrow - dtd. 3/28/58)

April 1, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Yarrow:

8 Thank you for your prompt attention to the case of Dr. Otis Smith. We will see that he is informed of your interest.

It would indeed be a good thing if the people of Peach County invited Dr. Smith to return. Your analysis is correct however; it would, and will, be easier to reach the moon.

Any aid you are able to give will be of considerable help. However, we do understand the difficulties involved in considering this a legitimate matter for the Rights of Conscience Program.

Whatever the outcome, I am sure that I speak for Dr. Smith as well as the Council in expressing our sincere appreciation for your concern.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

March 28, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Your letter regarding Dr. Smith arrived today and so you can reassure Harold Fleming, who asked me on Wednesday if I had heard anything about the case of Dr. Smith.

This is indeed a desperate situation where "opprobious words" are sufficient to remove a very much needed doctor from the county. Having just seen the U.S. Steel workers' movie this morning, called "Burden of Truth," the incident strikes with greater force.

I will be glad to bring Dr. Smith's situation and needs before the Committee. I am sure there will be no lack of desire to help a person who has been so unjustly treated. The Committee might have some question that it was a legitimate stand on conscience to be free to use opprobious words, whether in the presence of a white woman or a Negro woman. If Dr. Smith had stayed on, one could well see a stand on a basis of conscience as wanting to carry on his service to the people, in spite of the legal and extra-legal pressures against him. At the same time one can readily understand why he would want to leave.

Since our fund is not a general fund for helping persons unjustly treated, but a specific one for sustaining positions of conscience, it may be difficult for the Committee to justify a grant. Nevertheless, I would like to place the matter before the Committee in the best light possible.

Thank you for referring this case to us. You should be hearing from us soon after April 21. In the meantime, one might hope that the people in Peach Tree County could mobilize to invite him back, but I suppose that is reaching for the moon.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Yarrow

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Dictated but not signed by CHY

4

June 26, 1958

Mrs. William C. Pauley
943 Clifton Road, N. E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Dear Frances:

The newspaper account of Dr. Otis Smith's misfortunes in Fort Valley is substantially correct. We were exposed to the facts at the time of Dr. Smith's forced departure from Peach County and had an opportunity to talk with him and his wife as well as other more disinterested persons who were acquainted with the situation. Time Magazine interviewed a number of the principles in the case, and found the facts to be as we had them.

There seemed to be little anybody could do to remedy the situation and I understand that he has now set up practice here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Mrs. William C. Pauley
943 Clifton Road, N. E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

R 6/23/58

One of my New York friends wants to know if there is any truth in this — Doesn't sound very probable to me! —

J. Pauley

campaigning for a huge public works program. His opponent, former Prime Minister Lester Pearson of the Liberal Party, has been campaigning for a tax cut. He promises that if he is re-

... recession came from Communist boss Nikita Khrushchev. In copyrighted interview in today's Journal of Commerce he said the U. S. should throw open the doors to unrestricted trade with all Communist countries.

ence House here yesterday.

**"In October, 1956, on the day before he left England to start his journey," the newspaper said, "Townsend paid a hitherto unreported call at Clarence House. He arrived before lunch and stayed some six hours. The Queen**

**Now, the Daily Mail reported, friends of the couple feel that "different circumstances and a changed climate of public opinion could make marriage possible."**

**The newspaper added that Townsend may "be hoping to overcome the formidable difficulties in the path of marriage."**

# A Phone Call in Georgia . . .

*Special to the New York Post*

Fort Valley, Ga., March 27—On a sweltering day last June, Dr. Otis Wesley Smith, 32, picked up his telephone to make a routine call about having a patient admitted to a veterans' hospital.

On the line, he heard a woman's voice. He was puzzled. So was she. They had been cast together, at random and n aill innocence, by some quirk of the Georgia telephone system. Their wires had been crossed.

**It could have been a laugbable incident. It wasn't. Because of it, Dr. Otis Wesley Smith, 32, was given a criminal record, was sentenced to eight months on a road gang and was forced to give up his practice and literally flee his home.**

Today he is in virtual hiding in Atlanta—in virtual banishment from the work even the state of Georgia once encouraged him to do. And today his wife, herself a college graduate and a registered nurse, tries to sell their furniture and plan for what is, at best, a rather uncertain exile.

The reason is that Dr. Smith is a Negro. And the woman on the crossed wire was white.

On the phone that hot, June day, the woman was in a hurry to get her number. So was the doctor.

**"Who is this?" she asked. He told her. At that point, according to Mrs. Gwendolyn Smith, the doctor's wife, the woman called the physician a dirty name.**

**"She made a remark about him being a Negro," Mrs. Smith told The Post. "On the spur of the moment, he said a word right back."**

Some 30 minutes later, two Peach County sheriff's deputies walked into Dr. Smith's office, filled with patients, and marched him to the courthouse. The charge? Abusive language to a white woman—in Georgia, a felony.

Even before he came to trial, Dr. Smith was told by the sheriff and by other persons that it would be "wise" for him to make arrangements to leave Peach County. But Dr. Smith was the only Negro physician in a county with 8,000 Negro residents. There were four white doctors for the 4,000 whites.

And Dr. Smith had come to Peach County because the state of Georgia wanted him there. When he was a student at Meharry Medical College, Georgia had instituted a plan of offering loans to medical students if they would later settle in rural areas.

**Dr. Smith was the first medical student, white or Negro, to benefit from this plan. He felt he owed it to the state to stay on. He did stay on.**

**At his trial March 10, Dr. Smith's white lawyer advised him to plead guilty. He did. Judge Oscar Long sentenced him to eight months on the road gang.**

He was there a week when a group of Peach County citizens, white and Negro, went to see Judge Long on his behalf. Dr. Smith was a professional man, a college graduate, a man necessary to the community, the argued. The judge answered that the only thng he would listen to would be a promise by Dr. Smith to leave the county.

**The judge had an aide draw up a statement. He sent it to Dr. Smith's cell. Dr. Smith signed it. The statement promised that Dr. Smith would go right from jail to the county line. But first he had to put up a $500 bond. He would be on probation for eight months.**

Today, Mrs. Smith, college graduate, registered nurse, tries to sell the furniture.

4-13-65

I sent a memo to MM but there is no card for him in her file, so he isn't on yet. MA

MA, we had put him on mailing list, yes?

MJ - file

Putney 4/13/65

Rockefeller Recd 3/11/65

# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • NAtional 8-6800

RAYMOND V. HUMPHREYS
DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL
EDUCATION AND TRAINING

DEAN BURCH
CHAIRMAN

PA ✓
PWAV ✓
J ✓
WB ✓
LD ✓

March 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was most generous of you to take your full morning last Friday and to go to the further trouble of having present your splendid staff members, Messrs. Anthony and Waters. Both Mr. Reynolds and I feel that we benefited greatly from the frank conversations and observations which you and your associates made.

The great task which you are applying yourselves to is of utmost importance in our nation and, as I remarked to you, I feel very strongly that an entire understanding on the part of all our people is vital to the future of America.

Once again, I wish to say that if our offices can be of assistance in cooperating with you on efforts to bring a better understanding among the people, we want to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Raymond V. Humphreys
Director

RVH:laf

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • NAtional 8-6800

RAY C. BLISS
CHAIRMAN

February 8, 1966

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I have noted with interest the activities of Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Republicans have always been dedicated to the development of a strong two-party system in every State of the Union. A prerequisite of a strong two-party system is a deep interest and participation in civic affairs by an ever-increasing proportion of the American citizenry.

The "office of the citizen" which all of us hold is a precious heritage and Republicans today, as in the past, commend those efforts which facilitate the strengthening of our two-party system.

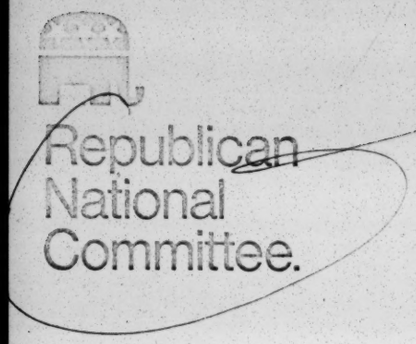
Sincerely yours,

Ray Bliss

Ray C. Bliss

RCB:jd

file




Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman

July 23, 1969

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1969

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We note with interest the efforts of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., to establish service centers for Black elected officials in the South at several predominantly Negro colleges.

We are informed that these centers will assist these new office-holders in seeking to perform to the best of their abilities. The result should be stronger, local-level government and a strengthened political process.

Better informed voters and office-holders produce better government. The Republican National Committee commends the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for this undertaking.

Yours sincerely,

Rog Morton

Rogers C. B. Morton

RCBM:jmd

National Headquarters: 1625 Eye Street NW Washington DC 20006 NAtional 8-6800.

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

**MEMORANDUM** July 28, 1969

To: Members of the Executive Committee

From: Paul Anthony

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Vernon Jordan from Rogers C. B. Morton, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The Service Centers for Black Elected Officials at predominantly Negro Colleges -- our major, current effort in the Voter Project -- now has the endorsement of both the Democratic and Republican National Committees.

January 19, 1970

Miss Judy Barnett
Research Division
National Republican Congressional
Committee
Congressional Hotel
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Miss Barnett:

Enclosed is a copy of a publication containing basic historical documents about the Council, and a copy of our program report of a year ago (the report for 1969 will be available shortly). These will, I believe, give you some idea of our operation.

For some years we have had various dealings with the Republican National Committee (as well as the Democratic National Committee). Currently, Mr. Clarence Towns might be able to give you further information about us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

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WILLIAM L. SPRINGER, M. C., ILL. (FINANCE)

SECRETARY
ROGERS C. B. MORTON, M. C., MD.

TREASURER
GEORGE OLMSTED, VA.

*National*
*Republican Congressional Committee*
CONGRESSIONAL HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003
LINCOLN 4-3010
184

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AUDITING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
JOHN DELLENBACK, M. C., OREGON

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
I. LEE POTTER

January 7, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Upon writing Mr. Michael Cody of Memphis, Tennessee to obtain information on the L.Q.C. Lamar Society, I received a list of interested participants in the organizational meeting of the Society at Quail Roost, North Carolina in November, 1969. I noticed that several participants at this meeting represented the Southern Regional Council. I would like to know more about the Council, its purpose and its projects. If you could send me information explaining the nature of the Southern Regional Council, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thank you very much and I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Judy Barnett

Judy Barnett
Research Division
National Republican Congressional Committee
Congressional Hotel
Washington, D. C. 20003

February 11, 1971

Mrs. J. D. Bennight
Women's Society of Christian Service
3904 Thomas Road, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Mrs. Bennight:

Under separate cover we are sending you the requested copies of the tabloid on school lunch programs. However, we do not have copies of Cycle to Nowhere. I suggest you write directly to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 800 19th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

# Women's Society of Christian Service

North Alabama Conference

THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

MRS. J. D. BENNIGHT
SECRETARY
3904 THOMAS ROAD SW
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

February 8, 1971

FEB 10 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for sending the material on Hunger so promptly. I have read it and want to ask that you send two items in quantities of 18 each.

1. The tabloid describing school lunch programs.
2. cycle to nowhere, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Clearinghouse Publication 14.

I will be happy to pay for the materials and postage. Please bill me.

Thank you for getting the information about the CBS Documentary Film on Hunger. If the film is available to us when we need it, we plan to use it.

You have been very helpful and I do appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J D Bennight

Mrs. J D Bennight

FEB 12 1971

I just finished reading "Still Hungry in America". I can't say how it moved me. I only hope those who may be able to help also read it. I'll see that at least a few do. I'm a senior in a very good high school in Illinois. I'm also a welfare recipient - ADC - but I've never been hungry. Degraded, humiliated and angry yes - but never hungry. I've seen it though, on the faces of those too proud or ignorant or loving - fathers must leave the home - to seek aid.

One comment on the book, which was incredibly moving. A great many people consider "charity" a put down. A seventeenth century concept of public welfare has been implanted in the minds of American people - both those who give and those who receive. Until this attitude is altered all the money on earth won't help. We have our pride - kill the soul of a man and you may as well let his body go to. Either we resign, as my mother did, or we fight. I'm still fighting, and so are lots of other kids. We sit in classes and hear the educated, ignorant teachers call us lazy, say we breed like rats and live like pigs. Oh, they say its nothing personal - but every generalization is personal to

the people involved. One teacher - collage prep English - called me a "teacher's nightmare." Not because I'm stupid, which she expected, but because I'm not. Her system almost caught me - I dropped out of school for a year - but I went back, determined to beat it. I guess I'm winning - but losing too. The ones who make it like me, we turn on hate. The book spoke of 'those peoples' love of God, well that's what goes first when you fight the system. I still believe in Him, but I hate Him. It takes your trust to, and the lovingness and softness that makes you human. What an establishment; no way to come out on top.

You have to get to the children to really alleviate anything. I mean the toddlers; by the time a child starts kingargarten the pattern of his life is set. By high school he will be to apathetic and numb for anything to help. I <u>know</u>, I'm talking from the inside. Poverty is a crushing vicious circle. It makes you dull or mean - or both. I happened to be born very intelligent - and I was the first. I had a head start (no pun intended) and so, for me, the cycle's done. But I'm so full of anger, hate, and bitterness that the victory really isn't mine. You won.

Deborah Bain

February 12, 1971

Mr. Richard Fitzgerald
Editor
Non-Profit REPORT, Inc.
345 East 62nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Mr. Fitzgerald:

The report you requested, and several related materials, are being sent under separate cover. We will be happy to place the REPORT on our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

**NON-PROFIT REPORT, Inc.**
345 EAST 62ND STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021 • Telephone: 212-838-3212

FEB 12 1971

February 10, 1971

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sir:

Would you send us a copy of your recent report on the growth of private segregated schools in the South and the IRS ruling concerning the exempt status of such schools.

In addition, would you place REPORT on your permanent mailing list to receive news releases and other announcements (such as the one requested above).

Thank you.

Richard Fitzgerald
Editor

February 15, 1971

Mr. Fred Horner
Hargy Browne Memorial Presbyterian Church
311 Browns Lane
Louisville, Kentucky 40207

Dear Mr. Horner:

Please forgive this delay in responding to your inquiry. Under separate cover a number of materials on the matter of hunger are being sent to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

4 documents mailed 2/15/71

HARVEY BROWNE MEMORIAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
311 BROWNS LANE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40207

THOMAS L. JONES
GEORGE R. McMASTER
FRED R. HORNER
R. MURRAY PEGRAM
PASTORS

MISS MIRIAM E. BOWDITCH
DIRECTOR OF CHILDREN'S WORK
MRS. HAROLD H. WICH
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

DEC 7 1970

December 4, 1970

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Attn: Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans

Dear Sirs:

In the July 20, 1970 issue of Time Magazine, I saw the ad produced by VanSant Dugdale & Company in regard to the issue of hunger.

Our church is presently structuring congregational emphasis on hunger both in our own country and abroad. It would be most helpful to us if you could help us better understand how your group is meeting the needs of hunger and what practical suggestions you could offer to our people on how they can respond to these needs. Any material or additional information which you could provide us would be most helpful.

Thank you for helping us in our ministry.

Faithfully,

Fred Horner

Fred Horner

FRH/ew

February 15, 1971

Mrs. Charles Gantt
Route 9, Box 90
Sanford, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Gantt:

You have been placed on our mailing list, but I neglected to send you several materials on hunger which are now being sent under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Rt. 9. Box 90
Sanford, N.C.

Dear Sir:

As Chm. of Ecum. Missions in our Church, I would like to be put on your mailing list for any information on World Hunger. Thank you.

1-11-71; 5

Mrs. Charles Gantt
Rt. 9 Box 90
Sanford, N.C

March 7.

Dear People,

If I could trouble you for some information it would please me.

Concerning your Southern Regional Council: How it is organized and operated. How long in existence and what has been done in that time. When a gift is recieved what system regulates its arrival and distribution to the people. Does your organization campaign for contributions.

3-11-71:s

bF
1-64 NS
CJL circular only
rent

The fact is, any information concerning the council, that might be made available to me, if any, would be accepted most gratefully

Thank you truly

Jack Naylor
RR#1 Box
Beeland, Michigan
49464 49964

March 10, 1971

Mr. Donald W. Lesley
4400 Spruce Street
Apt. C-11
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear Mr. Lesley:

Under separate cover we are sending you two documents: one a booklet about the Council's formation, and basic position papers; and a program report for 1970. I trust these will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

wharton graduate
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA · PHILADELPHIA PENNSYLVANIA

MAR 10 1971

4400 Spruce Street
Apt. C-11
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

March 7, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and am presently engaged in a research project concerning the development of minority enterprises in the Atlanta area. As I am a resident of Georgia the project is of particular interest to me.

I would appreciate your sending me any information that you have available about the Council. I am interested in how long the Council has been in existence, how it is funded, the types of assistance offered, types of assistance recipients and statistics on the number of recipients assisted.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely,

Donald W. Lesley

Donald W. Lesley

March 12, 1971

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

I am a student at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota. I met with several of your staff last January as a member of the World Press Institute.

I am working on a history research project concerning the Southern Regional Council. A paper on the background of the SRC is listed in your publications catalog; I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of the above paper and whatever other material that you could provide me with which might be of assistance. I have enclosed one dollar to cover the cost; if it should be more, please bill me for the amount.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alan Peterson

Alan Peterson
1746 Lincoln Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55105

1 OC

Cash 3-17-71 OAE

i.1 bf 1-64 NS-F70 ST's

do you want to send an answer regrets?

Rec'd 3/22/71

March 17, 1971

Dear Sirs:

Is there any way for you to send me more information about your organization. I would like to organize some help for you, but some of my co-workers are skeptical about the integrity of your group; I do not share their view and feel that I may be able to solicite contributions for your work if this obstical of being termed an "Idealistic do-gooder" were out of the way.

Is your group registered as a non-profit corperation? Can we send goods such as clothing and food along with or instead of money? What specific areas do you service? How severe is the situation which you face?

I work for a large company in which the workers volunteerily support a program for the American Indian; if I could convince a few hold outs, perhaps, we could add your program to our activities. The least we could do is barrage our legistators as your ad suggested.

Sincerely Yours,

Sharon Caskey

Sharon Caskey
275 East 52 Street
Long Beach 5, Calif
90805

4 documents
4-7-71

The copy of your ad from Readers Digest Magazine

# Take this ad to lunch

The next time you think you're dying for something to eat, think about some people who really are. Ten million people. In New York, Mississippi, Texas, California and every other state. Ten million red, white and black Americans who are so desperately poor they don't even make enough money to buy government food stamps.

Chronically undernourished mothers are giving birth to babies too small and weak to suck. Babies with only 40% of the normal number of brain cells and no hope of ever catching up. Scrawny little American kids are suffering from weird foreign diseases like rickets, pellagra, marasmus and even deadly kwashiorkor. We're telling you all this because we're mad. And we want you to get mad. So mad you'll help us rid America of starvation forever. First, get yourself involved in "Hunger" groups in your region. And don't think there can't be starvation where you live. Some of the richest counties in America are burying the poorest people. Then sit down and send a card or letter to every senator and congressman you can think of. Send them copies of this ad. Or just tell them how disgusted you are.

Third, when you go to lunch today, instead of ordering a steak, ask for a grilled cheese. Then send the money you save to people who are actively involved in fighting hunger, like the ones we've listed here. We know we're asking you to do a lot. But, God knows, ten million starving American people have got to be worth it.

Send your contributions to:

Appalachia Volunteers
120 Court Street
Prestonburg, Kentucky
41653

Stephen I. Granger, M.D.
Box 125
R.D. #2
Purcellville, Virginia
22132

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Attn: Advisory Committee
for Hungry Americans

Barrio Youth Project, Inc.
1201 South First Ave.
Phoenix, Arizona
85003

A1

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

March 25, 1971

Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir or Madam:

In today's Wall Street Journal I read about your 87-page report which deals with progress in school desegregation during 1970-71. If possible, I would appreciate being sent a copy of the report for use in one of my courses.

It is reassuring to hear that the South is finally moving ahead in the area of human relations. We must all work together for a better world.

Yours truly,

Jeff Shane

Please bill me if there is any charge for this.

Mailed 3-30-71
JB

American Federation of STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES · AFL-CIO

1155 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W./WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

TELEPHONE 202/223-4460

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HOUSTON, TEX.

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.

LEE A. TAFEL
MIAMI, FLA.

JOSEPH R. ZURLO
NEW YORK, N.Y.

March 25, 1971

Director
Press Office
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send two copies of your report entitled "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71".

Thanking you in advance,

Sincerely,

William W. Hamilton, Jr.
Director, Publications
and Public Relations

WWH:cf

Mailed 3-29-71
JB

NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
MARQUETTE, MICHIGAN 49855
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 29, 1971

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The faculty of the Social Service curriculum at Northern Michigan University is currently involved in an attempt to compile some pertinent material on the incidence and impact of poverty in rural America. Current planning calls for the use of this material in conjunction with the Michigan symposium on Rural Poverty which is scheduled for July, 1971. We are interested in any material you may have or any sources that you have that may be available for our use.

Thus far, our research has shown an emphasis on poverty in Apalacia and regional poverty, but we are interested in rural poverty on a much broader basis.

Our aim is to gather information and material which has been developed within the last four years (1968-1971). Any contributions of material or further sources would be greatly appreciated and fully acknowledged.

Cordially yours,

D. R. Boyd

D. R. Boyd
MSSW, ACSW
Assistant Professor of Sociology

DRB:gt

Enclosure

P.S. The return of the enclosed post card will signify your receipt of this letter. – Returned, suggested The American Dole + Steel Hungry.

HC
TWTS
F70 NS
STs
3-30-71; 3

John Lewis

**The Institute of** **Politics in Mississippi**

March 29, 1971

Mr. Anthony --

I worked for Kenneth Dean at the Council on Human Relations when he was still in the state -- my role has changed somewhat but not all that much. Thought you might be interested in this new effort.

Elaine Rainey

IOP

# ... in the public interest

A periodic publication of information and research produced by The Institute of Politics in Mississippi, a nonpartisan, nonprofit research-education program.

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The Institute of Politics in Mississippi
Box 15420, Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi 39210

*A SPECIAL NOTE*

*This is the first issue of a new publication designed to provide a service heretofore unavailable in Mississippi: Performing and publishing factual research on politics and elections in the state. This issue is being sent free of charge to a selected list of interested persons, in addition to IOP seminar Fellows. Single copies, as the supply lasts, will be provided other interested persons on request. We invite your attention to special notes about future issues on page four, and we welcome any correspondence about this new service from The Institute of Politics in Mississippi.*

## VOTER REGISTRATION IN MISSISSIPPI

*By Jerry W. DeLaughter, IOP Director, and Elaine F. Rainey, Administrative Assistant*

The tables on the next three pages provide, with the qualifications noted, the most current registration figures available in all counties on the eve of Mississippi's 1971 major elections. The tables also include up-to-date estimates of the state's voter-registration racial characteristics.

*Total registration figures* are based on an IOP survey of Circuit Clerks made between December 1970 and March 1971. In those counties where a new voter registration is under way, insofar as could be determined, figures are marked with symbols at the end of the tables. *(These notations do not necessarily indicate all counties now re-registering; the survey did not ask for that information.)*

Some county figures may no doubt be refined still further; revisions were continued by the IOP until the eve of this publication. While a margin for error is of course acknowledged, the picture in most counties and in the state totals is believed to be as reasonably accurate as has been currently developed. The figures are expected to increase slightly through July, 1971.

### *'Registration-by-race'*

The figures in this column are not, of course, official (this record is not officially kept). They are, rather, IOP estimates based on several points of judgment: (1) The 1970 census reports on racial proportions of the voting age population (the population (the potential vote) in each county; (2) 1967 reports by the Justice Department and Voter Education Project; (3) voter registration activity in the past four years; (4 established race-registration variables in the state as a whole; (5) current estimates by various informed sources; (6) in-depth study of random counties to test estimates, and further revision.

*Prior to the Voting Rights Act* of 1965 the estimated "black vote" in Mississippi was between 20,000 and 25,000. That six years later there should be more than 10 times that number registered is notable.

*It is not the purpose of this report* to speculate on the nature or effect of this "new vote." It should be noted, however, that:

-- *In five counties* the registered black vote exceeds 60% of the total, and in seven others black registration is at least 50%. In an additional nine counties there is a 40% black vote factor.

-- *The racial makeup of the whole population* does not define the actual or potential voter registration. First, a larger proportion of blacks than whites is below the voting age; second, a greater proportion of the potential white vote (76%) registers than does the black potential (66%); and third, registration activity, black and white, varies widely in various counties.

## *Additional Studies*

Reports now being prepared for publication by the IOP in the near future include a county-by-county report on *the potential "18-year-old vote"* in the state; *a 100-page study* of the voting age population in each county, with a breakdown by age, race and sex, and other data; a look at the widely variable *turnout at the polls* in each county, ranging from little more than half the registration in some counties to more than 90% in others.

*Please refer to page four for information on future studies.*

## MISSISSIPPI VOTER REGISTRATION

| County | Total | Blacks | % Black | White & Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| STATE TOTAL | 939,150 | 268,440 | 28.6 | 670,710 |
| Adams | 18,500 | 8,200 | 44.3 | 10,300 |
| Alcorn | 16,500* | 1,500 | 9.1 | 15,000 |
| Amite | 6,600 | 2,800 | 42.4 | 3,800 |
| Attala | 9,850 | 2,600 | 26.4 | 7,250 |
| Benton | 3,800 | 1,200 | 31.6 | 2,600 |
| Bolivar | 19,000 | 10,000 | 52.6 | 9,000 |
| Calhoun | 7,850 | 780 | 9.9 | 7,070 |
| Carroll | 5,100 | 1,700 | 33.3 | 3,400 |
| Chickasaw | 9,000 | 2,400 | 27.0 | 6,600 |
| Choctaw | 5,000 | 860 | 17.2 | 4,140 |
| Claiborne | 5,000 | 3,550 | 71.0 | 1,450 |
| Clarke | 7,500# | 1,500 | 20.0 | 6,000 |
| Clay | 9,000 | 3,500 | 38.9 | 5,500 |
| Coahoma | 15,500 | 9,400 | 60.6 | 6,100 |
| Copiah | 12,000# | 5,300 | 44.2 | 6,700 |

*(continued p. 3)*

| County | Total | Blacks | % Black | White & Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Covington | 7,000 | 1,280 | 18.3 | 5,720 |
| DeSoto | 14,000 | 3,760 | 26.9 | 10,240 |
| Forrest | 23,250 | 4,900 | 21.1 | 18,350 |
| Franklin | 4,200 | 1,300 | 30.9 | 2,900 |
| George | 6,600 | 350 | 5.3 | 6,250 |
| Greene | 4,600# | 640 | 13.9 | 3,960 |
| Grenada | 11,000 | 3,500 | 31.8 | 7,500 |
| Hancock | 9,000# | 900 | 10.0 | 8,100 |
| Harrison | 45,000 | 7,000 | 15.6 | 38,000 |
| Hinds | 78,500# | 22,500 | 28.7 | 56,000 |
| Holmes | 11,700 | 7,200 | 61.5 | 4,500 |
| Humphreys | 5,000** | 2,400 | 48.0 | 2,600 |
| Issaquena | 1,300 | 750 | 57.7 | 550 |
| Itawamba | 10,000 | 480 | 4.8 | 9,520 |
| Jackson | 30,000 | 4,000 | 13.3 | 26,000 |
| Jasper | 6,400# | 1,350 | 21.1 | 5,050 |
| Jefferson | 4,800 | 3,150 | 65.6 | 1,650 |
| Jeff Davis | 6,300 | 2,000 | 31.7 | 4,300 |
| Jones | 25,000 | 4,300 | 17.2 | 20,700 |
| Kemper | 4,500 | 1,050 | 23.3 | 3,450 |
| Lafayette | 7,700# | 1,670 | 21.7 | 6,030 |
| Lamar | 7,500** | 750 | 10.0 | 6,750 |
| Lauderdale | 28,500 | 6,800 | 23.9 | 21,700 |
| Lawrence | 6,000 | 1,800 | 30.0 | 4,200 |
| Leake | 10,000 | 2,250 | 22.5 | 7,750 |
| Lee | 22,000 | 3,800 | 17.3 | 18,200 |
| Leflore | 18,800 | 9,400 | 50.0 | 9,400 |
| Lincoln | 13,500# | 2,700 | 20.0 | 10,800 |
| Lowndes | 18,000 | 4,700 | 26.1 | 13,300 |
| Madison | 12,000** | 6,350 | 52.9 | 5,650 |
| Marion | 14,400 | 3,000 | 20.8 | 11,400 |
| Marshall | 10,600 | 5,120 | 48.3 | 5,480 |
| Monroe | 15,750 | 3,500 | 22.2 | 12,250 |
| Montgomery | 6,700 | 1,900 | 28.4 | 4,800 |
| Neshoba | 11,000 | 1,240 | 11.3 | 9,760 |
| Newton | 9,650 | 2,700 | 28.0 | 6,950 |
| Noxubee | 6,500# | 2,550 | 39.2 | 3,950 |
| Oktibbeha | 11,000 | 3,000 | 27.3 | 8,000 |
| Panola | 11,500 | 4,000 | 34.8 | 7,500 |
| Pearl River | 14,000 | 2,000 | 14.3 | 12,000 |

*(continued p. 4)*

| County | Total | Blacks | % Black | White & Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perry | 5,300 | 750 | 14.2 | 4,550 |
| Pike | 15,000# | 4,800 | 32.0 | 10,200 |
| Pontotoc | 9,750* | 1,100 | 11.3 | 8,650 |
| Prentiss | 11,000 | 900 | 8.2 | 10,100 |
| Quitman | 7,000 | 3,450 | 49.3 | 3,550 |
| Rankin | 16,000 | 2,150 | 13.4 | 13,850 |
| Scott | 10,550 | 1,780 | 16.9 | 8,770 |
| Sharkey | 3,200** | 1,450 | 45.3 | 1,750 |
| Simpson | 10,000 | 2,300 | 23.0 | 7,700 |
| Smith | 6,500 | 1,100 | 16.9 | 5,400 |
| Stone | 4,000 | 600 | 15.0 | 3,400 |
| Sunflower | 14,000 | 8,000 | 57.1 | 6,000 |
| Tallahatchie | 7,000 | 3,550 | 50.7 | 3,450 |
| Tate | 7,500 | 2,300 | 30.7 | 5,200 |
| Tippah | 9,000 | 1,050 | 11.7 | 7,950 |
| Tishomingo | 8,600 | 300 | 3.5 | 8,300 |
| Tunica | 4,000 | 2,200 | 55.0 | 1,800 |
| Union | 10,100# | 1,000 | 9.9 | 9,100 |
| Walthall | 7,000 | 1,880 | 26.9 | 5,120 |
| Warren | 18,500# | 7,000 | 37.8 | 11,500 |
| Washington | 16,300 | 7,800 | 47.9 | 8,500 |
| Wayne | 7,100 | 1,200 | 16.9 | 5,900 |
| Webster | 6,250 | 890 | 14.2 | 5,360 |
| Wilkinson | 5,800 | 3,600 | 62.1 | 2,200 |
| Winston | 9,500* | 1,980 | 20.8 | 7,520 |
| Yalobusha | 6,000 | 1,680 | 28.0 | 4,320 |
| Yazoo | 14,000* | 6,300 | 45.0 | 7,700 |

*Re-registration in process, former registration figure used.
#Re-registration under way, estimated (new) registration figure used.
**No report received, estimated registration figure used.

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## *N O T I C E*

*Future issues of "...in the public interest" will be mailed on order only. Send names and addresses to The IOP, Box 15420, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. 39210.*

*To cover production and mailing costs please enclose payment as follows:*
*-- Four regular issues (now through November), $2.*
*-- Special 100-page county voter analysis, $2.*
*-- Both special and regular issues, $3.*

*(There is no charge to IOP Fellows, Board members or news media.)*

WE WELCOME YOUR CORRESPONDENCE AND COMMENTS ABOUT THIS NEW SERVICE.

March 29, 1971
Box 825
Radford College Station
Radford, Va 24141

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir;

I'm now working on the publicity committee for a local hunger hike. If you all have any literature, posters, etc. that I could use for general information on the hunger problem, I would greatly appreciate receiving them.

Thank you.

Sincerely
Miss Alice Moore

4 documents
JB
4-1-71

APR 9 1971

# DADE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

## ADMINISTRATION OFFICES

LINDSEY HOPKINS BUILDING

1410 N. E. 2ND AVENUE MIAMI, FLORIDA 33132

DR. E. L. WHIGHAM
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

DADE COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD
MR. WILLIAM LEHMAN, CHAIRMAN
MR. G. HOLMES BRADDOCK, VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. ETHEL BECKHAM
MRS. CRUTCHER HARRISON
MRS. ANNA BRENNER MEYERS
DR. BEN SHEPPARD
MR. WILLIAM H. TURNER

April 7, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please send me a copy of THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN, about school desegregation in 1970-71.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert L. Porter

Dr. Gilbert L. Porter
Special Assistant to the Superintendent
Director of School Board Offices

GLP:bhs

copy mailed
4-9-71
JJS

April 10

I would like some information, bulletins, leaflets ect, anything that you can send to me to help in your work.

Please keep up your good work:

Send any materials:

Linda Duncan
6215 Colgate Road
Jacksonville, Florida
32217

3 documents
4-15-71
JB

APR 19 1971

15 April, 1971

Secretary, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

Could you explain how I could obtain a copy of your recent report, "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71". Thanks very much.

Yours truly,
Gene G. Abel M.D.
59 Beaumont
Sheppard AFB
Texas 76311

Copy mailed
4-19-71
JB

April 15, 1971

Mr. Jay B. Levin
President, Student Government
Box 623
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut 06320

Dear Mr. Levin:

Since I have been unable to reach you by phone, and I am leaving town shortly, I thought perhaps a letter would be the fastest way to respond to your request. You and your group are to be commended on the plan you have developed.

We do not have on hand a significant number of copies of the advertisement you requested. This was prepared by the Vansant Dugdale Agency in Baltimore, they may have copies. If you wish to contact them direct, you should call Miss Virginia Tergun (Code 301 - 539-5400, or write: 1 North Charles, Baltimore, Md. 21201). Enclosed is a copy of the ad, from which you might be able to have copies made, and should be very inexpensive.

Under separate cover we are sending you several other documents that might be helpful, including a description of how we handle funds received.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

Documents
Pro. rpt
Still Hungry

APR 15 1971

Connecticut College
New London, Conn.
April 12, 1971

Southern Regional Council
3 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Attn: Advisory Committee for
Hungry Americans

Gentlemen:

We are in the process of organizing students at Connecticut's twenty residential colleges and universities for a HUNGER AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES DAY. The communities at these institutions are being asked to give up all their meals during Tuesday, May 4th. The purpose is three-fold:

1. To let persons, basicly from the middle-class, feel what it is like to go to bed hungry at night; most of whom have never been more than "dieting hungry."
2. To apply the money raised statewide (it could be as much as $200,000) to independent agencies (such as yours') that deal with the problem of hunger and deprivation in the United States.
3. To draw as much publicity as possible and proceed to state our belief that government resources are shamefully misallocated and that before America can advance any further we must deal with the rending social problems within the country.

It is hoped that such an aura can be built around the May 4th activities that a vast majority of the college communities involved will participate.

One means of constructing the necessary "aura" is effective publicity. While leafing through this week's Saturday Review, I noticed your extremely powerful advertisement of an emaciated boy, entitled "Take This Ad to Lunch." It would greatly aid our organizing efforts if we could either have as many copies of the ad as you could make available to us, or a

photostatic master of the ad. We will be more than willing to pay postage or any other expenses incurred. We would be grateful for a response as soon as possible, since our time to organize is growing short.

Your help is greatly appreciated and we are hopeful that our efforts will prove beneficial to your and other corresponding organizations.

Sincerely,

Jay B. Levin

Jay B. Levin
(President, Student Government
Connecticut College)
Chairman, HUNGER AND NATIONAL
PRIORITIES DAY
telephone: (203) 442-5391, ext. 500
(keep trying)
address: Box 623
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut 06320

April 15, 1971

Mr. Joe R. Feagin
Associate Professor
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712

Dear Dr. Feagin:

The report you requested is being sent under separate cover.

Also, we are today sending you a copy of our program report for 1970. The Council is a tax exempt agency.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Mailed 4-15-71
jb

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712

*Department of Sociology*

April 1, 1971

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I am currently teaching a Black America course here at the university and would greatly appreciate a copy of your recent report, (cited in Newsweek) on the process of integration in the South.

4-5-71, S

I would also appreciate information on how one can contribute to your various programs--are contributions tax-deductible?

Yours sincerely,

Joe R. Feagin
Associate Professor

JRF:cpw

April 27, 1971

Mrs. Clarice Watson
Acquisitions Librarian
ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

Dear Mrs. Watson:

Under separate cover we are sending you two additional copies of the requested publication.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON
EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

EUGENE, OREGON 97403
telephone (code 503) 686-5043

APR 22 1971

April 20, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for sending documents to the ERIC network. The following document has been evaluated by this Clearinghouse and we wish to give it nationwide dissemination through the ERIC abstract and index publication, Research in Education:

Southern Regional Council, Inc., THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1970-1971.

Items in RIE must be made readily available to those who wish to purchase them. We plan to make this document available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service on microfiche and in hardcopy. This processing requires that we have two copies of the document. Could you please send us another copy as soon as possible?

Thank you for your cooperation with ERIC.

Sincerely yours,

Clarice Watson

(Mrs.) Clarice Watson
Acquisitions Librarian
ERIC Clearinghouse on
Educational Management

Enclosure
CW/dl

EA 70-11-13

# ERIC

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Acquired documents are evaluated for currency, relevance, and content, with only the most significant documents being selected for processing into the ERIC system. Those selected are indexed and abstracted by document analysts experienced in the documents' subject areas. Resumes for all documents, including bibliographic information, the abstracts, and index terms, are shipped each month to an ERIC agency which merges the inputs from all 19 clearinghouses and prepares them for announcement in *Research in Education (RIE)*, ERIC's monthly index and abstract journal.

## Document Availability

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Copies of most of the reports cited in *RIE* can be purchased through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS), operated by the National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. Documents can be obtained in either paper copy form or microfiche, a 4- by 6-inch sheet of film containing the equivalent of up to 60 pages of text. Copyrighted items not available through EDRS are indicated as available from the publishers.

Documents cannot be obtained through the Clearinghouse. Since most of the documents

ERIC/CEA receives are eventually announced in *RIE*, we could supply few significant documents that are not also available from EDRS. Therefore, most people writing to the Clearinghouse for information are referred to *RIE* and to other information sources on educational administration.

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As these and other special publications are developed, they are entered in the ERIC system for eventual distribution through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Copies are usually available from the Clearinghouse, either free or for a nominal charge, until they can be purchased through EDRS.

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- *Organizations in Educational Administration: A Directory of Information Sources*, 1968 edition (ED 021 343; $2.10 paper, $.25 microfiche).
- *Annotated Bibliography on Educational Administrator Preparation Programs* (ED 023 198; $.55 paper, $.25 microfiche).
- *Annotated Bibliography on Year-Round School Programs* (ED 023 199; $.60 paper, $.25 microfiche).
- *Annotated Bibliography on Private Financing of Higher Education* (ED 024 157; $.75 paper, $.25 microfiche).
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**Administration**

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration (ERIC/CEA) was established in 1966 at the University of Oregon as a unit in the national ERIC network supported by the U.S. Office of Education. ERIC serves the educational community by disseminating educational research results and other resource information that can be used in developing more effective educational programs. Each ERIC clearinghouse cooperates with Central ERIC in Washington, D.C., to monitor, acquire, index, and abstract documents and to publish newsletters, bibliographies, and interpretive research studies in its particular educational area.

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ERIC/CEA is responsible for documents concerned with the leadership, management, and structure of public and private educational organizations on the elementary and secondary education levels. Attention is given to relevant documents which bear upon the practice or theory of administration and which are generated from the fields of educational, public, and business administration and from the humanities and the social and behavorial sciences. Documents covered deal with such topics as the preservice and inservice preparation of administrators, tasks and processes of administration (e.g. finance, planning, personnel, etc.), methods and varieties of organization, organizational change, and social context of the organization. Excluded from the scope of the Clearinghouse are documents dealing specifically with [redacted], junior colleges, and higher education.

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LORNE WOOLLATT, Associate Commissioner of Education, New York State.

---

PHILIP K. PIELE, Director

ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403
(503) 342-1411 Ext. 1337

GPO 996-131

April 27, 1971

Lt. Robert T. Gordon, Jr.
513 Rellim Drive
Old Bridge, N. J. 08857

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Under separate cover we are sending you some additional materials about the Council. New South may be subscribed for $3 per year, and South Today for $2 per year. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

SC
Program report

APR 19 1971

513 Rellim Drive
Old Bridge, New Jersey 08857
April 13, 1971

APR 21 1971

President
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I recently became aware of your organization through an article in the New York Times newspaper.

As a resident of Mississippi and a prospective student at the University of Mississippi School of Law, I am greatly interested in learning more about the Council. I would, therefore, appreciate your forwarding to me any information available pertaining to the Council, particularly its purpose, goals, and programs.

In addition, I understand the Southern Regional Council publishes a periodical SOUTH TODAY. I would appreciate information, including subscription forms, concerning this publication.

Your kind attention in these matters is greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Robert T. Gordon, Jr.

Robert T. Gordon, Jr.
LT(j.g.) USNR

May 6, 1971

Mr. Calvin Kytle
1625 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Calvin:

Enclosed is the latest available Roster of Black Elected Officials. It is my understanding that MARC is doing a up-date on this to include more recently elected officials.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

Calvin
Kytle
Associates

1625 K Street NW
Washington
D C 20006

202 638 1113

April 28, 1971

APR 30 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Come June 1 I will have available the results of a very special opinion poll on "the hopes and fears of the American people" and I want to be sure that copies get into the hands of every black elected official in the South. Could you send me such a list, please? I'd be most obliged.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin

P.S. Bill me for any charges, of course.

May 6, 1971

Mrs. Julie Laws
85 Fairway Drive
Novato, California 94747

Dear Mrs. Laws:

Under separate cover we are sending you several pieces of material about our work.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Annual Report
description of Hunger Fund
S Today

85 Fairway Dr.
Novato, Calif. 94947
May 2, 1971

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The name of your organization is listed in the book Still Hungry in America as an organization which is trying to do something about people living in poverty in the rural South. I am interested in knowing more about your organization and its program, what you have been doing, what your goals are, etc. In particular, I would like to know if a birth control program is any part of your work.

Sincerely,

Julie Laws

Julie Laws (Mrs. R.E.)

August 26, 1970

Dr. Robert L. Gill
University of Maryland
Overseas Program
Far East Division
APO San Francisco, California 96525

Dear Dr. Gill:

We will be pleased to keep you on our mailing list. Best wishes for your overseas adventure.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 31, 1970

Mr. Devant J. Purvis
Personnel Manager
ITT Rayonier Inc.
Post Office Box 2002
Fernandina Beach, Florida 32034

Dear Mr. Purvis:

It has just come to my attention that your letter of June 9th had been misplaced here in our office. Please forgive me for this delay. Under separate cover we are sending you the last issue of our quarterly New South, and the last three issues of South Today. We will be pleased to send you these publications for a year on a complimentary basis. After that time you may subscribe if you are interested, which, of course, I hope you are.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

ITT

JUN 10 1970

ITT Rayonier Inc.

Fernandina Division

Post Office Box 2002
Fernandina Beach, Florida 32034
(904) 261-3611

June 9, 1970

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We recently had a visit from a Mr. Larry Vickers, a free lance writer, who said that he was writing an article for your organization which would be published in one of your publications.

We understand from Mr. Vickers that your organization publishes two publications, The South Today and The New South. We are interested in your work and would like very much to receive copies of these two publications. Would you please accept our order for a subscription to both publications and send them to my attention along with the charges for the publications?

Sincerely yours,

Devant J. Purvis

Devant J. Purvis
Personnel Manager

DJP/eh

JAMES G. BARBOUR  MRS. G. [illegible] YATES  BEVERLY BRILEY, MAYOR

DR. G. J. TARLETON, JR.
VICE-CHAIRMAN

F. MILES EZELL, JR.  EDWARD J. SHEA

ROBERT J. WARNER, JR.
SECRETARY

REV. J. F. GRIMMETT  REV. ANDREW WHITE

OCT 16 1970

# Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County

FRED CLOUD
ACTING DIRECTOR

ARCHIE E. ALLEN
EEOC PROJECT DIRECTOR

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
1410 PARKWAY TOWERS · NASHVILLE, TENN. 37219
TELEPHONES: 747-4385 · 747-4386 · AREA CODE 615

October 14, 1970

VIA AIR MAIL

Dear Paul:

I have just been asked to serve as the Resource Person for a Workshop group on "Reports and Publications" at the forthcoming NAIRO Conference, October 26-30, 1970.

This is to ask your help: Will you please send "post haste" some copies of reports and publications which your Commission has published within the past year or so? These would be displayed and studied by Workshop members, with the goal of helping all of us to produce more effective printed matter in the field of human rights.

Since time is so short, please send the materials to me at the site of the Conference, as follows:

Fred Cloud, NAIRO Conference
Mayo Hotel
Tulsa, Okla. 74101  "HOLD FOR ARRIVAL, Oct. 27, 1970"

Thanks a million for your help! Looking forward to seeing you at the NAIRO Conference, I am

Cordially yours,

Fred

Fred Cloud

10 copies each
Oct. issue S. Today
Latest New South,
Chicken Bone Special

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

September 9, 1970

SEP 11 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southren Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Please send 100 copies of "Know Your Rights" to:

Mr. A. O. Hobbs
Director, Lee County Council on Human Relations
367 Atkins Blvd.
Marianna, Ark. 72360

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Cheryl Snyder

Cheryl Snyder
ACHR Assistant

cs

OFFICERS — ALAN PATTESON, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, 1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
HERB RULE III, 2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN • STEELE HAYS, SECRETARY • WILLIAM T. KELLY, TREASURER
STAFF — ELIJAH COLEMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • MRS. BARBARA GRAVES, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

October 22, 1970

Mr. Daniel A. Searing
Special Assistant
Center for National Policy Review
School of Law
Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C. 20017

Dear Mr. Searing:

We are enclosing the issue of South Today which includes the report on Catholic Institutions.

The Center, probably through Bill Taylor, should be receiving our materials. If this is not the case, please let me know and I will see that it is corrected.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

CENTER FOR NATIONAL POLICY REVIEW 202 832 8525

School of Law

Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C. 20017

OCT 20 1970

William L. Taylor
Director

October 13, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I noted with interest the article in the New York Times of Sunday, October 4, 1970, concerning your report on the performance of Catholic institutions in racial matters in the South.

Would it be possible for you to send me a copy of the full report?

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Daniel A. Searing
Special Assistant

DAS:bjd

October 26, 1970

Dr. Carl W. McGeehon
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology & Social Work
Texas Woman's University
Denton, Texas 76204

Dear Dr. McGeehon:

Under separate cover we are sending you several pieces of information that may be of interest to your students. We appreciate you interest in the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

72 copies Southern Today
72 " SRC

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY

DENTON, TEXAS 76204

OCT 26 1970

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

23 October, 1970

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir

I teach a course in "Minority Groups in the U.S." at Texas Woman's University. In November I will be making reference to the work of the Southern Regionsl Council.

If you would be interested in providing my 72 students with handout information such as the brown pamphlet "Southern Regional Council (1968)" I would be happy to distribute them.

Sincerely

Carl W. McGeehon

CARL W. MCGEEHON
Chaplain, Colonel, USAF, Ret.
Assistant Professor, Ph.D.

November 2, 1970

Mr. Alex Rodgers, Jr.
Rt. 1, Box 39-J
Sacramento, Kentucky 42372

Dear Mr. Rodgers:

Under separate cover we are sending you several copies of South Today, in which you will find commentary on the newly developing private schools.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

ALEX RODGERS PASTOR
SACRAMENTO PARISH

*Towers-Worthington*
UNITED METHODIST CHURCHES

SACRAMENTO, KY. 42372

NOV 2 1970

October 21, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Sir;

I am presently a student at Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro, Ky. I am writing a research paper on the newly developing "private segerated schools" in this country.

It would be most helpful and appreciated if you will mail me any material pertaining to this subject. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Alex Rodgers Jr

Alex Rodgers, Jr.
Rt. 1 Box 39-J
Sacramento, Kentucky 42372

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
NW, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

I understand that I can obtain Anthony Dunbar's The Will To Survive from your office. Please send this to me post haste - and I will reciprocate with necessary monetary reimbursement as you so indicate to me.

Also, if you have an available book or magazine bibliography on Hunger in America or can advise me of where to obtain such, please ~~do~~ include that.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Iris Humphreys
931 Michigan
Lawrence, Kansas
66044

3415
11-18-70's
HC

also JWR which lists on the back

November 23, 1970

Mr. Devant J. Purvis
Personnel Manager
ITT Rayonnier Inc.
P. O. Box 2002
Fernandina Beach, Florida 32034

Dear Mr. Purvis:

We regret that you have not been receiving the publications, and I trust this matter has now been corrected. Under separate cover we sending you the copies issued since July.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Send Copies

ITT

ITT Rayonier Inc.
Fernandina Division

Post Office Box 2002
Fernandina Beach, Florida 32034
(904) 261-3611

NOV 16 1970

November 13, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On August the 31, 1970 you wrote me concerning my letter of June 9th whereby we asked that you enter our subscription for New South and the South Today.

We received the copies of the last issues you mentioned in your letter; however, we have not received any issues since that time. Would you please check and see why we are not receiving these publications? We appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Devant J. Purvis

Devant J. Purvis
Personnel Manager

DJP/eh

December 1, 1970

Miss Deidra Wilson
Box 131
Fairforest, S. C. 29336

Dear Miss Wilson:

In regard to your inquiry, I would like to recommend to you the book "The American Serfs" by Paul Good (published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.). This is an excellent and accurate statistical study of the poor.

Under separate cover we are sending you the book "Still Hungry in America" by Robert Coles, and several other pieces of information. We would appreciate it if you would contribute the book to your school library after your term paper is completed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PAAjb

Box 131
Fairforest, S.C.
November 8, 1970

NOV 23 1970

Dear Sirs:

I was referred to you by my American history teacher. I am doing a term paper entitled "Who Were the Poor of the 1960's". I would appreciate any information that you could send me concerning my term paper topic. I would like to have this information some time in the very near future. My address is:

Deidra Wilson
Box 131
Fairforest, S.C.
29336.

Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

Yours Truly,
Deidra Wilson

December 3, 1970

Mr. Eugene Lemmon, Jr.
7th Inf. Div. Spt. Cmd
HHC and Band
207th Den Det
APO San Francisco, California 96207

Dear Mr. Lemmon:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in answering your letter. Under separate cover I am sending you some of our recent materials.

If after reading them you wish to receive more, we will be very happy to see that you get them.

Again, my sincere apology.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

last issue NT
" 3 " ST
Jw R

OCT 5 1970

7th Inf Div Spt Cmd
HHC and Band
207th Den Det
APO SF 96207
October 3, 1970

Dear Sir:

I'm in the U. S. Army and at the present I'm serving a 13 month tour in Korea. I'm very concerned about the things in general that are happening in America. Therefore I'm writing you for some sort of assistance.

I've been trying to keep up with the things that are going on within this country of ours. Now that I have the time to stop and look at America from the outside and to see things just as they are for myself, I'm not pleased at all. For one to leave the country, to get out of that sick society, he can really take a good look at things. Once this happens to a true American at heart, spirit and mind, he can't help but be concerned because our mother land is in the need for its inhabitants to work together.

I've been constantly doing extensive reading. This has helped but the books here are not up to date. Nevertheless I'm using what I have.

I'll appreciate it if you would send me any literature or information that might help me get a better out-look on things. I'm very interested in learning more about your organization and its functions in todays society. Therefore I'll appreciate any information that might help me understand more about your organization. Or maybe you can refer me to someone or some other group or organization that is capable of giving me some assistance in this endeavor.

The point is that I want to keep up with my people and any new developments that might come up while I'm away from home. Because I will not feel like an American Citizen if I would go back into her society totally ignorant of my surroundings. Which mean that I would not be able to apply myself as an American Citizen because of my ignorance. Therefore I'll be depending on you to answer my letter if nothing else.

Your immediate cooperation will be deeply appreciated. Thank-you.

Sincerely yours,
Eugene Lemmon Jr.
Eugene Lemmon, Jr.

December 3, 1970

Mr. Heiko Flottau
Suddeutsche Zeitung
Sendlinger Strabe 80
Fernruf, West Germany 21831

Dear Mr. Flottau:

Please forgive this inexcusable delay in answering your inquiry. I inadvertently managed to loose it in a stack of paper.

Under separate cover, airmail, we are sending you recent copies of New South and South Today. Enclosed is information abstracted from the recent census.

We will be pleased to see that you receive a complimentary subscription to New South. Again, my sincere apology and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

Süddeutsche Zeitung

REDAKTION

Heiko Flottau

8 MÜNCHEN 3,
Postfach 300

Sendlinger Straße 80
Fernruf 21831

September 19 197o

SEP 22 1970

W-Germany

Mr.
Paul Anthony

Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street

Atlanta/Georgia

USA

Dear Mr. Anthony,

perhaps you remember the visit of the World Press Institute at the SRC in January 197o. I was a member of this group and I am now back in Munich/Germany for three months. I have published a number of articles on the US, on the Southern states and have even mentioned your work at the SRC.

I am now starting to write a little paperback on the social problems of the US, and one or two chapters are devoted to the situation in the South, from the Mississippi-Delta and rural poverty to the ghetto-areas of the Southern cities. You have been so kind as to mail me a lot of material to my address in the US, which I have been using in my newspaper-articles. But in order to write a book, which is somehow up to date, I need some more material, especially books, small pamphlets which are published within the last six months. What I am particularly thinking of is "South Today" and "The New South" (Quarterly ?)as well as the special research you and SRC are doing on special subjects.

I would like to subscribe to "The new South", perhaps from the second quarter of 197o on, and I would like to check the editions of "South Today", which have been published within the last months. Could you as well mail me a list of your recent publications so that I can order what I am interested in ? If there are any results of the 197o census, which particularly apply to the South - I could use them very well.

/2

Since I am somehow under pressure of time, I would like you to ask, whether you can ~~mail~~ send the information by air-mail. Please tell me the name of the SRC-bank and the number of the account so that I can meet your expenditure.

I appreciate your help very much and send you the best wishes for the success of your work and for a -hopefully good - future of your country.

Sincerely yours

Heiko Flottau

(Heiko Flottau)

Please make
special file:
Resis. Groups,
Confidential

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

MM file

U. S. Klans
Knights of The Klu Klux Klan Inc.
Post Office Box 3073
Macon, Georgia

Monroe Fordham
King Kleagle
Realm of Georgia
3720 Deborah Drive
Macon, Georgia
Sherwood 2-1738

August 11, 1960

Mr. T. J. Harrell
Business Agent
American Baker and Confectionary Workers
Local 434
Macon, Ga.

Mr. Harrell:
It is with deepest regret that I am forced to write this letter to you, but it doesn't seem that I can get near enough to you to talk . I have contacted Douglas Price on this matter but he doesn't seem to know what to do. He said that he has already talked to you, but undoubttedly you don't seem to think it is serious enough to contact me and see if something can't be worked out. Maybe you would say something to me Mon. when you talk to Mr. Elliott were in the plant but you didn't even speak, just threw up your hands like everything was rosy.

As a spokesman for the Local Union Members in the Bakeries and Confectionary Workman's Local 434 that are also members of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan as well as other interested persons, we do hereby proclaim that if something is not done about the problem which now exists at Strietman's, we will be forced to withdraw our membership local434 by a Sacred oath we took to become member s of the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan.

We do not discriminate against the colored people, but we do want them to stay in the colored's persons place, which is not in contact the white people. I have nothing against the colored people so long as they know they are colored.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Macon, Ga.
Monroe Fordham

Dues paying of the union
Our Fore father's brought the negro form the Jungle of Africa so that he might live civilized. Now they with their Kommunsit leaders want to put as eauals with us. Brother it will never happen as long as their are white men as we have in the Kn ghts of the KuKlux Klan.

We have quite a few Klansman working at Streitman"s but wealso have some other white people have that will withdraw from the union if we do.

The primary purpose of my making this statemnet about getting out of the union is this, we belong to the white race and we will do anything to keep it white. From what I can find out about this deal, the union is not doing anything to amintain white supremacy, but the Negro gets all the help.

You have my permission to print any persons mane if we are forced toget out of the union. because then the white people awill know who is on their side. Surely Charlie Hodges may not quit at the present time, but thereis always the present and he may be subject to quit any time. Then who will be sitting in the receiving office, with thefact that he ahs the union to back him up and put him ian aclass with some people. But let me tell you onething, he will never be in aclass with me or no other geunine with person. Some people will do anyting for the almighty dollar even support the black race when they are supposed tobe white.

A copy of this leter will be sent to all persons whose name is on the petition and all other persons interested in its contents. I haven't put anything in this letter that I wouldn't repeat to anyone.

We will wait ten days from this letter before we make ak move. Rember, we pay you just as the negres, so we have a just right to make these comments or complaints, which ever you might take it.

Even if Charlie doesn't quit, it would be a good idea to get it settled right away because if it isn't taken careof right now it will come up again later.

Hoping to hear fomm you soon
I respectfully remain,

Monroe Fordham
King Keagle
Realm of Ga.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Oct 3, '53

Dear COS RIC,

Glad to have latest Christian Conscience, which good.

Any way your group can help get this pamphlet spread around? We want it to be used by local, and preferably bi-racial discussion groups, as a means of getting the controversy down from the closed-door offices of State officials, and into the homes of people. That's a means of preventing the matter when the Court finally rules from becoming an object of successful political confusion. Father Shean told me when he was here the other day that he would send the pamphlet out to the various Diocesan papers in the South, and strategically out to the Bishops and other clergy. I claim no imprimatur (how could I!) but Father Shean liked it, and I think it is good material on the whole issue.

I know that in many places the first concern is with Parochial schools, but the whole thing is intermixed, and we all stand or fall together.

Plenty here, at 12 cents each in smallish quantities, and even at 10 for heaps.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

July 12, 1954

Dr. M. A. F. Ritchie
President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

Ted Poston greatly greatly exaggerates my reputation!

I do hope Fred will come to see me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HARTWICK COLLEGE
ONEONTA, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

July 7, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I just had the pleasure of reading, "The Man Talmadge Fears" in the New York Post for June 24, 1954. It was an excellent article, and will bring George Mitchell to the attention of people who should know him.

Fred Routh, who was with me at Miami, spent a couple of days with us recently. He hopes to drop in to see you on the way back South. He was defeated in his race for Congress, and will not be back at the University on the faculty.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:SAR

RECEIVED
JUL 12 19
Southern Regional Council

HARTWICK COLLEGE
ONEONTA, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

July 23, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please accept my congratulations on your fine piece entitled, "The South Isn't Solid" in the ADL BULLETIN for June.

It is one of the finest statements I have read of something I have been saying in public addresses for a long time. I didn't say it nearly as well as you have said it, however.

You may be sure that many of us are watching the work of the Southern Regional Council with the greatest of interest and the greatest of gratitude at this time.

With all good wishes for continued success to you and George, I am

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:SAR

ack 8/27/54

May 6, 1955

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Mr. Ritchie:

Thank you very much for your check for five dollars to cover membership in the Southern Regional Council. A receipt is herewith attached.

As you probably know, the structure of the Council is somewhat changed now that our grant has made possible the establishment of state organizations with their own offices, staff and membership. Members are no longer members of the Council but of their own state organization. The Council is now the Board of Directors which has the over-all direction of the Central Office and the State Organizations.

We do continue to have interested friends in the states where there is no organization, namely outside the South. These we regard as Associates and hope that we can continue to merit their interest and support. Should any of them move into the South we would hope that he would become a member of the organization in the state in which he lives.

Thank you for your continued interest and for your gracious words. Fred Routh is out today but would, I am sure, want to send you his greetings.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

HARTWICK COLLEGE
ONEONTA, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

May 2, 1955

MAY 5 1955

Miss Katherine Stoney
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 5 1955

Dear Miss Stoney:

I enclose herewith my check for Five ($5.00) Dollars for membership in the Southern Regional Council.

Is this an associate (contribute membership) or is this an active membership? I recall in years gone by only those people who lived in the Southern region were eligible for council membership. Now, of course, we have moved from the South and live in upstate New York. In any case, I wish to continue membership in the Council and I compliment you and my good friend George Mitchell for the wonderful work the Council is doing. I am delighted that the Ford Foundatiom is supporting you and I hope that this support is increased sufficiently to permit you to carry on the very important work that is being done as long as may be necessary.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:b
encl.

# HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 18, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I read with a deep sense of regret the fact that George Mitchell is leaving the Southern Regional Council. I just wrote George a letter and enclosed a clipping from the New York Times.

I congratulate you on being chosen as the successor of George in the crucial work that is being done by the Southern Regional Council at this time. I know that you must be an outstanding man from all reports and from the very fact that the Directors have chosen you to succeed George.

I had the pleasure of being with George again last summer at the Pennsylvania State College workshop in human relations.

I follow your publications with a great deal of interest and through reading them and through reading the Southern School News Reporting Service I keep fairly well abreast of what is taking place in the South.

Though we have plenty of human relations problems in New York State, I continue to have a very keen interest in the situation in the South and the steps that are being taken by organizations such as yours to improve conditions.

If you are in upstate New York be sure to drop in to see us.

Warmest regards and best wishes to you in your new responsibilities.

Sincerely,

Mike

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:b

January 2, 1957

Mr. M. A. Ritchie, President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Mike:

Thank you for your very kind letter and the good wishes for the New Year.

Fred Routh often speaks of you, and we really think of you as one of our strongest constituents, despite the distance of Oneonta.

I hope some occasion or other will get us together soon. Meanwhile from all of us here the best of wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

December 21, 1956

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie
President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

We got from Putney, Vermont, over to all the business around Troy and from then on couldn't resist the throughway. And it did move us along to rapidly that in one day we got from Vermont to Oberlin! But it cost us Hartwick and you, and we are sorry.

You know I wouldn't fib to you -- if I said I was bound out for Scotland I was so bound.

Nice thing is we will have a two-unit motel next door, and for fear of getting hooked into British income taxes we will open her for free after she takes in 400 bucks in any one year. So come about late July and stay for good!

Hate to leave this show, but Harold's a grand guy, and will run her better than ever I did. Hate not to be back at Penn., but told the man I was headed out. I gottalotobooksto read.

Best,

G.

GSM/eab

# HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 18, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 21 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I read with great regret the article in the New York Times Sunday that you will leave your post with the Southern Regional Council in January.

To me George Mitchell and the Southern Regional Council have always been synonomous.

I recall, however, that you mentioned this summer possible retirement from the work of the Southern Regional Council. I paid little attention to it, for I could not think of the Council without you.

I am sure you realize that all of us who are interested in the work of the Council recognize the tremendous contribution you have made not only to the Council but to the South and to the nation.

I was hoping to see you again at Pennsylvania State College this summer. I will probably be there for a few days as a special consultant. I cannot give a full month again, however.

We hoped to hear this fall that you would visit upstate New York. Perhaps you will be up this way before you sail for Scotland. If so, be sure to put a visit with us on your schedule.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie
President

MAFR:b
encl.

Rinehart

March 18, 1957

Mr. Hollis Rinehart
The Ingrahm Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Hollis:

You will recall that I wrote you a week or so ago about a student who was expelled from Florida State University.

I have just received a letter from a man in New York City asking about the firing of Professor Earl L. Vance of the Department of Journalism at F.S.U. This letter raised the question about the causes for his discharge and stated he felt the case warrented further inquiry.

Again, I do not know the underlying issues, but it disturbs me that one of our Florida universities has twice been brought to the attention of civil libertarians on the national level and that two different people would direct inquiries about happenings in Tallahassee to our office. As a member of the State Board of Control I thought you would be concerned.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Rinehart

March 27, 1957

Mr. Hollis Rinehart
Board of Control of Florida
815 Ingraham Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Hollis:

I have received your letter of March 21st and fully appreciate the difficulties you face on the State Board of Control. I am happy to be able to pass on to my friend in New York the information that Mr. Vance has not been fired from the faculty of Florida State University and that his procedural rights are guaranteed. As I said in both letters, I did not and do not know the merits of the cases, but I am concerned for the good reputation of our State University.

Thanks very much for your interest and also for all that you are doing to keep Florida on the track.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

November 18, 1957

Miss Patricia Newell
Publicity Director
Rinehart and Company Inc.
232 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Miss Newell:

I shall be delighted to receive an advance copy of Neither Black Nor White by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. They are both good friends of mine and I had the pleasure of introducing them to many of the people whom they interviewed in preparing their book. I shall be happy to make comments upon it and get them off to you after I have had time to read the book with some care. Thank you for the courtesy of the advance copy.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Rinehart
& COMPANY · INCORPORATED
Publishers

232 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 16 · N.Y.

15 November 1957

Fred Routh, Esq.
New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

We have sent you, under separate cover, and advance copy of a book which we feel certain you will find of particular interest. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely (November 26) measures the pulse of the South with intelligence and insight.

The positions taken by the press, clergy, universities, public school officials and citizenry are described with understanding and respect in terms of both current events and historical forces.

We sincerely hope you will be interested in NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE and would welcome any comments you may care to make.

Sincerely,

Patricia H. Newell

Patricia H. Newell
Publicity Director

PHN:CT

February 10, 1958

Dr. M.A.F. Ritchie
Office of the President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

Many thanks for your good letter. I too enjoyed the luncheon during the Christmas vacation. It is always good to be with old friends and find that they are still the same basic fine people. In your case I note considerable growth and development and expect even greater things from you in the future, and yet basically you are the same easy going, nice guy with whom I used to teach and buddy around. That, sir, is quite an accomplishment.

I share with you a sense of distress over the lack of community services offered by the Department at the University of Miami. It is obvious that the administration has finally ahcieved what it set out for -- that is, a non-controversial department. I hasten to add that "non-controversial" in times such as these usually means "insignificant." It was good that you had a chance to talk with Ben Bronston, but I fear Ben is not very knowledgeable in the field of human relations. He is well motivated and generous but is fairly easily lead, even into questionable paths, by administrators.

I am happy that things go so well for you and Jo and family at Hartwick College. Thank fortune that Betsy can now face the cold winters more easily.

The best of everything to all of you and regards to Gerry and his good spouse.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

# HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 23, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was good to be with you in Miami for the brief luncheon and I have been much encouraged by your reports.

I took time out from the Convention to visit Booker T. Washington High School and to renew our acquaintance with our mutual friends there.

Quite obviously the Department is a different type of operation from what we used to have. The potential is still there for community service however, and needs only to be implemented. Just what the causal factors are in the lessening of community participation cannot be definitely pinned down. Various conjectures are in order. Yours may not be too far from the truth.

I had opportunity to see Ben Bronston on three occasions. One of these was at a dinner the Seamans gave for us. Another was a luncheon for Josephine and me on the Beach. And the third was at a meeting of the Board of Directors and Dinner Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. I was asked to speak briefly and accommodated the group as best I could. Many of our outstanding friends were present, including Shep Broad and Jim LeGate.

I hope that my conversations with Ben helped stimulate his interest at the University and that it will continue. Some fine day the vision of the University will be lifted so that services to the community on the part of the Department can be enlarged.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie

MAFR:b

December 9, 1958

Dr. Miller Ritchie
President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

Many thanks for your recent letter and the kind words about my election as President-elect of NAIRO.

I still remember fondly our long and happy association together at Miami and our friendship that has lasted in spite of the many miles between us. Any time I get up in that section and there is any possibility of my coming out to Oneonta, I will try my durndest. I would enjoy speaking to your assembly and having conferences with students. But even more, I would enjoy a visit with Jo, you, and the family.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

# HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dictated: November 24, 1958
Transcbd: December 1, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I note with great pleasure a piece in the New York Times to the effect that you have been elected president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Undoubtedly this is in part a recognition of your outstanding work with the Southern Regional Council.

If you have time, be sure to drop us a line to let us know how things are going.

Another thing, let us know if you are in this section. I would like very much to have you out to the college for an address to our assembly and conferences with students if you happen to be in this section and could conveniently come. Perhaps you may come to New York some time and could spare an extra day. It might be an interesting outing and I am sure you would enjoy sitting down with our students as well as speaking in the Chapel.

Warmest regards from us all.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie

Make card for friends list

May 27, 1960

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie
President
Pacific University
Forest Grove, Oregon

Dear Miller:

It was very good of you to write me about the New York Times article. I am encouraged by the fact that you found it useful for quotation.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on your new position and wish you every success. Despite the fact that you get further away, I continue to hope that sonner or later you will find yourself in Atlanta and we will have an opportunity to get together. Meanwhile, my very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Pacific University
FOREST GROVE, OREGON
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I noted your excellent article in the New York Times magazine for April 3rd. It is an excellent statement and I have quoted it in an address entitled "Freedom Has A Chance" before the District Convention of Rotary International.

I came here in September to my present position, after having been at Hartwick College in the same position for the past six years. A few weeks ago we had the pleasure of a visit from Fred Routh.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie

MF LWD ✓ sgt Return mf

June 1, 1960

Mr. William L. Rivers
P. O. Box 7531
University Station
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Rivers:

John Scanlon was recently in Atlanta and told me of your impending survey of the effectiveness of Southern School News.

I am glad to have your letter advising me that you will be in Atlanta later this month, and I will look forward to further word from you as to the exact time of your coming. All of us here at SRC want to be of as much help to you as possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

May 31, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am undertaking a large survey of the effectiveness of Southern School News. I hope that the attached sheet regarding the survey and the biographical sketch will serve as a preliminary introduction for a short talk later this month.

Sincerely,

Bill Rivers

Bill Rivers

The Southern Education Reporting Service and The Fund for the Advancement of Education have retained me to survey the effectiveness of Southern School News. As you may know, the paper is published by a group of Southern newspaper editors and educators to provide accurate information on developments in education arising from the U. S. Supreme Court opinion declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

How effective is Southern School News? Is it being used? Should its scope be broadened to include other aspects of education and other regions? These are among the many questions I hope to answer after talking with those who should be able to make the best use of Southern School News.

I hope to be in your area early this summer and would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you (or with someone associated with you who uses Southern School News). I'll call you before I arrive to ask for an appointment.

William L. Rivers
P.O. Box 7531
University Station
Austin, Texas

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born (1925) in Gainesville, Florida, and attended grade school and high school there.
Served in the U. S. Marine Corps from 1943 to 1946.
Now teaching at the University of Texas.
Married and have two children.

Education:
B.A. and M.A. degrees in journalism from Louisiana State University (1946-52).
Ph.D. in Political Science from The American University in Washington, D.C. (Dissertation: The Washington Correspondents and Government Information.)

Teaching Experience:
Taught at Louisiana State University (1953-54).
University of Miami (1955-58).
University of Texas (September 1959 to Present).

Professional Experience:
Reporter, editorial writer, weekly and daily columnist for newspapers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Panama City, Florida.
Miami correspondent for Kiplinger Letters.
Free lance writer (Harper's, The Reporter, Nieman Reports, Editor & Publisher, This Week, Reader's Digest, The New York Times Magazine, Saturday Review, etc.)

Sent 11/15/60

MRS. J. MILTON RICHARDSON
14 SHADOW LAWN
HOUSTON 5, TEXAS

November 12, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear sir:

Mr. Marion Wright has agreed to come to Houston in December to speak at a dinner meeting of the Houston Council on Human Relations.

He wrote me that you could supply me with some publicity material on him.

I would be grateful for any information you could send me.

All my recent copies of the NEW SOUTH have been passed on to friends, and I do not now have your new address, so this will be delayed in reaching you.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,
Jane B. Richardson
Mrs. J. Milton Richardson

THE
NEW YORKER
No. 25 WEST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, 36, N. Y.
OXFORD 5-1414

VJ
MJ

file "Ri" gen. corres.

January 23

Dear Les--

This is a letter I received from Paris, and a copy of my reply. I hope it doesn't cause you more trouble than it's worth. I don't know Rickless, but he sounds as if he wants to do something.

Best regards,

Bud Trillin

ELWOOD A. RICKLESS
ATTORNEY AT LAW

8, Avenue Bertie Albrecht
Paris-8e

CARnot 44-74

22 December 1963

Mr. Calvin Trillin
c/o Editorial Department
The New Yorker Magazine
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Trillin:

I have just finished reading your articles with reference to negroes at the University of Georgia. I am an american lawyer who has just established his own practice in Paris. My means are limited but it seems to me that within the american community here there are a good number of persons who would be willing to contribute funds for a purpose the value of which they can readily understand.

My conclusions after reading your articles are that the first problem--other than establishing test cases for the purpose of removing barriers--is in the primary and intermediate school level in the South. Removed from the scene as we are, there is little we can do about apathy. Nor can we be of any help with respect to family poverty. But there does remain something for us to contribute our funds to, perhaps in the field of teacher instruction.

I agree with you that there is no answer to this vast problem other than raising the quality of instruction at the lower school levels in the South. Sending Negro schoolchildren North for their primary education impresses me as being a dead-end. One has no assurance that they will ever return to become leaders of their communities in the South. Moreover, while an Andover-Harvard education is a marvellous gift, my own experience (my room-mate at Harvard was a Negro) leads me to believe that it tends to isolate a person so educated from his less-fortunate brethren.

I am deeply concerned that the impatience of many capable and intelligent Negroes will precede by many years the quality of education which will enable them the life and leisure to which they are entitled. What can I do? If you can put me in touch with the proper persons or association, I will be happy to become a fund-raiser in this small community. It may be no more than contributing to the general expenses of a teachers college in the South, but this is slightly better than doing nothing. Would you therefore please pass this letter on to the appropriate persons?

Sincerely yours,

Elwood Rickless

January 23, 1963

Mr. Elwood A. Rickless
8, Avenue Bertie Albrecht
Paris 8e
France

Dear Mr. Rickless:

Thank you for your letter. Please forgive the delay in this reply; I was out of the city when your letter arrived.

I believe that the best person for you to communicate with about your proposal to raise funds in the Paris American community is Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southernors that has been working for equality in the South for a number of years, and I believe it is about the most responsible and effective organization in the field. The Council has projects of its own -- although it is not an action group, it administers the funds for the Voters Education Project, the current registration drive that combines the efforts of several civil rights organizations -- and, perhaps more important for your purposes, it does constant research on the needs in civil rights. I'm sure Mr. Dunbar could direct you to a suitable project. I have taken the liberty of passing your letter along to him. If you want to write to him directly, his address is

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

It was reassuring to receive your letter; again, my apologies that I caused you some delay.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin Trillin

File
"Ri" - gen. Corresp

via air mail

March 6, 1964

Mr. Elwood Rickless
8, Avenue Bertie Albrecht
Paris 8, France

Dear Mr. Rickless:

I had heard from Bud Trillin, and I was very pleased to get your letter of February 6.

I like very much your idea, including your conclusion about the importance of teacher education.

I know of a couple things which might be worth your consideration and which could make excellent use of any funds you and your friends could raise, and which would be able to receive them. I would like, however, to concentrate my recommendations on Miles College. If what I have to say below does not seem to fill your interest, please write to me again and I will write something else.

One of the things that Negroes lack in Birmingham is a sound Negro college. In contrast to Atlanta and Nashville, there has been no institution supplying a cadre of local leaders and generally giving the community the strength and depth which a good campus can uniquely provide.

There has been for many years one four-year college; Miles College. It has been one of the poorest -- in every sense -- colleges of the South. Three years ago this began to change, most excitingly. The change began when one of the truly remarkable men of the South, and maybe of the nation, Lucius M. Pitts when there as president. The job of building ("re-building" would be incorrect) Miles has been tremendous. But during the last three years its progress has been amazing and has attracted interest in educational circles all over the country. In addition to educational progress, Dr. Pitts and his students have been a good bit of the backbone of the Birmingham civil rights struggle. This is a school administration, to give you just one example, which not only is desperately trying to build a college, but which asks for and receives a foundation grant to put its students to work in the city of Birmingham campaigning for voter registration.

Like all too many Negro colleges, Miles has traditionally graduated the bulk of its classes in teacher education. Miles graduates teach school all over Alabama in large numbers. An immediate goal of Dr. Pitts has been to strengthen and reform teacher education at the college. All of the things being done is specially sustained attention to reading.

A reading laboratory has been established and all beginning teacher education students are being put through it; the laboratory is available to any student. The laboratory is being equipped with reading machines or whatever they are called, and "programmed" materials. This installation of equipment is not complete. In addition to the reading laboratory a second program in reading skills is being begun; every teacher education student, just prior to graduation, will go through this.

All teacher eduation students are now, you will want to know, being required to have a subject matter concentration and to pass a subject matter examination before graduation. Three years ago probably more than 75% of Miles's student body was majoring in teacher education, and nearly all of them were majoring in elementary teacher education for which no major was required.

My recommendation to you, therefore, is that your funds might be raised for the reading laboratory of Miles College. The address is simply Birmingham, Alabama. Contributions could be sent in care of Dr. Lucius M. Pitts. I think the soundness of this specific program, the exciting quality of Miles today, its inescapable opportunities in Alabama, and the generally sorry situation of that state all combine to make this an especially worthwhile project.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ELWOOD A. RICKLESS
ATTORNEY AT LAW

8, Avenue Bertie Albrecht
Paris-8e

CARnot 44-74

February 6, 1964

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I believe that Mr. Calvin Trillin has forwarded my December 22, 1963 letter to you. I am an American abroad who feels strongly about the work you are doing. Americans living overseas are helpless to do anything to support you other than to provide money.

My aim is to solicit my personal friends and to draft a letter to be addressed to other Americans in Europe, asking for money for an educational project for Negroes in the South. My personal opinion is that teacher instruction and enthusiasm for teaching as a career are two very vital issues to be supported. If you could, from your own knowledge and experience, pinpoint a project which needs financial support, I think the response would be all the greater. We are after all, human beings with limited imaginations. We grumble when we contribute to huge impersonal funds because we have no idea how our money is being spent. My aim therefore is to select a project or one or several persons and to concentrate on that.

If you do not think that my suggestions are sensible, please advise as to other alternatives.

Sincerely yours,

Elwood Rickless

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% CLOTH BAG

[illegible] reading
available
anything
1. begin [illegible]
reading list
2. teach [illegible]
get [illegible]
course
[illegible]
[illegible]

# CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT:

Mr. Edward Richer, Free University of Elorida, P. O. Box 13658, University Station, Gainesville, Florida, correspondence of August 24, 1965

REGARDING:

LWD's acknowledgement of September 10, 1965 re Richer's biography, summary prospectus and the catalog and faculty of the Free U. of Fla.

SEE:

Al Ulmer -- material given to him 10/6/65.

Joe
the Section
free
P.R.
Jer.

May 27, 1966

Mr. Paul Rilling
230 South Carolina Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on your new position.

Actually, I'm a little sorry to see you get further into the bureaucracy, since because of our conversation of more than a year ago I have nurtured the hope that we could get you back to Atlanta. But, so be it. At least I'm happy to see that you are getting rich.

All the best to Miggie, Heidie, Cat and you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File "Ri" gen.

File

Pacific University

FOREST GROVE, OREGON

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am most grateful to you for sending me the three copies of the NEW SOUTH in its new format. Also, for your excellent report on activities during 1965.

The fine work you are doing and the deep insight you show in reporting it simply confirm the promise of your student days.

I enclose my check for $3.00 together with one of your subscription cards filled out so that I may again be on your subscription list.

The NEW SOUTH certainly is vastly improved, and obviously is continuing to be a highly significant publication. I shall read it with great interest.

It pleased me greatly to see that my old friend Franklin Williams is still an active member of your Executive Committee. I haven't seen him for some time, but hope to see him this next March when I shall be in Miami for a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Independent College Funds of America.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie

3.00
11/28/66
C.F.

encls.

File "Ri" - gen.

December 27, 1966

Dr. and Mrs. William E. Riemer
9130 S. W. 100 Street
Miami, Florida 33156

Dear Bill and Florence:

How good to hear from you after this miserable number of years.

Don't you ever get to Atlanta for medical seminars or something? It certainly would be good to see you again.

While not likely, it is conceivable that I will get to Miami within the next six months. If so, I would certainly enjoy seeing you both.

Warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

July 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Rilling
230 South Carolina Avenue, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Paul:

Cannot tell you how delighted I am -- and we all are -- that you and Miggie are coming to Atlanta. What is your schedule and what can I do from this end in the way of help?

Incidentally, there is a spare bedroom and you and Miggie, cat and dog, are welcome to use it for as long as you wish.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file

JOHN R. LAZAREK
286 FARMINGTON AVENUE
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06105

December 10, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the Ripon Society, I wish to express our sincere thanks for your willingness to assist us with the research for our forthcoming book, The Lessons of Victory.

One of our major aims remains to disprove the theory that the key to future Republican victories lies in the development of a conservative consensus by appealing to those voters who backed the American Independent Party in the election. This has become particularly vital with the increase in intensity of the overtures being made to dissident Southern Democrats, such as Governor John Bell Williams, to make the cross-over to the GOP.

An effective rebuttal must include an analysis of the Negro vote, particularly in the South. I am, therefore, eagerly looking forward to any information which you can provide on the role of the Southern Negro in the 1968 election outcomes.

Thank you again for your help.

Very truly yours,

John R. Lazarek

John R. Lazarek

New Tickler Card
Made 12-30-68
for 1-17-69

Pa-fyi

December 11, 1968

Mr. John R. Lazarek
The Ripon Society
286 Framington Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Dear Mr. Lazarek:

Your letter to Mr. Anthony has been passed along to me. Unfortunately our post-election study has been slowed by our Southwide Conference for Black Elected Officials (see enclosed newsletter) and other events. However, you will be hearing from us as soon as our study is complete.

Sincerely,

Marvin Wall
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW:mjc

mj

Transmitted: 12-4-68
MJ

M.W.

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE ATTACHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AFTER YOU HAVE DONE SO, ATTACH A COPY OF YOUR LETTER TO THIS REQUEST AND RETURN TO MILDRED JOHNSON FOR FILING. NEEDLESS TO SAY, YOU MAY MAKE A COPY FOR YOUR FILES IF YOU WISH TO HAVE ONE.

Enclosures: VEP Newsrelease, December 3, 1968
Atlanta Journal-Constitution Editorial of
December 1, 1968
"The GOP and Negroes"

December 4, 1968

Mr. John R. Lazarek
The Ripon Society
286 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Dear Mr. Lazarek:

We are familiar with your '64 books and will be more than happy to be of any possible assistance to you.

I am forwarding your inquiry to Mr. Marvin Wall, Director of Research of the Council's Voter Education Project, who will be in touch with you as soon as possible.

Enclosed is a copy of an article from the Atlanta newspapers which may be of interest to you. You might also be interested in the enclosed release describing a conference which we will sponsor next week.

Every good wish for the success of your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
enclosures

JOHN R. LAZAREK
286 FARMINGTON AVENUE
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06105

November 22, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Ripon Society of Cambridge, Massachusetts is presently writing a book on the 1968 elections. The book, which is to be titled The Lessons of Victory, will be an analysis of the elections and an attempt to influence the course of the Republican Party along progressive lines for the next four years. I have included with this letter a copy of the memo outlining in detail the content and objectives of the study.

As a result of my experience as a co-author of Southern Republicanism and the New South, I have been assigned the responsibility for writing the chapter on southern politics and editing the state reports from this region. One of the major themes in this chapter will be the increasing strength of the Negro vote since the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. To document this political development, I hope to demonstrate the impact of the Negro vote in the 1968 elections, particularly in such situations as the re-election of Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, where the margin was provided by Negro votes.

It would be of invaluable assistance if you could provide me statistics on the southern elections showing where the margin of victory or defeat was provided by the Negro vote. I realize that the information available so soon after the election is spotty, but any help which you can give in this direction will be greatly appreciated. Your own observations on the elections in the South and the future of the Republican Party there,are, of course, welcome.

Thank you for your help.

Very truly yours,

John R. Lazarek
The Ripon Society

...a call to excellence in leadership

The Ripon Society

14a ELIOT STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138
(617) 491-4180

October 21, 1968

MEMO
TO: Ripon State Correspondents, National Associate Members and and the Ripon Research Staff
FROM: The Editor of The Lessons of Victory
RE: An Analysis of the 1968 Elections in The Fifty States

As a result of the 1964 Presidential campaign, the Ripon Society produced two books; Election '64 and From Disaster to Distinction. The theme of the first was the disastrous effect of the Goldwater candidacy upon Republican candidates at all levels while at the same time the book emphasized the fact that the 27,000,000 Americans who voted for the national ticket did not represent a solid Goldwater-conservative base. Author Theodore H. White praised the book:

> "Election '64 was far and away the best study of the elections made by anyone; I leaned heavily on it in my final chapter--and described it as the best such study in a footnote to my own analysis so that readers who want the whole story can refer to the report. It was absolutely first class."

This analysis was condensed into the first section of "Disaster" with a second section added to point the way for a new Republican majority.

Again this year Ripon will be writing a book--tentatively titled The Lessons of Victory--on the elections. With a Nixon victory*, the conclusions to be drawn will have to be much more sophisticated than those of four years ago; the McCarthy Democrats will now be doing the type of studies we did in '64. This book will be a major Ripon document, establishing direction for the Society's activities and policies over the next four years.

We are still in the preliminary stages of defining the theme—and of course this cannot really be done until the results of November 5 are in. But a primary aim is evolving to be one of disproving the theory (obtained by adding the Nixon and Wallace

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* This basic (and presently reasonable) assumption is fundamental to the current conception of the book. If Nixon loses, however, it should not be too difficult to alter the title to The Lessons of Defeat and the book's thrust as well.

votes and getting greater than 50%) that the key to winning elections in the future is the support of the "Backlash-Majority". This will be substantiated by documenting a throw-the-rascals-out sentiment as the main reason for a Republican victory; this public mood has aided both those on the left and on the right as is demonstrated by the number of former R. F. Kennedy supporters who now back Wallace.

From this analysis two general conclusions can be drawn. First, in 1972, if there are any rascals, they will be the Republicans. Second, since the mood of the country is subject to change, Republicans at the state and local level cannot plan to merely appeal to fears and frustrations to win future elections.

The book will be divided into three sections. The first will be on the Presidential Campaign, the second on the State of the GOP and the third on the Key to Building a Governing Majority. The second section will analyze the power centers, personalities, weaknesses and strengths of the party with separate chapters on the Senate Republicans, the House Republicans, the Party in the States, the Republican Governors, and the Republican National Committee.

The backbone of Election '64 was the state-by-state analysis. For this book too, it is imperative that we have accurate, detailed knowledge of the election results and the post-election political climate in each of the states. Consequently, the Society is collecting detailed memos on the election results and their significance from Correspondents and members in each of the fifty states. These memos should run about 10 to 15 pages and should be received in the Cambridge office by November 19, two weeks after the election. The following sections should be included in the analysis.

I. The Presidential Campaign.

What were the campaign strategy and tactics of the three major candidates in the state? What were the dominant reasons which produced the winning plurality? Was there a differing majority sentiment that proved ineffective in a three-way race? How did the Nixon campaign contrubute to the other candidates on the state ticket, to the permanent strength of the party, and to any contests between internal factions?

II. The Local Campaigns

This section would answer questions similar to those concerning the national campaign. Senate, Congressional, statewide, state legislative and significant municipal contests should all be considered. Numerical data on election results and the legislative seats should be included.

III. The State of the (state) Party

How do the results of November 5 find the party in this state? What is the GOP strength compared with the Democrats'? What are the factions (either personal or ideological) within the party and who has the controlling influence? What are the progressive Republican leaders doing?

All this is obviously a large bill for a memo of only a dozen pages. Though each should be mentioned, a contributor should limit detailed discussion to those questions which are particularly relevant to his individual state. The aim is to set forth and document the "Lessons" of the election; the memo should not be as much historical (though this material is essential) as analytical. Anecdotes should be included to make particular points and to provide for interesting reading. The submitted memos should be sufficiently polished to be included directly in the book.

The results of this election may be even more damaging to the morale of progressive Republicans than the Goldwater takeover four years ago. It is essential that Ripon carefully analyzes the moods and concerns of the American electorate, that we determine which are transient and which will continue to be significant in '70 and '72. The Society must document how leadership can effect these moods so as to encourage Republicans to act responsibly, both in office and during campaigns.

BOB BEHN

Robert D. Behn
Research Director

September 1, 1959

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

The following editorial from the Richmond News-Leader (August 26, 1959) is reproduced below in full. We think it is noteworthy because (1) of the admissions it makes; and because (2) it is presumably the strongest case that Editor Kilpatrick can make in rebuttal of the analysis by Doctors Green and Gauerke of the practicability of private schools.

## WHY IT WILL WORK

Two professors of education at Emory University, Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke, have produced a 40-page pamphlet for the Southern Regional Council, entitled "If the Schools Close." Here the authors review various proposals in Southern States for the establishment of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools.

"They dismantle the private school plan completely," says Time magazine, reporting on the pamphlet. And Time adds that the authors "prove" such schools will not work.

One or two things need to be said before this "proof" is rebutted. The first is that the pamphlet comes from the soft-headed Southern Regional Council, a Liberal outfit dedicated to the integrationist cause. The second is that the two authors are professors of education, with a vested interest in the public school system and an understandable prejudice in favor of its perpetuity. It would have been incredible if such authors, under such auspices, had produced a pamphlet that said anything else.

The authors' first objection to private schools goes to their costs. On this point, they observe that Georgia's public schools buy supplies on a State-wide basis, benefit from Statewide administrative services, and draw upon $28 million in Federal aid. A system of private schools, by contrast, could not make use of State buildings and "could not begin to pay for new buildings." Private schools could not afford qualified teachers, they contend, nor maintain an enriched curriculum. In brief, "a system of private schools...is unworkable, legally, socially, and economically."

What is to be said of these melancholy strictures, especially as they might apply to private schools in Virginia? Simply this, that the two theorists have no comprehension of certain realities. The authors, like educationists the country over, are accustomed to think in terms of nothing-but-the-best; they see large and grand, not small and homely; their vision is of thousands of pupils and millions of dollars. And their case boils down to "proof" of a proposition not even in dispute--that a vast system of private schools, equal in every way to public schools that have been 80 years in development, could not possibly spring into efficient operation overnight.

Such proof may be impressive, but it is hardly relevant to the problem at hand. Not even the soverign State of Georgia, whatever her laws may require just now, ever will close all of her public schools as the price of

avoiding integration in any one of them. When rational men talk realistically of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools, they are talking of a small number of private schools serving a small number of children in a small number of communities.

The Georgia pessimists seem not to understand this. It is easy enough to make out a bleak case for private education if the problem is thought to be one of serving, as in Georgia, 850,000 children now housed in 3,000 schools. The problems are completely different if one is thinking, as in Prince Edward County, of serving 1,500 pupils formerly housed in eight schools.

Professors Green and Gauerke must have lived too long in the city; they seem not to understand a rural county. There is no problem in finding qualified teachers for private schools in a Prince Edward County; in a small county there always will be a sufficient number of competent men and women who are tied to their community by ties of family and habit. The salaries of Atlanta or Richmond or Washington hold no special appeal for them; they enjoy a contented existence where they are.

Neither is the requirement of acceptable school buildings a serious problem in such rural counties. The Prince Edward Educational Foundation, to offer an actual success as opposed to a hypothetical failure, has had an embarrassment of choices. More than a score of suitable church buildings, lodge halls and private homes were offered for private classroom use; from these an entirely adequate selection was made.

That is to say, the classrooms will be entirely adequate for Prince Edward County. They would not suit the fluorescent dreams of a professor of education in Atlanta. In these humble schools a tolerably full curriculum will be offered. True, there will not be band, or orchestra, or courses in hair styling for the girls. But the quality of education will be at least as good as the quality of education in the former public schools.

The authors of this pamphlet fail to take other factors into account. One is the closeness and unity of a small rural county, in which almost literally everyone knows everyone else. They do not properly appraise the determination of such small societies to preserve their social structure--in plain language, to preserve segregation. They do not comprehend the self-containment of such counties; the people of a Prince Edward ask nothing of the outside world; they are indifferent to the educationist values that Professors Green and Gauerke count so highly.

Private schools can succeed in such areas as Prince Edward--the only areas in which public schools are likely ever to be wholly abandoned. They will succeed because the parents there are determined to make them succeed, and because these parents have at hand the resources necessary for success. These countrymen will not be much impressed by jerimiads from the Southern Regional Council. They no longer are interested in academic reasons why a system of private schools can't work; they are daily finding reasons why it can.

September 26, 1953

Rev. Cecil W. Robbin, Editor
North Carolina Christian Advocate
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Robbin:

Here's a pamphlet we have just got out. Its purpose is to help in the tremendous task of informing the Southern public on the issues now before the Supreme Court. It is a calm, balanced treatment.

We want it to be helpfully used by small informal local discussion groups.

It has been widely noticed in the Southern daily press.

I hope that editorially you will agree that the North Carolina Christian Advocate could properly make some reference to the pamphlet and its timeliness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

October 28, 1953

Mr. Malcolm Ross
University of Miami Press
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Ross:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town until Friday of this week, so I am sending a partial answer to your letter of October 26th.

Attached are two items which may give you the material you need to add "color" to your publicity. We do not have any glossy prints of Dr. Mitchell but he has promised to have a picture taken when he gets back on Friday and will send the prints to you then. We talked with him by phone this morning and so could arrange for this.

For your information, he will be coming to Miami on the 9th by Eastern Airlines flight 715 W which leaves Atlanta at 4:15 a.m. and is due to arrive in Miami at 7:59 a.m.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.
CCS - speech & award in N South
Lessenne Reprint

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI PRESS

RECEIVED
OCT 27
Southern Regional Council

October 26, 1958

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We have a couple of mats of you but I need one or two glossy prints (7 x 5 or 8 x 10 and in different poses if possible) for papers which do not use mats.

I also need some material on you of a bit more colorful character than your Who's Who bio. Shoot along any printed material and anything else which would show accomplishments of the Southern Regional Council and of yourself in particular. We need some stuff to feed columnists as a build-up for the dinner.

Please let me know the time of your arrival and whether you will make a TV appearance, as we can schedule it on the afternoon of Monday, November 9 or on the morning of November 10. Don Sprague will probably want to have you meet with a seminar some time during classroom hours on Tuesday.

Give me your flight number and time of plane arrival. I will meet you at the plane and will put you up for the night.

We need considerable build-up for the dinner and I would appreciate the material as soon as possible. With best regards,

Cordially,

Malcolm Ross

MR:cl

November four, 1953

Mr Malcolm Ross
University Editor
University of Miami
Coral Gables (University Branch) 46
F l o r i d a

Dear Mike:

I feel no reluctance myself on tackling in a two minute interview on TV the question of the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in the schools, and I believe I could handle it without summoning down on us the Minute Women and the McCarthys.

I do think that is the topic people want to hear from a guy like me on and I don't know what else to take up. But if another topic seems better and you will pick out what it is I will try to handle it.

We sent you one picture. Did two or three others but they were awful. Wretched except the one we sent.

Correct. Arriving 7:59 Monday morning. Appreciate transportation and snooze.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF
PUBLIC INFORMATION

November 3, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Miss Stoney sent me some good material on you, for which please thank her.

I take it you are arriving by Eastern at 7:59 next Monday morning. You will be met and I probably will take you home and let you sleep off your night flight for a couple of hours if you want. Sometime during the day we will want to have you meet a seminar group. At 2:30 you are to do a two-minute TV interview to be telecast that (Monday) night. The station manager would like to have you talk on attitudes toward the Supreme Court's coming consideration of segregation in the schools but you can choose some other topic so long as it is vaguely newsworthy.

Our Dade County Council intends to do research on the school situation here in order to have useful data should the Court go non-segregation. Your TV spot is an advance for the dinner on the following day and I would rather not excite the town on the segregation issue. Please drop me a line whether you would like to handle that or some other subject. Also, do we have a title for your Tuesday night speech?

Understand some handsome pictures of you are on the way. With best regards.

Cordially,

Malcolm Ross
University Editor

MR:cl

November twenty, 1953

Mr Malcolm Ross
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Mike:

You and your wife were just as kind to me as could be and I am a thousand times grateful. Successful travel up to Minnesota where I hardly needed that heavy coat, and back on down to here.

Good news when I got back that the American Federation of Labor nationally had sent us a thousand dollars and also had the William C Whitney sent the same amount. So we are likely to end the year in the black - for once!

I was overjoyed by the magnificent dinner that the Dade County Council put on. A milestone in Southern progress. You should all be proud of that noble start.

My regards to Madame Terry and all praise for her part in it.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

January 6, '54

Dear Mrs. Rosborough,

Here's a pretty useful little book.

We printed it about four months ago. It has already sold nearly thirty thousand copies. Object: to be used by local discussion groups, which would be most useful if not limited to one race. We don't know how many discussion groups it has been into, but it has been bought in big blocks by nearly all the Church organizations that are strong in the South, by most of the Negro teachers associations, by the Mississippi State Department of Education, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s, various womens club groups, and so on.

It doesn'T particularly take sides, and tries to give a rounded presentation of the issues.

And these are the best weeks for getting it into use, when people are still open-minded, in a way they may not be after the decision comes out.

Any way the AAUW in this part of the world could make use of it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Don Sprague at U. of M. would know all about SRC.

January 14, '54

Dear Dr. Rosborough,

Many thanks. Do what you can. The Q. and A. is going around amazingly, and I hope some of your local groups will want to use it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

VICE-PRESIDENT FROM THE SOUTH ATLANTIC REGION
MRS. MELANIE R. ROSBOROUGH
BOX 402, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
MIAMI 46, FLORIDA

Jan. 9, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 13
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me two copies of your little book of questions and answers, dealing with The Schools and the Courts. It is exceedingly well done.

You ask whether the AAUW groups in this area can make use of it. I am not sure as to the answer that I can give you because in most branches the program is set up for the year in September. However, I am sure that the book would fit in with some of the programs already set up. So I shall add a paragraph about it in all the letters that I send out.

You mentioned Don Sprague in your letter. I know him well. I expect to see him at a committee meeting at the University this coming Wednesday.

Sincerely yours,

Melanie R. Rosborough

Dr. Melanie R. Rosborough

# Belmont Abbey College

**Belmont, N. C.**

**Office of the Rector**

February 13, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Accepted by phone.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter. We shall be pleased to have you visit us again. If you can, we would like to have you stay with us. Thw guestroom is yours.

How about a student assembly on Monday, February 22nd at 10:15 or 11:00 A. M. for your talk? Is this too early? The majority of our day students are here only in the morning. Likewise, Fr. Maurice Shean contacted me this noon to the effect that he had phone you about being in Rock Hill that afternoon.

We all are looking forward to your lecture. God bless you and your work.

Very sincerely yours,

Bernard L. Rosswog, O.S.B.

(Rev.) Bernard L. Rosswog, O.S.B., Rector

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1420

# Kentucky Teachers Association

(FORMERLY KENTUCKY NEGRO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

1925 WEST MADISON STREET

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2ND VICE-PRES.

September 4, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have enjoyed browsing through your recent publication, ANSWERS FOR ACTION. I feel that it is a very excellent booklet, one that our principals should find very informative as well as useful. For them I should like to place an order for 100 copies. I understand that this will be $15.00 plus carriage. I shall look forward to receiving them very soon.

Sent RFA 9/7/54
Billed 15.64

Very truly yours,

Anita W. Robinson

Anita W. Robinson,
Secretary-Treasurer

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 14, 1954

Dictated September 13

Mr. Malcolm Ross
University Editor
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mac:

I am now settled in Atlanta as Assistant Director for Program Development of the Southern Regional Council, working with our old friend, George Mitchell. The job is proving to be as interesting as I thought it would.

Atlanta has certain advantages, at the moment, over Miami, in that it has turned cooler today

When I was up in your office one afternoon talking with Ed Hay, I noticed you had some five copies of the survey that was done for the Attorney General. We could very much use it and would appreciate one of those copies if you could spare it. We are going to do an issue of New South on what is being done in the various Southern states in regard to the Supreme Court decision. Florida is one of the states to be covered.

My best regards to my many friends at the University, and hope that this finds you well. Drop me a note from time to time and keep me informed of what the Dade County Council is doing.

Your Rebel friend,

Fred Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development

FR/eab

December 21, 1954

Mr. Richard de Rochemont
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. de Rochemont:

The man, George Stoney, operates the Potomac Film Producers Association, Inc., and can be reached residentially at 1832 Biltmore Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Office is at 1536 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

If we can be of help to you in any way we want to.

I greatly appreciated Mr. Conte's kindness in coming to the talk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

bc: Mrs. Tilly

December 21, 1954

Mr. John P. Roche
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Roche:

The address I have for Kenneth Douty is 193 South French Broad, Asheville, South Carolina.

Emory Via, Labor Education Division Roosevelt College, 430 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Illinois

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

December 23, '54

Dear The Ross',

Alice and I are still remembering with much pleasure the breakfast in your home. Thank you for food, trouble, conversation, and company!

We had a leisurely drive down, by way of a westerly and less hilly route, and got back at home by eight-thirty. Both of us feel much the richer for the Berea visit.

Cordially,

May 10, 1955

Attorney S. S. Robinson
175 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I would be very grateful if the Gate City Bar Association would make some contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

We get help from some of the foundations, from various of the church bodies, from several of the trade unions, but we get all too little money from Southern organizations. And, of course, we cherish such contributions to us more than any.

The Council is putting nearly all of its efforts these days into building public agreement with the Supreme Court's decision on the schools. I know the Bar Association receives many requests for aid, but I am confident that your membership will agree that what we do is effective and deserving of support.

I enclose the last two or three issues of our magazine as some evidence of our tendency and effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. New South, Feb., Mar., Apr., 1955

May 27, 1955

Miss Marie D. Roberts
2501 N.W. 46th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Miss Roberts:

We are sorry that your personal circumstances prevent you from considering a change at this time. However, we appreciate your interest in the work of the Council and hope that you will find it possible to play a part in the newly organized Florida Council on Human Relations, which is affiliated with us. Enclosed is a leaflet on which appears a membership blank. A dues payment of $5.00 will entitle you to membership in the Florida Council and to receipt of New South and SRC's other publications. If you care to send the payment to us we will transmit your membership to the Florida group.

Fred Routh asked me to give you his warmest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for
Information

HCF:rnf

Miami, Florida
2501 N.W. 46, St.
May 22, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I was certainly thrilled and pleased to receive your letter, and I delayed my answer because I am genuinely interested and was trying to see if it were possible for me to make a change at this time.

But I am sorry to say that I can't work things out satisfactory for a change at this time, the number one problem is my aged mother and I am her sole support and only child, she is also a semi-invalid, therefore I cannot leave her.

Please express my appreciation to Fred Routh for suggesting my name for the job and tell him to keep a rain check on it for me please.

If there is any way for me to help you with this work at any time I will be glad to do so.

Best of luck in your work and success to the Council in its work of furthering good human relations.

Sincerely yours
Marie D. Roberts

P.S. Please bill me for membership in the Council

*Second Annual*

# HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE

*of the*

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

BROTHERHOOD

THEME

## "YOUTH POINTS THE WAY"

☆

HONORED YOUTH GUESTS

MISS EILEEN MORROW
Southern High School . . . . . Baltimore, Maryland

MISS MARY CECIL
Presentation Academy . . . . . Louisville, Kentucky

JOHN HALL
McKinley High School . . . . . Washington, D.C.

☆

KOUBEK CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
2705 S. W. 3rd Street
MIAMI, FLORIDA

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1955
*Registration 9:30 A.M.*

# Program

## MORNING SESSION . . . 9:30 - 12:30

ALBERTHA JOHNSON, *President*, IYC, Presiding

9:30 Registration—Porch — Koubek Center

10:00 Auditorium

Address—Dr. C. Doren Tharp, Secretary of the University and Dean of the Faculties, University of Miami

"The National Conference of Christians and Jews and Youth"

10:30 Group Meetings—Class Rooms — Koubek Center
Discussion Subject: The NCCJ and IYC—Relationship—Resources and Service

Group 1
*Chairman*—DOROTHY WILLIAMS
*Reporter*—GWENDOLYN MOON
*Adult Counsellor*—JUDGE L. E. THOMAS
Room 2

Group 2
*Chairman*—GEORGE LOVE
*Reporter*—KENNETH MAJOR
*Adult Counsellor*—MRS. L. J. MCCAFFREY
Room 3

Group 3
*Chairman*—BARBARA SEALY
*Reporter*—EUGENE MOON
*Adult Counsellor*—DR. C. DOREN THARP
Room 4

Group 4
*Chairman*—DOROTHY LEWIS
*Reporter*—ALVIN BRYANT
*Adult Counsellor*—MR. S. D. WEISSBUCH
Room 5

Group 5
*Chairman*—VERONICA DEAN
*Reporter*—SUSAN DUNKEL
*Adult Counsellor*—DR. DEAN GEORGE EPLEY
Room 6

Group 6
*Chairman*—CORA ANN CULVER
*Reporter*—ANN SAUNDERS
*Adult Counsellor*—MR. WILLIAM E. REED
Room 7

Group 7
*Chairman*—IRAL DAVIS
*Reporter*—EUGENE DENNEY
*Adult Counsellor*—DR. JACOB H. CUNNINGHAM
Room 8

11:15 Auditorium

Group Reports and Group Discussion

Directed by Dr. Dean George Epley, Chairman, Human Relations Department, University of Miami

12:30 Lunch—A catering service is providing the food. Each person, excepting guests, will pay for his meal.

## AFTERNOON SESSION . . . 1:15 - 6:00

RONALD ADLER, *Vice President*, IYC, Presiding

1:15 Auditorium

Address—Dr. Jacob H. Cunningham, Florida Director, The National Conference of Christians and Jews

"How the Intergroup Youth Council Serves Youth"

1:45 Group Meetings—Class Rooms — Koubek Center
Discussion Subject: How Can IYC Serve Our Organizations?

Group 1

*Chairman*—Bill Renuart
*Reporter*—Carol Symonette
*Adult Counsellor*—Mr. Ben Porch
Room 2

Group 2

*Chairman*—Ronald Adler
*Reporter*—Steve Greenberg
*Adult Counsellor*—Mr. Jerry Carver
Room 3

Group 3

*Chairman*—Alice Brown
*Reporter*—Antoinette Spicer
*Adult Counsellor*—Miss Marie D. Roberts
Room 4

Group 4

*Chairman*—Charles McArthur
*Reporter*—Sam March
*Adult Counsellors*—Mr. Carl Edwards *and* Mr. Moses Perry
Room 5

Group 5

*Chairman*—Albertha Johnson
*Reporter*—Diane Barthel
*Adult Counsellors*—Miss Reta Reed *and* Miss Geraldine Rooks
Room 6

Group 6

*Chairman*—Eugene Denney
*Reporter*—George Love
*Adult Counsellor*—Mr. Joe Hall
Room 7

Group 7

*Chairman*—Joan Siegel
*Reporter*—Linda Marks
*Adult Counsellor*—Miss Fern Hoffman
Room 8

2:45 Auditorium
Group Reports and Group Discussion—Directed by Dr. Dean George Epley

4:00 Group Singing, Skits and Free Period
Directed by Mrs. Joel Ingraham, *Director of Chorus,* Dorsey High School

4:45 Auditorium
Panel Discussion Subject: "Youth Working For Brotherhood"
Moderator: James M. Legate, *Chairman,* Board of Directors NCCJ and General Manager, Radio Station WIOD

Panelists:

Mary Cecil
Presentation Academy . Louisville, Kentucky

Veronica Dean
Dorsey High School . . Miami, Florida

John Hall
McKinley High School . Washington, D.C.

Eileen Morrow
Southern High School . Baltimore, Maryland

Bill Renuart
Miami Edison High School . Miami, Florida

Lyn Roberts
Miami Senior High School . Miami, Florida
(Formerly St. Louis, Missouri)

6:15 Dinner—A catering service is providing the food. Each person, excepting guests, will pay for his meal.

EVENING SESSION . . . 7:30 - 9:00

Bill Renuart, *Secretary,* IYC, Presiding

7:30 Auditorium
Address—Dr. Edward R. Annis, NCCJ Board Member and Prominent Surgeon
"Youth's Opportunities"

8:15—Installation of IYC Officers for 1955-56

# OFFICERS OF THE INTERGROUP YOUTH COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

**1954-55**

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RONALD ADLER, *Vice President*
BILL RENUART, *Secretary*
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**1955-56**

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### CONSULTANTS

DR. C. DOREN THARP, *Dean of Faculties*, University of Miami
DR. DEAN GEORGE EPLEY, *Chairman*, Human Relations Department, University of Miami
MISS RETA REED, *Director*, Y Teens, YWCA
MISS MARIE D. ROBERTS, *Teacher* Booker T. Washington High School
DR. JACOB H. CUNNINGHAM, *Director*, Florida Region, NCCJ

☆ ☆ ☆

The Membership of IYC includes delegates from the following youth-serving organizations and institutions:

*Allied Youth*
*B'nai B'rith Youth Organization*
*Future Teachers of America*
*Dade County Public High Schools*
*Young Men's Christian Association*
*Young Women's Christian Association*

The National Conference of Christians and Jews appreciates the cooperation of Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson, President of the University of Miami, in permitting the Institute to be held at Koubek Center and for providing leadership for the Institute.

Special thanks also go to the following NCCJ Directors for their cooperation in selecting youth representatives from their Regions for participation in the Institute:

JOHN T. KENNA, Louisville, Kentucky
ROSS CLINCHY, Baltimore, Maryland
LEONARD ARIES, Washington, D.C.

Members of IYC are also grateful for the leadership provided by interested adults in the Institute.

Dr. Malcolm Ross,
University of Miami,
Coral Gables (University Branch) 46,
FLORIDA.

28th February, 1956.

Dear Dr. Ross,

I have your letter of February 27th and will do my best to give you as clear a reply as I can at this time.

We still have no basic decision on projects which we will undertake in the period after I have finished with the Southern Regional Council in April. As I told you when I talked with you earlier in the month, this is a decision which I cannot make myself and which could come only after considerable discussion among several of our people in Community Relations, Staff and Committees. I did feel, and am still of the same mind, that work in Miami would be an important and useful project: we would have to consider it, after knowing some of the details of the arrangement suggested, in relation to other possible projects.

The best way for you to facilitate further discussion and consideration would be to write to the Director of our Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee. He is Richard K. Bennett and can be addressed at 20, South Twel fth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I suggest that you write him, sending me a copy, and suggest to him in some detail the kind of program you have in mind and the arrangements that can be made between Miami groups and the American Friends Service Committee.

I am sure that you will understand my inability to give you a final answer in time for the meeting you are holding on Thursday. I do encourage you to begin correspondence about it as early as possible, as there are always many aspects of a project such as this to be worked out.

We all wish you well in the planning which you are doing there. I am in touch with the Rev. Doggett about coming to address the annual meeting. I will be looking forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

IO:rl.

(Irene Osborne).

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

OFFICE OF
PUBLIC INFORMATION

February 27, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Osborne:

Others have been in communication with you I am sure on the possibility of your coming down here for a dinner meeting. My inquiry is a follow-up on my telephone conversation when you were here in Miami last. It is this:

Are you still available to come down here as an American Friends Service representative from May 1st to October 1st, with the committee paying your salary but a group here providing you with office space?

I need this information for a meeting we are to hold at Hollis Rinehart's office on Thursday and so will appreciate a return mail reply.

I have not seen him but I understand that Bernard Walton (with whom I worked in the coal fields many years ago) has been or is now in Miami. Have you had any contact with the Friends meeting here? It would seem to me that local Friends would be able to give you important contacts and support if you came here.

If you have any other information which our Thursday meeting should consider, please let me know.

Cordially,

Malcolm Ross

MR:nm

May 15, 1956

Mr. Gordon Roberts, Editor
Red and Black
Henry W. Grady School of Journalism
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Gordon:

We are still looking for the paper with the column concerning our "friend" Roy Harris. We are real interested in reading what you had to say about him.

However, the main reason for writing today is that Harold Fleming is interested in securing you as a speaker for the American Veterans' Committee here in Atlanta on May 29th about 8 P.M. It will be an informal meeting in someone's home and they would be interested in hearing you tell about what is happening at the University. If you can make it write me back and I will let Harold know so he can send you more details. Hope you can do it.

Incidentally, the letter I wrote to the Constitution appeared this morning. They cut it some but not too much.

Give me a ring this weekend when you get in and in the meantime give the speech serious consideration.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable

JC:mbo

Copies - John B. Orr
Davisson Dunlap
Bill Williams

June 27, 1956

Mrs. Ellen Fetter Roberts
Bonifay, Florida

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

Thank you for your letter of June 26 and I too enjoyed the Florida Council meeting at Lakeland. I believe the group in Tallahassee is demonstrating again a new determination of our Negro people to exert their rights as American citizens. Truly we are dealing with a new Negro and the sooner the white South is aware of this, the more smooth and rapid will be our progress toward solving our problems.

I deeply regret that the Board of Trustees of Holmes County fired you and trust that you got a written transcription of the proceedings of that meeting. This would be essential in any legal action you might undertake. I would suggest that you contact two groups beyond those you already have: The American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York; Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

The American Civil Liberties Union has a vital interest in this field and there are local correspondents in each of the States, and a powerful group in Florida, centered in Miami. The Rights of Conscience group is part of the American Friends Service Committee, and Bill Williams has been advised about their potentialities.

Two lawyers I know that might be interested in this are John B. Orr, Lawyers Building, 228 NE 2nd Avenue, Miami 32, Florida; and Davisson Dunlap, Barnett Bank Building, Jacksonville 2, Florida. I cannot guarantee that either of them are in a position to take this case at this time, but both of them are liberal individuals.

I wish you the very best of luck and trust that you will keep us advised of what goes on.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mf

Bonifay, Florida
Box 213
Oct. 8, 1956

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

1 00
1 Cash

RHA

Dear Mr. Routh:

5 Copies

Thank you for the late delivery of "The Next Steps in the South" and for the leaflet stating the stands of the various churches. I enclose a dollar to buy extra copies of both--as many as the dollar will pay for.

The Churches Speak

Please write and tell me if there were any developments in connection with the checked article marked in the enclosure. How have your heads stayed on with such proposals?

And --has the NAACP been declared illegal in Alabama? I have just returned from a visit there and in Brewton old negro friends of mine said that their NAACP group had been broken up by law and that a group that had wanted to petition for entrance into white schools had been too scared to go through with their plan. She reported that the negro school facilities were miserable. Farther north in Alabama, near Cyrene, I saw a contraption that looked like a joke in a minstrel show; it was marked "School Bus." Has Alabama remained unspurred in its equal-but-separate doctrine during this threat of integration?

My daughter and I are to be the guests of Mrs. Dorothy DaPonte of Mobile, now in the footlights because of her attempt to get her negro ward into a white school. We go there next Saturday. She

wrote a charming and grateful letter in answer to one I wrote saying that I would like to have our daughters meet.

Sincerely,

Ellen Fetter Roberts

Ellen Fetter Roberts

# RACISTS SCORE ELECTION WINS

There can be no disputing that the White Citizens Councils scored heavily in last month's Democratic primaries in the South.

A WCC chieftain overwhelmed Alabama Gov. James E. Folsom in the race for national Democratic chairman. Folsom had ridiculed the Councils and the "interposition" resolution passed by the state legislature. The margin against him was about 2½ to 1.

U.S. Senator Lister Hill, who sought to avert the wrath of the Alabama WCC by signing the Dixie Manifesto, won re-election without much trouble. Yet his lone opponent, an eccentric right-winger, wooed Council support and massed more than 100,000 votes.

In North Carolina two of three Congressmen who refused to sign the Manifesto were defeated.

Florida's Gov. Leroy Collins, preaching "moderation" on racial matters gained a majority over a large field in his bid for re-election. But finishing second was a candidate who campaigned almost exclusively on the issue of white supremacy.

*Congressional Quarterly* has reported a plan whereby the ultra-conservative "nationalist" organizations in the North and the Citizens Councils hope to virtually steal the presidency of the United States in November.

The scheme is for the WCC's to freeze enough electorial votes in the South to keep any major candidate from having a majority. This would throw the election to a vote of the House of Representatives where a coalition of conservative Republicans and Dixiecrats could dictate the decision.

Slates of "independent" electors have already been entered in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. A similar move is under way in Arkansas.

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THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
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**Mildred Ann Vogel, R. N.**

A Southern nurse, Mildred Ann Vogel, R. N., Director of nursing at the Mt. Sinai Hospital of Greater Miami, Miami Beach, Florida, was awarded the Mary Mahoney Award last month at the 40th convention of the American Nurses' Association for her leadership in achieving integration at the hospital.

Prior to 1950, when Miss Vogel began her 6-year campaign to end discrimination, Negro nurses in Mt. Sinai Hospital were employed in the Negro ward only and were compelled to eat in a special area within the unit. Negro private duty nurses sent in by the registry were denied employment unless the patient was of the same race. Today all employees at Mt. Sinai have the same working privileges and share all facilities open to hospital personnel.

# TRENDS

**SHREVEPORT, La.**—Airman Osten J. King, first Negro ever to participate, was the winner of the fifth annual "Holiday in Dixie" golf tournament at Barksdale Air Force Base course. Although 35 refused to enter because of King's presence, 100 finished the three-day tourney.

* * *

**MOBILE, Ala.** — Mrs. Fannie Motley became the first Negro to graduate from Spring Hill College—and the first in Alabama to graduate from a formerly all-white institution. The Catholic school has been quietly integrated for the past three years.

* * *

**WILMINGTON, N. C.**—Three Negro physicians have filed suit in federal court to gain staff privileges in the privately - owned but publicly - supported James Walker Memorial Hospital. They are: Drs. Hubert A. Eaton, Daniel C. Roane, and Samuel J. Gray.

* * *

**TALLAHASSEE, Fla.**—A bus boycott by Negroes making the same demands as the Montgomery Negro community is under way. Arrest of two coeds at Florida A & M set off the protest, but sentiment was not aroused until a fiery cross was burned in front of the girls' residence.

* * *

**ATLANTA, Ga.** — Georgia's attorney general Eugene Cook has called for a state law which would make it a capital offense, punishable by death or by life imprisonment, for any state official or private citizen not in the federal employ to assist in enforcing the Supreme Court desegregation decisions.

* * *

**LOUISVILLE, Ky.**—Despite the U.S. Supreme Court's voiding of state sedition laws the prosecution continues to press charges against Carl Braden, his wife and five other defendants, all involved in the purchase of a house for a Negro couple in a white neighborhood. The Court of Appeals is still weighing Carl's appeal of a 15-year prison term; the trials of the others are set for November.

* * *

**BALTIMORE, Md.**—This city became the first in the South to enact an FEPC ordinance. It lacks compulsory enforcement provisions and relies on public opinion and voluntary cooperation. (An FEPC bill has passed the Delaware House but is stalled in the state Senate, despite pledges by both Democratic and Republican parties in favor of it.)

**Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.**
**822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana**

November 28, 1956

Mr. William B. Rotch
The Cabinet Press
Milford, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Rotch:

Many thanks for your letter and the copy of your series on Mississippi.

As I wrote Dave Freeman, I was impressed by the understanding and judgment you brought to this difficult "assignment" - particularly so in view of the naivete and/or dogmatism that some of your fellow observers displayed.

As soon as we have definitely scheduled articles II and III for our publication New South, you will hear from us again. Meanwhile, kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

# UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF RHODESIA & NYASALAND

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER)

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[redacted]
SALISBURY
SOUTHERN RHODESIA

IN REPLYING PLEASE QUOTE

RECEIVED DEC 19 1956

10th December, 1956.

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
ATLANTA.
Georgia. U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Dr. Howard of the Ford Foundation suggested my writing to you as the authority on inter-group education.

In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland the promotion of healthy inter-group relations, especially between the black and white groups, is a matter of urgency. As the professor of Education at this area's only university institution I am keenly interested in the problem and want to conduct research into it.

Will you be kind enough to send me the names and addresses of persons and organizations from whom I could obtain reports, books or journals discussing researches and experiments that have been conducted in inter-group education?

If your organization can provide publications I shall be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,

H. Jac. Rousseau

H. Jac. Rousseau
Professor of Education

HJR/RL

December 26, 1956

Mr. H. Jac. Rousseau
Professor of Education
University College of Rhodesia & Nyasaland
Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia

Dear Mr. Rousseau:

I remember Mr. Howard most pleasantly, and am glad to hear from him through you.

This Council goes back to 1919, when after some race riots that followed World War I, a wise man (nomine W. W. Alexander) began to do something about getting people together. His show was for many years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (and in that guise was to a considerable extent the precursor and model of the South African Institute of Race Relations); and then in 1944 became the Southern Regional Council.

The short and simple truth is (whatever the books will say) that there's only one way to do anything about race prejudice. You get people of similar cultural and educational background, of different groups, to work together on a matter of common interest. That does it. Similar background; not necessarily all middle-class, highly educated people -- all right if everybody's a bootback -- just similar. Work together; not talk together. And the prejudice melts.

I have observed a refinement of that process: if the meetings stretch over a goodish while, a few of the persons who have speciality interests sort themselves out by those interests. Thereafter, in all matters of such an interest, peace reigns. If a white person intimately knows a Negro person, and the two of them are interested in drain-pipes, from then on there is no problem in that town about the drain-pipes. Anything wrong with them in one part of town gets discussed with the familiar in the other part; the two call the city hall, and the pipes get unstopped! And so on.

Many devices for getting such joint action. One of the best is for what is called a self-survey. Right way and wrong way. Wrong: for a committee, hire some outsiders to find the facts, pay the outsiders, they find,

print, go home! And nothing happens. Right way: pick your local committee with great skill; get the right and the listened-to people; make them dig out the facts themselves; and in a matter of weeks the community blossoms with corrective action. Further step: reconvene the committee every six months; assess, and concentract forces on the next do-ables. Main gain: you have taught the leadership to work together. I send our best job in this, from Greenville, South Carolina.

A man here knowledgeable in the literature adds matter on what's in print. I have sent what I know works.

Best wishes,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM:fc
Encl.

## ORGANIZATIONS & PEOPLE

(1) Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

(2) National Conference of Christians & Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

(3) Dr. H. H. Giles
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University School of Education
Washington Square
New York, New York

(4) Dr. Gordon W. Allport
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

(5) Dr. George Epley
Dept. of Human Relations
Univ. of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Fla.

## BOOKS

(1) Myrdal, Gunnar
An American Dilemma
Harper & Bros. 1944, N.Y. - London

(2) Hirsh, Selma
The Fears Men Live By
Harper & Bros. 1955; N.Y.

(3) Hill, E. Greenberg
Citizen's Guide to Desegregation
Beacon Press. 1955, Boston, Mass.

## PAMPHLETS

(1) Public Affairs Pamphlets - 25¢ (U.S.)
22 E. 38th Street
New York 16, New York

# 95 Negro in America
# 85 Races of Mankind
# 244 What's Happening in School Integration?

(2) ADL - Freedom Pamphlets - 25¢ (U.S.)
Modern Education & Better Human Relations; Kilpatrick
ABC's of Scapegoating; Allport

(3) Jewish Affairs Pamphlets (ADL) - 25¢ (U.S.)
Action For Unity; Watson

(4) NCCJ's Intergroup Education Pamphlets. - 25¢ (U.S.)
# 1 Reading in Intergroup Relations; Stoven
# 2 The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions; Allport
# 6 Group Processes in Intergroup Education; Grambs
Education in a Transition Community; Grambs

## JOURNALS

(1) Phylon, Review of Race & Culture; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. $2.00 (U.S.)

(2) Journal of Negro Education; Howard Univ.; Washington, D.C. $4.00 (U.S.)

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*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

COPY

Dec. 28, 1956

Roger Smith Hotel
Pennsylvania at 18th St.
Washington, D. C.

CAN YOU RESERVE DOUBLE ROOM TWIN BEDS JANUARY 2 AND 3? WILL PROBABLY ARRIVE AFTER MIDNIGHT THE SECOND. PLEASE WIRE COLLECT.

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

File

Broadcast House, Washington 16 Emerson 2-9300

WASHINGTON BUREAU

October 14, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

This is to authorize you to reprint in publications of the Southern Regional Council the radio broadcast by Howard K. Smith on September 29. This is with the understanding that you will give credit to Mr. Smith as a CBS News correspondent.

Yours truly,

James E. Roper

James E. Roper
News Editor

January 8, 1958

Mr. Ralph Rose
Scullcraft Studios
Annandale, Virginia

Dear Ralph:

If our memorandum calendars are not on the way would you please give them a push. You got us in the habit, and now we can't stop. The whole South awaits our getting our appointments lined up. Eight calendars and a bill would be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

BC to: Rev. Wm. Houslander

October 15, 1958

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi:

I have just returned to the city from Canada where I was called because of serious illness - and resulting death - in my family. While there I learned of the tragic occurrence at the Temple. I was then, and I am now deeply distressed at this act of barbarism. It is a sick mind indeed which leads one to attack the house of God.

I am enclosing my personal check for $25.00 as a small contribution toward the rebuilding of the Temple. It is my earnest prayer that you and the congregation will look upon this attack as a medal of honor because of the good work you are doing.

I had made out a check for $25.00 to the Rev. Mr. William Houslander who conducted the funeral services for my aunt. He refused the check because of his personal feelings about her death and asked that I contribute it to some worthy cause. I know of no cause more worthy than this.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check)

October 21, 1958

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

The enclosed letter comes from the Atlanta Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. I could not tell from the letter sent to me whether you had received a similar one or not. A number of the unions know that I am interested in receiving copies of statements which they make or in hearing of actions which they may take regarding human relations problems. In any case, I wanted to make sure that you got to see this message.

I would like to send you every good wish and to take this occasion to express my appreciation for what you have meant to the Atlanta community, both in your on-going activities and during this recent tragedy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure

January 21, 1959

Miss Beth Rogers
Peter Maurin Farm
469 Bloomingdale Road
Staten Island 9, New York

Dear Beth:

Very nice to hear from you.

Associate memberships in the Council are $5.00 per year for an individual. We'd be pleased to have you.

As to New South, we're always glad to have others reprint from it. For material that is original with us or clearly in the public domain, it is not necessary to write for permission. Very, very occasionally we get special permission to reprint copyrighted material which we really have no right to authorize others to use. In those cases, we suggest writing the author or original publisher, just as we did. But these instances are few, and it is never necessary to get our consent.

All the best to you and your co-workers.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Harold,

I would like to take out an out-of-South membership in the Southern Regional Council. What is the cost?

Also, we might like from time to time to print excerpts, quotations, or articles from New South or other of your publications in the Catholic Worker. Is this okay? and do we need to write for permission? We'll of course give credit.

I hope all goes well with you.

Beth Rogers

## st. ephraim the syrian's prayer of penance

o lord and master of my life, take from me the spirit of sloth, faintheartedness, lust of power, and idle talk. but give to thy servant rather the spirit of chastity, humility, patience and love. yea, o lord and king, grant me to see my own errors and not to judge my brother, for thou art blessed from all ages to ages. amen.

October 12, 1960

Mr. J. Deotis Roberts
School of Religion
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Please excuse my not returning your manuscript sooner, but I wanted to consider it carefully before making any decision.

I think your article is well done, but I believe it is much too academic for our use in NEW SOUTH. It is also a little too general for our purposes. Have you tried the WORLD OUTLOOK? They have printed articles of this type from time to time and might be interested. It might be useful if you did some cutting of the article first and if you attempted to make it a little more personal.

Again thanks for letting us see the manuscript and if you do any additional articles we would appreciate a look at them.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

ENCL.

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date 1/26/61

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

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FILE

DAVISON-PAXON CO.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOSEPH ROSS
PRESIDENT

STORES IN
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AUGUSTA
ATHENS
MACON
COLUMBUS
SEA ISLAND
COLUMBIA, S. C.

December 21, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a speech I made in Dallas in October before the American Jewish Committee on the school situation.

Reading it, the reading does not convey the cynical inflection of the voice but I thought you might be interested in the text.

Sincerely,

Joseph Ross

JR/vj

Encl.

Lucky

Lennelee Falls

It is my duty to speak of the unfolding drama of the public school system in Atlanta, a potential area of racial conflict in our community. As President of one of the major department stores in Atlanta, I am not at liberty to speak of the sit-in demonstrations there ----another point of racial conflict--------because I am so personally involved in that problem, the resolution of which still hangs precariously in the balance. Yet one cannot help but be struck by a fact common to all of these troubled points of conflict and that is the fact of mood. When the chips are down, these problems will be solved or remain insoluble in terms of the mood of the community in which they exist; and a community mood is a varying compound of blindness, awareness, flexibility, stubbornness, sacrifice, selfishness, intelligence and stupidity. These ingredients, all of them are part of the mood of every community in the South. The final brew differs from community to community in so far as the higher or baser elements of community character dominate the brew. The problem in any aspect of racial conflict in the South, whether it be the public schools or the sit-ins, is to assess the community mood accurately, without kidding yourself, to color the mood with the seasoning of wisdom, to mellow the mood with the wine of forbearance, to stir the mood with the ladle of patience and understanding.

In so far as Atlanta is concerned, this community mood is in a great state of flux. Among some of the older white leaders and families in town, the rising tide of conflict has strengthened their resolve to hold fast to the old ways, to preserve at all costs the traditions and customs of the South. Among others of the old families, there is an air of resignation to the reality of the world around us, a reluctant disposition to go along with the changes that are in the offing, but no strong motivation to exert personal leadership in this direction, even though

such leadership might be meaningful because of social position, which counts for much in Atlanta. There are the middle class and lower class Southern white families who, if they had their druthers, would keep everything status quo, but who could be swayed in either direction; and there are the middle class and lower class Southern whites who are prey to every cheap demagogic appeal, who belong to the Ku Klux Klan, which is still relatively strong in Atlanta, and the citizens council; who emerge from the shadows of their iniquitous lives in moments of conflict with baseball bats and pick axes to transform the every present danger of physical mob violence into a living reality. Then, there are the whites who have moved to Atlanta in the decades of the forties and fifties, who are the reason why Atlanta is now a city of a million people, who have been cross-fertilized with the ideas and traditions and customs of other regions and other places. Their strength and numbers are greater than most people realize, and, although the Coco Cola oligarchy which rules Atlanta do not give them much time of day, they have certainly demonstrated in the school crisis their ability to make themselves felt with force, with dignity, and with effectiveness.

In South Atlanta, principally, the main body of Negroes dwell, insulated from each other by their own forms of social and cultural stratification. There is the old leadership; the negro undertakers, insurance executives, real estate dealers, lawyers, doctors, some of the older negro ministers; all of whose leadership has traditionally rested upon a long-standing alliance with the white leadership in preserving the dichotomy of Southern life, the bi-racial pattern of its culture. These are the leaders whom the whites call " the good negroes"

the "responsible leaders," the negroes who know their place", and whom some of the negroes call "Uncle Toms", because they have contributed to perpetuating the status quo in race relations in Atlanta. They have unquestionably done a lot of good for their people over the years, on a segregated basis. They still exert a tremendous influence over the economic lives of the masses of the negro community by virtue of their key occupational endeavors, but their leadership position is unquestionably on the wane. They are to the negro community what the Old Guard is to the Republican Party. Then, there is the general negro community itself of porters, domestic servants, dishwashers, etc., who are more or less lethargic and who are very difficult to arouse to a point of racial purpose. Years ago, Atlanta agreed to desegregate its busses, but negros still ride in the back. Years ago, Atlanta agreed to desegregate its public golf courses, but negroes hardly patronize them at all. A year ago, Atlanta desegregated its airport restaurant, but negroes hardly frequent it at all. Even though the purchasing power of this group is larger than most people realize, efforts at developing negro economic boycotts among them have not yet been too successful in Atlanta. And finally, there is the new elite negro leadership, coming out of the student body of the largest complex of negro colleges in the world, which is in South Atlanta. These negroes represent very little economic purchasing power and their mission is, by acts of extreme personal martyrdom, committed with dignity and non-violence, to inflame the general, lethargic, economically more influential negro populace to a point of racial solidarity and action. They are extremely intelligent, becoming more and more aware of the power of their techniques, and how to use them with increasing effectiveness. They are the

new glamour boys and glamour girls of the negro community and slowly they are awakening the sensibilities of the sluggish, lethargic general negro community to what life in America can really be like, if not for them, for their children. In this setting, the Reverand Martin Luther King, Jr., is taking on the status of a saint, of a Mohatma Ghandi of the negro people. White individuals who wish to deal with him in a punitive way are completely miscalculating the mystical effect he has on the negro people and are in for the shock of their lives as to the chain reaction they will unleash among the negro people, through the persecution of their greatest hero.

To sum it up, Atlanta is on the threshold of the moment of truth, with the balance of power among these various elements shifting with the time and with the situation. The growth of Atlanta, which has been steady and sure-footed for many years, is slowing down as the rate of new industries coming into the city declines. The head of Lockheed, for instance, Georgia's largest industry, tells me he has lost 33% of his engineers because of their concern for their children's schooling. I sense the feeling that Atlanta is in a state of limbo, in which all kinds of social, human, and economic relationships rest on an uncertain foundation. Until these matters become clarified, it bodes no good for the community. And somewhere in the background, the voice of the poet is heard warning: " Ill fares the land to wandering ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay".

Now it is in this community mood of flux, of change of uncertainty, of being on the threshold of momentous things, that we must tell the story of Atlanta's public schools, as it moves inexorably forward towards its inevitable crisis.

But it was not always like this. For five years, after the historic Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. The Board of Education, there was virtually no public

conflict in Georgia. Massive resistance was the order of the day, and in protest to this doctrine, no Georgian dared raise his voice. We were determined to practice our own form of Churchillian defiance, figuratively speaking, on the beaches, on the landing fields, in the cities; until, in God's good time, some mythological force would appear out of nowhere and deliver us from this tyranny of the North. Nor am I being facitious or rhetorical; for we must assess this, not as a mood of defiance, but as a sort of total withdrawal from reality. It is only as a withdrawal from reality that we can explain the need for re-enacting this drama, over and over again, in state after state, step by step, as if had never happened before, as if you didn't really know what the final result was going to be; the moves of the Federal Court, the moves of the local community, the counter moves of the state legislature, and the inevitable final scene, like the clap-trap last act of an Italian opera, so silly, so predictable, and yet so tragic; the scene of mob violence and the personal humiliation of little children, that final stupid scene of wasted emotion which brings out the worst and the best in human nature. How many more times, in how many more states must we go through this barbaric dance and savage ritual, before we finally appreciate what is going to happen at the end.

Now among the states of the Southland, there are border states and there are so-called hard core states, and then there is Texas. Georgia, of course, is a hard core state and for this reason, it is remarkable that, in its principal city of Atlanta, there has developed a vigorous open school movement, a movement which is respectable, a movement which is public, a movement which has the advocacy of some of the top leadership in the community. How this movement came to pass, how it works on the mood of the community, and more particularly what the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has contributed to this

movement is an inextricable part of the story of the public schools, unfolding before the eyes of the people of Georgia.

In any case, after the collapse of massive resistance in Little Rock and Virginia, and the Federal Court's decision in Virginia that the state could not withdraw support from one public school, because it had desegregated, without withdrawing support from all public schools, two things happened in the state of Georgia. First, some thinking people in Atlanta in all walks of life began to realize that what was involved here was not an issue of segregated schools versus desegregated schools, but rather an issue of desegregated schools versus no schools at all. Secondly, the rest of the state, other than Atlanta, in a gesture of total oblivion to the facts of life, enacted the very measure which had proven to be uniquely ineffective in the other Southern states in which it had already been tried. If the state legislative bull could not lock horns with the red cape of constitutional law, on the first rush, then the grand strategy would be for the bull to rush the cape again and again until either the cape or the bull would be ripped to shreds. This is the thriller, now taking place in the bull ring of Georgia. Maybe I'm wrong. Maybe, the end will be different this time. Maybe, despite the classic passes, the bull will kill the bullfighter and stride triumphantly around the ring to receive the two ears and the tongue of the toreador. Be that as it may, the state has passed a law which says that any public school which desegregrates gets no state funds. That same law says that the school district in which the desegregrated public school is located loses its taxing power. That same law says that any individual who spends public funds in support of such a desegregated school is guilty of committing a felony and is subject to prosecution under the laws of the state. This is the statute which now governs the public school system of

Georgia.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, in Atlanta, a Federal Court has issued an order demanding that the Atlanta School Board come up with a plan for the desegregation of its schools. The Atlanta School Board recommended a pupil placement plan, based upon sociological and psychological qualifications whereby the eleventh and twelfth grades were to desegregate first, followed by successively lower grades, each ensuing year. This plan differs from Nashville's, for instance, in that it starts from the top down rather than from the bottom up. The Atlanta School Plan, in the purity and simplicity of its concept, will stand forever as an imperishable monument to the unshakable faith of Atlantians in the innate superiority of the white race over the colored. It demonstrates the sincerity of their belief that the present bi-racial school system has really and truly been separate but equal. The theory is that if you integrate from the top down, fewer negroes would qualify initially under the criteria of social and psychological qualifications. The present separate but equal school systems would take care of that; and there would be no risk such as is inherent in the plan starting from the bottom up, where the school children would have to be judged on the basis of native capacity alone, before these dichotomous school systems could be counted on to have their separate but equal effect upon the minds and the hearts of the little white and negro children. With the presentation of this plan, the Atlanta School Board pointed out that it was powerless to act under the present state law, despite the court order, and that it would probably have to close the schools. This put the issue squarely on the back of the state legislature, and the Governor thereupon appointed the Sibley Commission to travel around the state and obtain the feelings of the people on the question of integrated schools. Now it is very important, at this point, that you understand the personality and character of John Sibley,

the chairman because his point of view is typical of what is happening in the South, among certain classes of its society. John Sibley is a fine old Southern gentleman, in his seventies, the former Chairman of the Board of the Trust Company of Georgia which is the Coco Cola bank, and a distinguished lawyer. In all of Georgia, there is no name more honored and more respected than his. He typifies the patrician Southern segregationist who reluctantly recognizes that "the old order changeath, yielding place to new," and what do you do to make that change as small as possible. His committee submitted a majority report and a minority report. Mr. Sibley joined with the majority in recommending that each individual school district in the state be given the freedom of choice as to whether it wished to desegregate or not. The minority report recommended a fight-to-the-death approach to preserve segregated schools. Subsequently, Judge Hooper ordered Atlanta to desegregate the eleventh and twelfth grade next September; and here the issue is presently joined.

Now whether one is fully satisfied or not with the position taken by Mr. Sibley, he certainly went further than his peers expected him to, and took the majority of the committee with him. It was a position in direct contrast to the die-hard politicians in the rest of the state who dominate the legislature. Only the future will be able to judge the effect of the recommendations of the Sibley Committee on the legislature, but, as a personal friend of John Sibley who has spent many evenings with him at home discussing this subject, I watched the metamorphasis of his point of view from the time this problem first began to break, to the moment of its present crisis status. The changing sense of values of John Sibley, in my opinion, mirrors in microscopic form the changing

community mood on this question in the city of Atlanta. Was it any one fact, any one influence which produced this change? Not in my judgment. Rather was it a complex of things, one, following upon the other, all of which produced a community change of mind.

First of all, there was the formation of HOPE. The letters of this word stand for "Help Our Public Education", and this was the most spontaneously organized group I have ever seen. What could be of more vital interest to mothers than the education of their children, and when it became clear to many people that the preservation of segregation simply meant the complete closing down of all schools, many segregationists joined HOPE. HOPE is an organization mostly of women who are unique in that, individually most of the people in it have very little in common. People from Atlanta society are in it, and middle-class and lower middle-class housewives, liberals and conservatives, canasta players and artists, intellectuals and the members of the fast set. The only qualification you need to belong to HOPE is to want your children to go to school. That is all. If I have any initial suggestion to make to some of you in other states, it would be to see that the public understands the true issue, which is not segregation vs. integration but schooling for your children vs. no schooling for your children. Segregation vs. integration is controversial, even subversive and communistic. We're liable to win over the neutralist bloc of African nations with such an issue, but schooling for your children has to do with mother-love, and no one in the bible-belt is going to attack that. Once this issue is clear, and it is issue in every Southern state by virtue of the Federal Court ruling in Virginia, then you form an ad hoc organization like HOPE. You will find it will grow like Topsie. The second

suggestion I would make is always to use positive words not negative words, for instance, in Atlanta, the HOPE organization never speaks about integrated schools, they only speak about keeping the schools open. This is a different thing. This is a set of words which can win over a traditional society. With this as a clarion call, HOPE became a very large, effective, respectable organization in Atlanta. What has it done? First of all, by its very existence, it has created a positive viewpoint among its membership body which is considerable. It has had meetings. It has promoted forums. It has kept the issue alive in its own unique way. It has educated its members. At many a cocktail party, I have been monopolized by a devotee of HOPE as have other business men, as, I am sure, has John Sibley or his counterpart. This has been very significant in affecting the ethos of Atlanta. On top of this, pressure was brought to bear on all kinds of groups to take a stand. These pressures resulted in the Atlanta Ministers Manifesto, the doctor's manifesto, the bar association manifesto, the resolution of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. None of these actions in themselves did any good but the cumulative effect of all of them was to give the impression that a person who believed in open schools was not necessarily a person to be shunned by the rest of society. It was obvious to everyone that there was a compelling desire on the part of Atlantians, in all walks of life, to keep our schools open.

Now in this development, the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee played a very important role. Mr. Wittenstein, Area Director of AJC, counseled so closely with HOPE that, at one time, he was considered for Chairman of its executive committee, an honor which he turned down in the true AJC

tradition of action with anonymity. The Doctor's manifesto was initiated by another member of our chapter, Dr. Irving Greenberg. The bar association statement was engineered by AJC's own Louis Regenstein. The Junior Chamber of Commerce resolution, which represented a major break-through in getting the business community to take a stand, stemmed from the behind the scenes work of our Area Director, Charles Wittenstein and AJC's chapter chairman, De Jongh Franklin, both of whom had been previously active in the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce. In view of the fact that many separate, individual religious denominations were speaking out in favor of keeping the schools open, the Atlanta CRC issued a statement written by AJC Chapter Chairman, De Jongh Franklin. It is interesting to note that, as a result of the actions of others, it was perfectly feasible and possible for us to speak out on this question as Jews. In describing the principles under which the Atlanta Chapter has functioned on this issue, I would say, first of all that, as a chapter, we issued no statements nor took any position, publicly. Secondly, our efforts received no publicity. We wanted to avoid the charge that the open-school movement in Atlanta was Jewish inspired. Thirdly, only specific chapter members were involved in this work, and they were limited to specific roles. The general membership of the chapter was not informed of these specific activities for security reasons.

There is no question in my mind that if the decision on desegregating the schools were left to the people of the City of Atlanta, the majority of our citizens would vote for desegregation. But this, it seems to me, points up our biggest failure. While we have done a great job in changing public opinion in Georgia's greatest metropolis, we have not made the issue sufficiently clear

to the other citizens in the rest of the state, and here is where our problem lies. There are hundreds of thousands of people in Georgia who still believe it is possible to close the schools of Atlanta, without closing the schools of their own school district. In my opinion, the American Jewish Committee and other organizations in the human relations field must develop a method of effectively communicating on a mass basis to the rural areas of the South, whose representatives still dominate the state legislatures. This is the crux of the problem and it cannot be overcome by local chapter activity located in the principal cities. This must be the responsibility of the national professional staff and the national organizations. I urgently recommend that the national professional staff of the American Jewish Committee convene and consider ways and means of effectively reaching the rural areas on a mass basis. In my opinion, despite all that has been done in Atlanta, the public schools there will close before they will open again. It seems as though there is no way of avoiding that pain.

"Drink Red wine", cries Sean O'Casey, "For the power and the pain and the frustration of life. And white wine, for the melody that is in it all". Atlanta is experiencing now the power and the pain and the frustration of life. But around town are heard the sounds of voices rising with the melody that is in it all. Slowly, but surely, a new sense of community conscience is taking shape and the hope of a brighter future, with dignity for everyone, renews itself in the hearts of the people of our city.

January 31, 1962

Miss Jo Anne Rosenthal
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Rosenthal:

Since Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Council your letter of the 25th has been called to my attention.

We do not know of any specific summer job opportunities that would be appropriate for your interests. It does occur to me that the Penn Community Center at Frogmore, South Carolina, might consider your request. The Penn Center has regional interests but does a great deal of work with the people of St. Helena Island and the surrounding coastal area. The staff is small, four to six persons, and if your income needs were modest they might well be able to strike up an interesting arrangement.

You might write to Mr. Courtney Siceloff,
Director,
Penn Community Center
Frogmore, South Carolina
if you wish to pursue this further.

We occasionally serve as an informal clearing house between people and jobs and if you wish to send us a brief resume of your background, interests, salary requirements and the period available, we will be happy to place it on file.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

JO ANNE ROSENTHAL
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR, PA.

January 25, 1962

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am very interested in finding a community development job this summer, preferably in the rural South, and wondered whether you might have (or know of) some opportunities available. I am majoring in anthropology and am looking for rural community work partly as a possible stepping-stone to work in an underdeveloped country, partly because I simply prefer rural to urban community work.

Last summer I worked in a Cherokee community in Western North Carolina as part of an American Friends Service Committee work camp. Though I enjoyed the experience immensely, (a) I cannot afford to pay for a similar summer and (b) I would like to be a little more on my own and not so much a member of a group--I felt that individual bonds with the Cherokee could have been established sooner had I relied less on the companionship of my co-work campers.

I am going to write to the Smith College Workshop to see if any grants are available. I appreciate any suggestions you might have.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jo Anne Rosenthal

May 1, 1962

Professor John P. Roche
Department of Politics
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

Dear John:

I read with delight of your election as the new national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. My warmest congratulations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 10, 1962

Professor John P. Roche
Brandeis University
Department of Politics
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Roche:

In your letter of May 4th to Mr. Dunbar you requested a copy of our recent study of executive action. Under separate cover, I am sending that study, together with its predecessor, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Executive Director

MMJ

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1962

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

May 4th 1962

MJ

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you very much for your note; I look forward to some energetic work for the Cause. Perhaps my travels will bring me in your balliwick and we could catch up with the last ten years.

About a month ago (I think) I saw an announcement in the Times of a report that you published, though I can't at the moment remember the topic. With this ambiguous reference, could you send me it?

Exec. Support, w.w.j.

With best regards,

Cordially,

John P. Roche

Send Exec Support and Ed Epc

JPR/bg

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

May 14th 1962

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you very much for the copies of your two studies.

I will read them with great interest.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Roche
Chairman

JPR/bg

April 12, 1962

Miss Judy Rogers
Box 83, Crandall Hall
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Judy:

Many thanks for your letter of March 6 which I was very glad to receive and read with much pleasure. You are working on a couple of interesting assignments; I congratulate you on being in the Honor's Program.

Things are not much changed at the Council except that we either get busier or I am getting old. I hope you will come in to see us whenever you are in town.

Instead of our letting you know if we ever need summer help, why don't you let us know if you are ever needful of a job. We can't always oblige, but sometimes we can.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Rec'd 3/7/62
Rha

Box 83 Crandall Hall
Howard University
March 6, 1962

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I promised to write to you to let you know how I am getting along. I intended to do this the first semester but I never seemed to find much time for letter writing. I intended to come back down to the office during the Christmas holiday but I had unexpected guests.

This semester my schedule isn't quite as heavy as far as courses are concerned. The thing that takes are most of my time are the projects that I am working on. I am doing a project on "The Black Muslims" along with two other girls. I have to attend the "Mosque" at least once a week. We are trying to find out whether

or not the Muslims are brainwashing the Negro and if they are working against such organizations as the NAACP and CORE.

The other study that I am participating in is one for the Sociology Honors Program. We are in the process of interviewing 174 boys at Boys Village, a training school in Sheltonheim, Maryland. All of the boys are between the ages of 9 and 14 and they have committed federal crimes. The school was recently integrated and we are trying to find out if it was really integrated or merely desegregated. Both projects are very interesting but also very time consuming.

Howard participated in an exchange program with Swarthmore and one of the girls, Rebecca Prentiss from Indiana lived down the hall from me. She told me that she knows your daughter and that she has

made quite a favorable impression at Swarthmore. I know that you are very proud of her.

I want to thank you again for allowing me the opportunity to work at the Council last summer. I really enjoyed it and I have never met as many wonderful people anywhere else. I hope that you all will be very successful with your voter education project. I try to keep up to date on what you are doing through Aunt Ruth.

Give everyone my regards and I will see you during the Easter holidays. If you ever need any extra help during the summer please keep me in mind.

Yours truly,
Judy Rogers

April 18, 1962

Mrs. Georgia Pinnick, Chairman
Admissions Committee
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Pinnick:

Miss Judy LaRita Rogers, whom you asked me about in your letter of April 16, was employed here during last summer. Although the nature of her assignment was such that I was unable to make observations regarding her academic qualifications, I do on other grounds wish to give her my very highest endorsement.

Our practice has been for some time to give, when our budget permits, an opportunity for a college student to work here during the summer. Such work is largely routine and in Judy's case consisted of a variety of duties such as reading and clipping periodicals, filing, and assisting in the mail room. In everything that she did, however, we were greatly impressed by her competence. Moreover, we were delighted by her enthusiasm for the work, her industriousness, and her quickness to learn. She got along excellently with everyone else in the office, both the senior staff people and the clerical staff. We found her to be, in short, a person we would be glad to have back. I recommend her to you without reservations.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 10, 1962

Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone
Employment Office
725 - 13th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

ATTENTION: Mrs. Carmody

Dear Mrs. Carmody:

Miss Judy LaRita Rogers, whom you inquired about over the telephone last week, was employed here during last summer. I wish to give her my very highest recommendation.

Our practice has been for some time to give, when our budget permits, an opportunity for a college student to work here during the summer. Such work is largely routine and in Judy's case consisted of a variety of duties such as reading and clipping periodicals, filing, and assisting in the mail room. In everything that she did, however, we were greatly impressed by her competence. Moreover, we were delighted by her enthusiasm for the work, her industriousness, and her quickness to learn. She got along excellently with everyone else in the office, both the senior staff people and the clerical staff. We found her to be, in short, a person we would be glad to have back. I recommend her to you without reservations.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

*Mémo* from **RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER**

Mrs. Carmody
Chesapeake and Potomac
Telephone Employment
Office
725 - 13th Street
Washington 5, D.C.

PA:

I've pulled this correspondence from the files because you might have to ~~handle~~ see and talk with this young man when he arrives at the office on July 16th or 17th. Les, as you can see from the correspondence, has written him that he possibily will not be in the office during his visit. He just wants some help from our research files so all that will be necessary, I suppose, is to ~~go~~ greet him and turn him over to the files.

18 or 19 or 20

mmj

Dear Mrs:

I will be on vacation during Mr. Rose's visit.

PA

July 13, 1962

REMINDER FOR LWD:

A Mr. Tom Rose (student at San Francisco State College) wrote on April 18, 1962 that he would like to see you on the afternoon of JULY 16 to talk about research he's doing. If you're not to be in town on that day we'd better alert PAnthony or someone else who could help him.

MMJ

July 9, 1962

Mr. Tom Rose
1438 McAllister
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Rose:

I shall not be in the office July 18 and probably not on July 17 and maybe not on July 19 or 20. At all times, however, there will be others here who will be happy to talk with you. Please come in. I hope I may be here to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

(1438 McAllister, San Francisco)
Race Relations Institute
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
June 6, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

First, I want to express my thanks for your speech at the Institute, which was presented in a most eloquent manner.

I had written a couple months ago asking for an appointment with you, for discussion of my senior thesis on Negro students, on July 16. Thank you for your reply of April 24. Because of a small change in plans I will not be in Atlanta until the 17th.

Can we set up an appointment at your convenience sometime on the 18th, 19th, or 20th of July? Please let me know the time and date. I will be at Fisk until July 12.

Thank you.

Cordially yours,

Tom Rose

Tom Rose

April 24, 1962

Mr. Tom Rose
1438 McAllister Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Rose:

According to my present calendar I shall be in the office on July 16 and will be glad to see you. In case I am called away, perhaps we can get together another time during your stay in Atlanta. There is, on the other hand, always someone here who would be able to discuss your research with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

1438 McAllister Street
San Francisco, Calif.
April 18, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am a student at San Francisco State College and my major interest is ethnic relations. In partial requirement for a B.A. in social science I am in the process of a thesis on the Negro student in higher education which I hope to complete by the summer of 1963.

I am the first to realize that my topic is very broad, but I hope in one way or another to overcome that. My basic outline is finished, and during the summer I will be in Atlanta doing some research which in part involves some taped interviews.

It would be of great value to me to spend a few hours with you while in Atlanta and I am planning time so that I might use some materials in your office. A couple years ago I worked at Highlander and became interested in your work and I am continually impressed with SRC research.

Rather than ask about specific material at this time I will wait until I am in Atlanta. If possible I would like to see you the afternoon of July 16, 1962. Thank you for your time.

Cordially yours,

Tom Rose

Tom Rose

File in "Gen. Corresp."

March 25, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

I have not yet had a chance to read the transcripts, but I am very grateful to you for sending them. I shall read them soon.

As I told you, I shall be in New York much of the week of April 13. If you are going to be in town I would love to get together with you for a while. I don't know where I'll be staying, but will call you as soon as I get into town.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

"Ro" Gen. Corresp.

Rec'd 4/1/64

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

As far as I know, I will be in town during the week of April 13th . So, do call and lets get together.

Jeanette Hopkins at HARCOURT has read my material, expressed some interest, and has asked me to come up this week and discuss the book idea with her. Perhaps, by the time you arrive, I will have a definite decision from them.

Look forward to seeing you.

Best wishes,

Martha

March 30,1964

make folder: "Ro"

December 28, 1964

Mrs. Wendy Roberts
Box 1024
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

Thank you for sending me your newsletter, which I have read with real interest and admiration. Mrs. Deborah Cole had mentioned you to me, and I have looked forward to learning more about your work. If you are ever up this way, I hope you will stop in to visit with us and Frances Pauley, or her associates, in the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Mrs. Frances Pauley

Recd 1/18/65

file

Thank Rio for carrier

Box 1024
Albany, Georgia
January 14, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Eagle,

I would be delighted to meet with you in Atlanta on January 21. I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Dunbar so that he might make an appointment and advise me of same. I will arrange to arrive in Atlanta on the 20th so that any time on the 21st or morning of the 22nd will be satisfactory. Looking forward to seeing you again and also to meeting Dr. Dunbar.

Sincerely,

Wendy Roberts

Wendy Roberts

**Memo** from **LUESTA KNOX**

to: Les Dunbar

I owe you

1 File cabinet

Florence B. Robin
6/28/65

file –
"Ro" - gen –

file
Re "gen"

August 27, 1965

Mr. Hans Rosenhaupt
National Director
Woodrow Wilson National
Fellowship Foundation
32 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Hans:

Why not?

Why should a graduate from an accredited school not be admitted to full graduate standing, if he is admitted at all? Why should the educational establishment not take its own institutions seriously? Do we take our accrediting associations seriously, or don't we? Or, do we continue to say publicly "this school is accredited," and say privately "not really"? Hasn't the time come for the graduate schools to exercise greater responsibility over the criteria of the accrediting Associations? Tougaloo is accredited by the Southern Association; is this to be just a game?

I don't, of course, say that a graduate school should admit anyone who applies, but if a school is sufficiently interested in a student to want him i would say call him a graduate student. It means a great deal to the feelings of the student and to the school from which he comes. It would seem to me that doing so should not pain the university.

Of course there are technical problems. I went to graduate school four years after finishing my undergraduate

work at a very bad state university; much of my course work that first year was undergraduate. I was, in short, treated as an individual case. If our graduate schools cannot attend to their students as individual cases, then something is pretty wrong with them. When some years ago educators decided that teacher education was not what it should be, Ford helped in setting up new programs. We did not, and we do not now, call the unprepared students who go into these MAT programs "pre-graduate" or "post-bacculaureate". We call them graduate students.

All this is simply to say that I can fully appreciate the reluctance of a Dr. Mays or a Dr. Colston on this point.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/rh
bcc: Dr. John Summerskill

Rec'd 8/27/65

WOODROW WILSON
NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP FOUNDATION
32 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540
Area Code 609 Telephone 924-4666

HUGH TAYLOR, PRESIDENT
HANS ROSENHAUPT,
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

August 25, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Let me be sure I understand the suggestion you made in your summary: you would like to do away with all pregraduate or post undergraduate programs and instead admit all students to graduate school, and in full academic standing. If this were done, how would you make it clear to the poorly prepared student that he is asked to take undergraduate courses for no credit? And how would you avoid the discouragement a fully accepted graduate student feels if he can't keep up with the work of his classmates?

We are in no way committed to our present program and have thought of all sorts of modifications. Anything you can pass on to us will be useful to us.

Cordially yours,

Hans Rosenhaupt

National Director

HR:lds

March 3, 1966

Mr. Sherwood Ross
National Public Affairs Director
Sonderling Broadcasting Corporation
c/o Radio Station WOL
2000 "P" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sherwood:

Thanks for the copy of the good editorial. But don't go suggesting, even sarcastically, that SRC come North to help.

Come see us sometime. Until then, all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

A SONDERLING NETWORK EDITORIAL

MS - file
Commendation & J
PAC

VOTE

THERE'S A NEW CRUSADE FOR VOTING RIGHTS SHAPING UP IN DIXIE. IT'S LED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION WITH HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA.

TOGETHER WITH CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS, THE COUNCIL WILL ATTEMPT TO HELP 2 MILLION MORE SOUTHERN NEGROES GET TO THE POLLS.

TO BE SURE, DIEHARD EXTREMISTS ARE GOING TO TRY AND STOP THIS VOTER DRIVE---BUT IT LOOKS TO US AS THOUGH DIXIE'S HEROIC NEGRO CITIZENS, AND THEIR WHITE ALLIES, WILL CONTINUE TO CHIP AWAY AT WHITE SUPREMACY, VOTE BY VOTE.

OF COURSE, NEGROES IN CHICAGO, NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO, AND WASHINGTON, WILL BE CHEERING THEM ON.

BUT IS THIS ENOUGH?

RIGHT HERE, RIGHT HERE, IN OUR CITY, THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF ELIGIBLE NEGROES WHO HAVEN'T BOTHERED TO TAKE THE TIME TO REGISTER. WHILE SOUTHERN NEGROES ARE RISKING THEIR JOBS, THEIR HOMES, THEIR FARMS, AND EVEN THEIR LIVES TO GO TO THE POLLS---THERE ARE PEOPLE LISTENING TO THIS BROADCAST NOW WHO WOULDN'T WALK ONE SOLITARY BLOCK TO CAST THEIR BALLOT.

WELL, MAYBE WE NEED THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO COME UP HERE TO WASHINGTON TO TAKE THOSE PEOPLE BY THE HAND AND SHOW THEM WHERE TO REGISTER.

THIS RADIO STATION HOPES THAT THIS WON'T BE NECESSARY. FOR IN EVERY ONE OF US THERE IS A CONSCIENCE---AND THIS CONSCIENCE SHOULD TELL US THAT THE VOTE IS POWER---POWER TO CHANGE OUR LIVES, AND THE LIVES OF OUR CHILDREN FOR THE BETTER---POWER TO ELECT THE MEN WHO CARE ABOUT EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR BLACK AMERICANS, TOO.

SO DON'T STAND ON THE SIDELINES AND CHEER FOR NEGROES IN THE SOUTH. PUT ON YOUR OWN HAT AND COAT, BUDDY, AND GET MOVING.

#

This editorial report is being aired over four great Negro-oriented radio stations in cities where some 4,100,000 Negro citizens work, play - and listen to Sonderling. These stations are: WWRL AM-FM, New York City; WOL AM-FM, Washington, D.C.; WDIA, Memphis; and KDIA, serving Greater San Francisco. Your comments and suggestions are appreciated. Write to: Sherwood Ross, National Public Affairs Director, Sonderling Broadcasting Corporation, c/o WOL, 2000 "P" Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Phone: 462-3900.

PA — Roosevelt Hotel

**New York Trip - March 10-11, 1966**

You're to call the following persons on Thursday morning in an effort to get together with them during this trip:

Les Dunbar
Field Foundation (250 Park Ave.)
(YU. 6-6688)

David Hunter
Stern Family Fund (21 East 40th St.)
(532-0617)

Oscar Cohen
ADL (315 Lexington Ave.)
(MU. 9-7400)

Vernon Eagle
475 Riverside Drive
New World Foundation
(RI.9-4171)

Claude Sitton - Natl News Dir. Times Square
New York Times (229 West 43rd St.)
(LA. 4-1000)

Sam Simmons
Dept of Co
C.R.S.
Wash DC
382-2758

10000
9430
570

6250
5750
500

May 3, 1966

Mr. Robert D. Ronsheim
21 Marrett Street
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

Dear Mr. Ronsheim:

Thank you for your recent letter which was appreciated and helped us to laugh at our vaunted efficiency.

We are sending under separate cover a copy of Southern Justice and are enclosing our publications list.

If you receive this letter, we promise to do better in the future.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Enc.

May 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Ed Lewis

Please mail one copy of Southern Justice: An Indictment to Mr. Robert D. Ronsheim, label attached.

21 Marrett Street
Lexington, Mass. 02173

29 April 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

After I had a long history of not receiving your various publications when requested from Current, I decided to lick the problem by subscribing to New South and get news of the publications and how they could be obtained faster. It didn't work. You do not put any notice of your publications in New South. And I still don't get them when requested. "Southern Justice: An indictment" is the latest. How can I get a copy?

Two more notes. The ACLU let me down on this too - I don't remember seeing anything from them. And New South is worth the price without the notices. But aren't you losing a good chance to spread information?

Sincerely,

Robert D. Ronsheim

Robert D. Ronsheim

file "Po" general

15 Jul 1967

VJ
Ret to MMJ files

Dear Paul and Vernon:

Please forgive the double letter, but we are still knee deep in unopened cartons, and I wanted to let you both know that I am still alive -- although just barely -- Baltimore not being a fit place for human habitation.

When we finally get organized, I know we will love our house. It's roomy and comfortable and in a convenient location. Right now, though, I'm trying to cope with not knowing where anything is, a dead chipmunk lodged in the fireplace, and an acre and a half of lawn which I swear grows an inch every day. Also, where the hell did those cretins pack my salad bowl, tennis racket, double crostic books, summer suits .....never mind, the list is too long.

Starting August 1st, I am going to work for the Inc. Fund on a special, temporary project which runs until January 1st. I've spoken briefly about it with Jean Fairfax and I gather it has something to do with the school lunch program in the South. I gather that poor children are deprived of the lunches which is bad, although having eaten one at my children's school, I'm not certain that providing poor children with school lunches is a socially useful goal. The one I ate was lethal.

Anyway, I'm looking forward to the assignment. It will allow me to work part of the week at home, spend two days a week in Washington and do some travelling in the South. This last will certainly mean that I'll be coming to Atlanta in the Fall, and I can hardly wait.

I'm terribly homesick, but being frightfully brave about the whole thing (English translation: behaving like a bitch) and my feeling of loss is not compensated for by the fact of having a kosher supermarket and a good hairdresser right on the corner.

Do, please, each of you or both of you, call me whenever you get to Washington. We're only 45 minutes away, and I'd make a special effort to get together.

Give my love to everybody at SRC.

Love,

Grace

9 Clovelly Road
Pikesville, Md. 21208
301/484-6332

Make file
Mrs. Florence Robin

July 25, 1967

Mrs. Florence Robin
9 Clovelly Road
Pikesville, Maryland 21208

Dear Florence:

Forgive me the long delay in not answering your letter sooner. Vernon has an even better excuse since he has not seen the letter until today.

Have you heard anything from the League of Women Voters? I recommended you for a very interesting -- and well paying -- research job with them.

I do hope you are very homesick, that your half acre grows two inches a day, that you never find your tennis racket, that smog overcomes you, and traffic stops you!

Warmest regards to you both,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

P.S.: You are being put on our Research Mailing List for all significant publications except NEW SOUTH. You will have to send $3.00 for that. No Yankee gets it free!

July 25, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please put the following person on our RESEARCH MAILING LIST:

Mrs. Florence Robin
9 Clovelly Road
Pikesville, Maryland, 21208

PA/km

Vera Rony
18 avery drive, northeast
atlanta, ga., 30309

File

See "Po" gen.

October 19, '67

Dear Paul,

Please forgive the illegibility of this little document. I am forever having carbons Xeroxed because the originals have to be rushed off pronto and there is no Xerox here. Although you are undoubtedly in no mood to believe it, offices do have some uses!

This is by way of saying Thank You for your help to the Blue Ridge project. At this moment, it looks as if your faith was not in vain. Now if the money will only burgeon like the morale ---.

Fondly,

Vera

Vera

P.S. Have I mentioned that the "Sorrow Song" reprint looks quite impressive? I look at it and I'm impressed!

October 16, 1967
18 Avery Drive NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

Dear Friends and Fellow Board members of the Sharecroppers Fund,

My regret at my inability to accept Fay's kind invitation to attend the Board meeting and thus see and hear old friends again is compounded by the frustration of wanting so much to tell you, viva voce, about the excitement and promise of a project which is benefiting greatly from Sharecroppers participation-- the garment manufacturing co-op organized by the women strikers of the Levi Strauss Company in Blue Ridge, Georgia.

I was up there yesterday to attend the chicken fry staged by the ladies to raise money. It was a serene, golden day, lots of folks turned out (that's how they say it, you blasé New Yorkers!), the ladies were beaming about the impending debut of the co-op and nervous fit to be tied about their ability to make it succeed. A little speech was made by Mr. Noel Galloway, the leading entrepreneur of neighboring Mineral Bluff, population 290, who is renting factory and office space to the co-op for $125.00 per month. Mr. Galloway, whose activities include preaching, said: "When God wanted to help the people He put on this earth, He did something about it. He gave them His Son. Now these ladies want to do something about their problem, and they're building a co-op. I think they deserve all the help they can get."

It was, as the young say, a good scene, and what is more rare, it was even better than it looked. In a time of terrible rendings-- black from white, underclass from educated class, Old Left from New Left-- there had occurred here, unpredictably and not painlessly, a series of harmonies which hold out hope and, in the teeth of this frazzled epoch, warmth and cheer. Through it all, first and last, are the strikers themselves-- gentle, fierce ladies who refused to surrender to Levi's contempt or their own apparent limitations, who felt deeply and at first silently that they were worthy and had been treated as worthless, that they had the skill and spirit to give something useful to society, their society, right there in Blue Ridge, and that somehow, some day soon, they must find a way to do it.

The first one to sound the tocsin for them was Sam Shirrah, one of SNCC's early peripatetic heroes, who had encountered the Levi strike while working as a labor organizer. He was abetted by academician Harlan Joye, formerly SDS-New York, who interrupted his Southern research to tell the Blue Ridge story far and wide. Among those whose ears prickled was that Old Lefty, the undersigned, who in turn corralled two young organizers she met while covering the IUD's migrant labor campaign in Florida-- Tommy Martin, formerly with Arkansas SNCC and Mike Lozoff, who had cut his Movement teeth ~~[illegible]~~ organizing in the black ghetto of Gainesville, Florida. By May, both men were at liberty, both had become interested in Blue Ridge, and both needed jobs.

Tommy, who had a few savings to keep the roof over his family's head, decided to go up to Blue Ridge for a week or so, to see if he could help. As the week stretched into a month, then two, Tommy bunked first with one striker family then another, complaining to his friends in that sidewise Arkansas snarl which only Lozoff, a stand-up comedian par excellence, can imitate, "Hai-ell, I cain't even buy a pack of cigarettes!" A mountain man himself, he identified completely with the women. He instilled confidence and like a good New Leftiste, he did it with a light hand. No programs or panaceas were offered, only a vehicle-- the Southern Labor Association-- to enable them to evaluate together a variety of alternatives, of which a co-op was only one.

In the meantime, Lozoff and Rony in Atlanta supplied respite, advice, and encouragement. As we over-the-hill-over-Thirties have discovered, experience pays unexpected dividends. Little did I know during those meatless pay-days at WDL that one day they would enable me to say sternly to an exhausted, rebellious Tommy Martin, "At 22, you don't need cigarettes, you don't even need bread." However, there came a time when his son needed bread, which was something else again. So Tommy took off for Arkansas, but not before introducing to Mesdames Beulah Mull, Irene Whittenbarger, Brenda Mull, Jo Nichols, Gertrude Mullinax, Jo Jones et. al. his good friends Mike Lozoff and Bill Hansen, the latter a fellow Arkansas radical and a white knight of SNCC, b.b.p.(before Black Power).

This added to the Blue Ridge scene another Old Left element, the National Sharecroppers Fund, which had the great good sense to choose as a major project director Warren McKenna, a veteran of the Delta Ministry, who seems to be allergic to nice, safe young men and chooses solely and infallibly the Bill Hansens who have the instinct, and the connections, for the jugular of social change.

Like Martin, Lozoff lost his heart to the ~~Blue~~ ladies of Blue Ridge. Neglecting his job hunt, he attended meeting after meeting to help them master the democratic process: "What should we do, Mike?" "Well, that's what we're here to talk about"-- the appeal to lead, to take over, resisted hour after patient hour.* Slowly, painstakingly, alternatives were sifted and eliminated; by August, a unanimous choice emerged. The women wanted to turn their backs on Levi and all its works and to create an enterprise of their own-- one which would not only provide a livelihood but, if successful, serve as a base for community development-- day care centers for the children, playgrounds, co-op health facilities, etc..

If it was a co-op they wanted, Bill Hansen not only ~~the~~ knew the man but had long ago earned the confidence of the man-- CCAP's Randolph Blackwell, who had already launched four Negro garment co-ops in Alabama and Georgia. Blackwell is highly competent, exceptionally charming-- and black. What, queried Lozoff, Hansen, McKenna and Rony, what do we do about THAT? Whereupon we told it simply and like it was,

---

*(Insert): The growth of group confidence was further helped by Hansen's work with Sharecropper trainee Beulah Mull, a natural leader who was enabled to come swiftly into her own.

the ladies gulped, pondered, and came to a decision. They knew few Negroes-- the census lists 44 all told in Fannin county. If their good friends, these people who had come up there and taken time and trouble with them, why if they said this colored man was a real nice person and could help them, well, they guessed they'd go ahead and meet him and see for themselves.

And with that they made a little history. How often since Populist days and, later, Mitchell's Southern Tenant Farmers Union, have white Southern workers met a "egro leader and liked him and respected him and travelled with him to see a black project like the Crawfordville co-op, and invited him to Blue Ridge, to meet with the larger committee-- "He's helped us an' we ain't goin' to hide him-- it wouldn't be right."

With Fay's support, Blackwell obtained a $5,000 grant from the Southern Christian Leadership Foundation to get the co-op off the ground. The machines and the initial order ~~met~~ were secured by Mr. Van Bible (shades of Faulkner!), a white business man whom Blackwell had inspired to become part-time social reformer:"A co-op is the only way a lot of these folks are going to make it, and I enjoy helpin' 'em." By Thursday, October 19, the factory should be open and 55 Blue Ridge women should be busily sewing away on their first order of 900 dozen dresses. Almost 200 years after Henry Grady's jubilant prophecy, a small white seed of the New South may be sprouting at last.

To all of you who have helped make it possible, a salute and affectionate greetings,

Vera Rony

P.S. New movements, like the New Woman, should not be all purpose and no caprice. In the course of the many hours Mike has spent with the ladies, some shared by me, the conversation has turned naturally to where one grew up or what one's antecedents were. Before anyone had time to become curious, Mike and I had volunteered that we were Jewish. Recently Mike and his wife had spent a grueling, hilarious day helping the ladies wash down the factory with the Mineral Bluff fire truck, which no one had worked for 25 years and which insisted on pumping water into the truck engine instead of the water hose. Afterwards, sitting tired and convivial over dinner, one of the ladies turned to Mike and said suddenly, "Mike, why are we supposed to hate the Jews?"

See "Ro" gen'

February 12, 1968

Mr. Sherwood Ross
101 "G" Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20024

Dear Sherwood:

Thanks for the note and the information on your events. Should we need a Washington publicist you will be the first we will call on.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SHERWOOD ROSS AND ASSOCIATES

1-31-68

Paul:

Happy New Year + all that. Does S.R.C. need any public relations consulting? Etc.

Best Wishes

Sherwood

101 G STREET, S. W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024
PHONE: 638-4938 • MESSAGE DESK: 393 - 4800 - EXT. 42

File "Ro" gen.

February 16, 1968

Mrs. Stephen J. Robbins
Route 1, Box 15
Grovetown, Georgia 30813

Dear Mrs. Robbins:

Thank you for sharing with us your concerns. I am today sending a copy of your letter to Miss Conatance Curry, American Friends Service Committee, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta. The Committee has a particular concern in this area, and some staff available. I am sure Miss Curry will be in touch with you shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Constance Curry

Route 1, Box 15
Grovetown, Georgia 30813
12 February 1968

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sirs:

I have been teaching in a segregated (white) school for six months; and I will be leaving in another six. As a transient, obviously my commitment to this community is not strong: my concern for the equal education of all children, however, is.

Grovetown Elementary School has three Negro children out of a total enrollment of something over six hundred. Since the school is within five miles of Fort Gordon, a good percentage --almost 75%-- of its pupils are military schildren. This means that the school receives a considerable amount of federal funds every year. Yet to my knowledge no steps have been taken by the government to hasten integration in this county.

Isn't there some procedure for urging --forcing-- compliance with federal regulations regarding integrated education. The damage done every day to Negro children of this county demands immediate action... yet there is no action at all.

I would appreciate your comments on action that could be initiated in this area.

Sincerely,

Nina T. Robbins

Mrs. Stephen J. Robbins

August 21, 1968

Mrs. Stephen J. Robbins
Route 1, Box 15
Grovetown, Georgia 30813

Dear Mrs. Robbins:

While you were shipped the materials you requested, please forgive me this inexcusable delay in acknowledging your letter of July 14th.

I am sorry that I don't know of any place the elementary textbooks can be used. We have, in the past, worked with a number of small colleges in improving their book collections but, of course, the books which you have would not be appropriate for this purpose.

Again, my sincere apologies and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Route 1, Box 15
Grovetown, Georgia 30813
14 July 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am working this summer with the NAACP voter registration project in Richmond County, and hope to help to set up a similar project in neighboring Columbia County.

7-16-68 :3

Will you please send me one copy each of the booklets Know Your Georgia Government, How to Conduct a Voter Registration Campaign, and the AFL-CIO COPE Register and Vote Manual?

Perhaps you can help me with one other item. I have ninety discarded elementary school textbooks (reading primers and arithmetic). Do you know of a summer education project which might need reading materials? The books are all "white-face," but are otherwise in good condition. I can ship them anywhere in the South if you know who could use them.

Many thanks,

Sincerely yours,

Nina T. Robbins

Mrs. Stephen J. Robbins

60
.60
96.00

VERA RONY

29 WEST 69TH STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023 EN 2-5729

file for Ro - open

August 7, 1968
18 Avery Drive NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

The enclosed is Section One, entitled "Close-up of the Glory Road," of a manuscript DEATH IN MEMPHIS -- A PARABLE. Although I have worked hard on it, it is yet only a skeleton of the final product, for the purpose of enticing potential publishers.

It still requires the personal memorabilia of Abernathy, Andy Young, Bevel, and other insiders, together with those of Dr. Harding, yourself, and other friends and colleagues who saw Dr. King from a variety of vantage points.

Therefore you must forgive a somewhat more abstract quality than you might expect from me and consider whether the skeleton has a full complement of bones for its limited purpose, and whether they are accurately distributed. After that, I hope to catch you over a long julep and let you tell me of the undying flesh and blood.

With many thanks, as always,

Vera

March 11, 1969

Mr. Robert E. Lee
Executive
Robert E. Lee Scholarship Fund, Inc.
1036 Dalton Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

Dear Mr. Lee:

We are very interested to know of your program and your plans, and to wish you well in what seems to be a very commendable project. I trust, however, that you understand the Council is not a foundation and, therefore, is not in a position to contribute to your work. If we may otherwise be of assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

# ROBERT E. LEE SCHOLARSHIP FUND, INC.

ROBERT E. LEE, Executive Sec.-Treas.
NATHALENE T. GRASHAM, Treasurer
BETTYE M. JACK, Secretary

*Founded 1945 - Organized and Incorporated 1959*

*Telephone 355-1668*
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
*Jackson, Mississippi*
*39203*
1036 Dalton Street

B. L. THOMPSON
Chairman
WILLIE E. WALLACE
Vice Chairman
PERCY GREEN
Secretary of Board
FLORENCE O. ALEXANDER
Chairman of Scholarship

March 6, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Robert E. Lee Foundation is an incorporate association of Negro community leaders. We have joined together to do what we can to help young boys and girls receive an adequate education. It is our goal to work with the young people that are not being financially reached by federal, state and local educational programs.

We have existed for the past twenty years, by raising small sums of money locally. But the needs of young people have grown far beyond any funds we can raise by our present and past system.

The Board of Directors have voted, "the Executive Directors, make contact with private foundations, develop letters and proposals, to secure funds, that we may operate a scholarship program for poverty stricken young people".

We are appealing for $50,000 to operate an educational scholarship project. This program will identify qualified youths of financial or cultural need with an exceptional potential for college training and encourage them to complete high school and continue to college; publicize existing forms of student financial aid available at the colleges as well as extend loans, scholarships and grants.

The Mississippi Education Association in a report in 1967 showed that; (1) Mississippi is far behind the national average in expenditures per child, $315, to national average $554; (2) One half of our children never get beyond the eight grade; (3) Five percent of our population, 14 years or older, cannot read or write; (4) 41,000 Mississippians cannot read or write;

(5) 84,000 Mississippi children are not in school today (no compulsory attendance law); (6) 33 percent who enter high school do not graduate; (7) 37 percent of our draftees fail their induction test, (the nation average is 21%); (8) 47 percent of our students failed college deferment tests; (9) Mississippi pays the lowest teachers salaries; and (10) There are 236 counselors in Mississippi schools--one for every 2500 students.

It is clear from these statistics relating to the schools of Mississippi that we unquestingly must do all that we possibly can to try and become an assistant in this fight against poverty and ignorance.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Lee

Robert E. Lee
EXECUTIVE

REL/AR

October 14, 1969

Mrs. Florence Robin
9 Cloverly Road
Pikesville, Maryland 21218

Dear Florence:

I am so remiss in not having written you sooner. Immediately after Fred's death I attempted to reach you by telephone, but was unable to do so.

When you have a moment, do let me know how you are making out. In the meantime, my very warmest regards and best wishes from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

January 28, 1970

Mr. Weldon Rougeau
22 Dudley Street
Cambrige, Massachusetts 02140

Dear Weldon:

I really appreciate your taking time out to let me know of your life and times. I am only too happy that we were able to be of some little assistance.

Obviously, you are in for a rough three years, but I know it will be more than worth it. Like you, I only wish you were already a lawyer, because, man, we sure need more good ambulance chasers down here right now!

Warmest regards from everyone here to you, Shirley, and the children.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

22 Dudley Street
Cambridge, Ma. 02140
January 25, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

At last! It isn't that I have some spare time and can comfortably afford to sit next to my neglected wife and type a letter to a good friend, but I've decided that when one is a student at the Harvard Law School, one has to stop and take time to keep in touch.( I know you can imagine how long it is taking me to type this letter.)

How have you been? I hope all's well with you, the job, the antique business, etc., and that you're not working too hard these days. I know it's impossible to keep from working too hard with all the work there is to do, but I hope that you are still enjoying it.

Thank you very much for making it possible for me to get funds for the second semester. I don't know what I would do without people like you and Vernon. Shirley and I both appreciated it immensely.

School's not bad. It has taken a bit of hard work for me to get in the groove, but I am now going at full speed. There is, I am sure you have heard, nothing hard about law school; it's just that there is so goddam much to do. Juridical Postulate NumberOne is: READ,READ,READ, ad nauseum.

The important thing about being here is that I'm enjoying it and am trying to prepare for the day I will pack up and return home to continue waging the good fight. Each day the prospect of practicing law in the South becomes more inviting and I often wish I were graduating this year. Wow! the things I could help with!.

Paul, I must end this letter now or I will not get any studying done tonight. Take care.

Sincerely,

Weldon J. Rougeau

Regards to members of the staff and members of the Exec. Committee

JUDAISM FACES DE-SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(based on sermon by Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
of Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, Georgia)

On the afternoon of Yom Kippur, we read the following prayer from our Union Prayer Book: "O Lord, hasten the day when all evil shall be destroyed and wickedness be no more. Quicken us to work with the righteous of all nations and creeds, to bring about Thy kingdom upon earth, so that hatred among men shall cease, that the walls of prejudice and pride separating peoples, shall crumble and fall, and war be destroyed forever." The challenge of this prayer is not a new one. Jews have ever put on the armor of their faith to do battle in the arena of life. Moses struggled to teach his wandering people their obligation as a nation to uphold the law of God. The prophets risked unpopularity and bodily harm to bring the message of group morality. Judaism concerns itself with national ethics and universal morals. Injustice, inequity, inequality, loss of human rights anywhere challenge the basic principles of Jewish ethics. In our own day and time, we have looked at the problems of modern life with this same religious realism. Judaism speaks out on war and peace, communism and democracy. For us Jews, religion has never been just a way of looking at certain aspects of life. It is a certain way of looking at all of life -- or it is nothing at all. Judaism concerns itself mightily with the application of its principles to the business of living.

Now, we Jews, particularly here in the South, face another critical area of decision. Our highest court has handed down

a decision which has distressed and even outraged the South. In declaring segregation in the public schools a violation of the Constitution, the court struck at the very roots of Southern custom and law. We live in the South. What shall be our course of action? Much as we might prefer, we cannot close our eyes to the problem. We would be less than honest -- and more than a little foolhardy if we refused to consider it. We must bring the noblest ideals of our faith to bear upon the grave shock to our accepted pattern of life. How shall we, as Jews living in the South, meet the issue of desegrated schools?

Let me begin by acknowledging the supreme delicacy of the problem. A way of life, a pattern of behavior is being threatened. I firmly believe that none outside the South can fully appreciate the cataclysmic changes -- emotionally and spiritually -- that the implementation of the decision will require. Deep-rooted prejudices are involved. Generations of indoctrination must be erased from the mind and heart of man. For us, as Jews, a further complication makes itself felt. We, ourselves, are a tiny minority. We still have our own problems of security and acceptance. Shall we endanger our own safety by becoming involved in this larger struggle? This is a question yet to be answered. But face it we must.

Certainly, the problem is not a Jewish problem. But it is a religious one. Religion, teacher of the moral law, driving force to lift the eyes of man to nobler vision, cannot

ignore its responsibility in this explosive field. Morality and ethics are involved. Oddly enough, one of the first to sense that fact was the governor of Georgia. In his first statement after the court handed down its decision, he declared that the court had overstepped its area of authority. He held that this was not a matter of law at all, but a matter of public morals. I find myself in full agreement with him -- as far as he goes. But how can something be a matter of morals -- and not of law? Can we make a distinction between that which is moral and that which is legal? Or, to put it another way: If we recognize the desirability of a goal from the moral point of view, are we not obligated to seek its attainment by legal means? Does not law -- at least in our Western World -- seek to make real the ideals of the Judaeo-Christian ethic? It is illegal to take a human life under western law. Is it not also immoral? It is a violation of the law to form great trusts that prevent little men from earning a living. Is it not likewise unethical? All law is based upon the rules of moral conduct. Particularly in this realm of the acceptance of one's fellow-man as his equal not only in God's sight but in man's eyes as well. In my own mind there is not the slightest doubt that this is not only religion's purview, but religion's urgent responsibility as well.

Christianity has already accepted its role. Just a few months ago, the World Council of Churches met in Evanston. From that meeting, a magnificent statement was made public challenging the members of those churches to live by the ideals of their respective faiths. Here in Atlanta, the Christian

Council devoted one of its sessions to the subject of desegregation. A minister spoke on behalf of every denomination represented in the Council. Not a single one of them dissented from the position that segregation was a violation of Christian ethics. We are not surprised. But there is comfort and strength in the realization that all religions join with us in resolute determination to abide by the unanimous decision of the court.

Let us be clear on Judaism's position in the matter. The belief in the equality of all men is rooted deeply in Jewish teachings and tradition. The statement of Malachi has become classic in our heritage. It was he who said: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us all?" The Talmud asks the pertinent question: "Why did God create only one man -- Adam -- when he made the world?" And answers its own question in these words: "So that no man could one day claim 'My father is better than yours, hence I am superior to you." All men are descended from the same common ancestor and no one is better than anyone else. As Jews -- even in the South -- we must face up to the nobility of our heritage. Customs and mores may prevent us from living up to our ideals -- but let them not force us to abrogate and deny them. This is one area of human life in which we have fallen short of our spiritual ideal. But we dare not find excuses for our own failure by seeking to tarnish the ideal. God's way is perfect; man has fallen short.

Not long ago, I came upon a letter in one of our local papers which addressed itself to this delicate problem. It was written, I am sure, by a truly religious person. The writer declared that God did intend absolute equality -- but

such a goal was too lofty for earthly men. Therefore, we were doomed to prejudice on earth -- but would find all men equal in Heaven. As Jews, we deny that any goal is too lofty for man to strive for or too difficult for him to reach. I have heard it said that God meant there to be distinctions among men, else why did He create some black, some yellow, and some white? We do not quarrel with God's wisdom in creating variety in His world. But it is man -- not God -- who attaches labels of inferiority and superiority to the differences. When we believe that just because someone is different from ourselves -- in race or religion, or just in physical size or color of eyes or hair -- that person is inferior to us, then we put human evaluations on what God has made. The Jewish position is crystal clear. We recognize our failures. We admit our inability to accept the highest ideal. We even understand the practical reasons for our thus falling short of perfection. But the ideal remains. The goal still beckons. We know where we want to go, that for which we never cease to strive. And we find comfort and hope in the rabbinic promise: "It is not incumbent upon thee to finish the work, but neither art thou free to desist from it altogether."

I am confident that most Jews -- even in the South -- would agree "in principle" with the ideals and philosophies of Judaism. The rub comes when we are forced to apply those principles to a specific problem -- especially one in so sensitive an area as that of race relations. Yet the problem still remains -- and we cannot easily ignore it. What, if anything, are we going to do about the Supreme Court decision which outlaws segregation in our public schools?

First of all, it is important to face reality. The Supreme Court is the final arbiter of law. That Court has spoken out with one voice in opposition to schools that are segregated. Unless we are prepared to place the South outside the law of the land, we must eventually accept its authority for ourselves as for all other Americans. Secondly, we must guard against acts irrational or hysterical. The "blood will run in the streets" theme is the last refuge of the demagogue. As religious people, let us make very certain that we will not be driven to violence. The plan to destroy the public school system is equally reprehensible. We need not discuss the technical difficulties inherent in it. But for the South deliberately and wilfully to give up its hard and newly won educational advances would surely demolish the very progress of which we are so justly proud. What man of intelligence burns down his house to rid himself of an unwelcome guest? All the more foolish is such an act when we do not even know whether the visitor is unwelcome or not. After all, we've never really had him in the house. Had him as an equal, that is. And therein lies the real crux of the matter.

We have a stubborn pride -- a pride that insists upon preserving our own feelings of superiority at all costs. I have seen in the South a much warmer, much closer relationship between Negro and white than I observed up North. Here, we trust Negroes with our children as their nurses, we develop

deep loyalties to them, we smile indulgently when the children of our servants play with our own. What possible difference would there be if we allowed them to go to the same schools? Would a teacher be on more intimate terms with our children than a nursemaid? Of course not. It isn't a matter of how close the relationship -- what counts is the basis for the relationship. As long as the Negro is in a position of inferiority, any degree of comradeship seems acceptable. Shall we, then, throw away our cherished school system just to satisfy our pride?

Personal experience leads me to believe that if we do not let ourselves be stampeded, we shall discover that the prospect of integration is worse than the reality. One of my army assignments sent me to a center where returning veterans came with their wives for two weeks of rest and relaxation. All our guests for that two week period lived in a hotel. There was no segregation -- and a large number of our men were from the South. I watched the first gasp of disbelief when a new arrival first entered the lobby or the dining room. And I watched also as the days went by during which all consciousness of difference on the basis of color disappeared. We of the permanent personnel made no overt effort to promote harmony or to avert friction. Yet friendships were formed, and enemies were made -- but the measure was the measure of inner worth, not outer color. Once the startling novelty of the situation wore off, men of different color found that they could live together in friendliness and understanding, each group respecting the social patterns of the other. Similar reactions have been

noted in similar circumstances of civilian life. The situation is far from hopeless if we are willing to approach it with patience and idealism.

Patience is a virtue without which this whole magnificent effort to bring man nearer to his noblest self is doomed to certain failure. Communities both white and Negro will stand in need of it in giant doses. We will not come to integration all at once and completely. To bridge the gap of two hundred years of history and social custom in a single leap is to court only disaster. To attempt this policy of integration at the top level and on major issues would be foolhardy and fraught with danger. We must first learn to know each other little by little, meeting in small groups with problems of mutual interest: a few parents whose hearts make them willing, sitting down together to discuss protection for their children at a dangerous intersection. A handful of people talking over together free clothing for needy children or common problems of health and hygiene. They will become less strange to one another, they will find that they have common problems despite the difference in color. Gradually, a rapport will be built up upon which the idea of common schools will no longer loom so menacing and foreboding. At the present moment, the two races are separated by a rushing torrent. No one can safely cross to the other side. But one day a log will lodge itself between the opposite shores and balance precariously there. Someone more courageous -- and perhaps you will want to say -- more foolhardy than the rest will take a chance and dart across it. A few more may take the risk. But soon another log will rest against the first, creating

now a more secure footing. Others will now brave the torrent. Then, still a third board will add itself to the other two. Mayhap, one of those who found the strangers across the way not so strange after all, will deliberately add a log to the growing jam. At long last, a bridge will be built, firm and safe, upon which even the most timid will walk without fear. This, I believe, is the way it will be. We want, we expect, no revolution in ideas or customs. That way, only failure beckons. Real progress comes through quiet evolution. Let us have the patience to forbear -- but always persist in reaching out for the realization of our highest hopes and noblest dreams.

For us, as Jews, the very same need to persist prevails. We must above all be sure of the moral principles of our faith. Like the Israelites who left Egypt, we, too, must go up armed in our search for the Promised Land. As with them, so our weapons will be the knowledge of God's law and the faith that it will one day become the law of mankind. Guided with such armor of faith as this, we shall be prepared for skirmishes along the way. Then, sure of our principles, we must quietly put those principles to work -- not as Jews but as men and women steeped in a religious faith. It will serve no good purpose for us to become the champions of the struggle. To storm the deeply rooted ramparts of tradition in the vanguard of the attack, far in advance of those whom we had hoped to lead, before adequate preparation has been made is the course of fools. For us to set ourselves up as champions of the cause may well destroy the cause. But neither dare we absent ourselves from the fray. For to do so would mean that we have surrendered our religious

ideals and turned traitor to our heritage as Jews. We must be true to that heritage -- else the very foundation upon which we build shall be swept away.

What practical courses are available to us in meeting this crucial problem? Let me list a few that come to mind:

First, we must understand that the issue involved is a religious issue. That means that whatever Jews do and whatever they say must be rooted in their religious heritage. It also means that they must speak through and with the voice of their Synagogues -- institutions which symbolize the religion of Israel. In those communities in which there are Community Councils or other formally organized representatives, the speaking may be done in conjunction with them. But the important point is that we must not leave it to the secular Jewish organizations to take a stand on our behalf. Judaism -- not just Jews -- must be heard on the subject.

Secondly, if we are to speak, we must speak intelligently. We have to know what the problem is -- and what Judaism has to say about it. To the end of self-education, we should organize study groups through which members of our congregations may learn the social philosophy of Judaism and study the history and present status of the fight for negro equality.

Thirdly, our consideration of this particular subject should culminate in the creation of a Social Action Committee in every congregation which would keep pace with the developments in the fight against segregation and serve as spokesman to the congregation and on behalf of the congregation in this field of social action.

Finally, it is my strong conviction that in the struggle to bring about integration in our schools, we Jews need not participate alone -- but along with all other citizens of like mind of whatever religious denomination. There will be many such; let us range ourselves at their side, working quietly and patiently with all who seek to bring life as it is into consonance with life as we would like it to be. Together Judaism and Christianity can develop new patterns of human behavior and together fulfill the prophetic promise: "Behold, I will create a new heaven and a new earth."

Sent to Mr. Zogle

(Roberts

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS

PHOTOGRAPHER

31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Rec'd 10/2/63

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for calling and giving me some notion of what that group of women are about.

I had a call this morning from Polly Cowan. She did say that "the group" were coming to Atlanta Thursday or Friday, meet with Mrs. Tilly and a delegation from Selma, and then proceed to Selma. In trying to pin her down on my role in their activities, she said that she hadn't been able to raise expense money for me, but still thought that she might. However I suggested or stated that I wanted a clearer idea of what I was to do and some plan. My suggestion was that I wait until they returned and if I go at all, go alone. If this group establishes contacts in Selma, Americus, I am somewhat ready to take the risks involved. A friend of mine who has taken some "sneaky, risky, photographs" has given me some good ideas on ways of concealing a camera.

Aside from this group, Leslie, a month or so ago, I was mulling over the idea of a story on the negro children. At that time, I thought of writing to you, but got buried in work. My idea was to take a two or three week jaunt around to some of the cities where the children have been active in the South. Take a tape recorder and a camera. Who are these children(photographs) and why are they protesting(interviews)? It is the kind of story that might even work itself into a book. Of course, the problem of money arises. I would be willing to do it if I could find someone to give me expense money only. Nothing would be better than my old Chevy with the South Carolina license for the tour. And I have the feeling that I would come up with good material. I have a way with all southerners--rich and poor, black and white. I move about easily, quietly, am a good listener, say little myself. When I worked for Roy Stryker, I had the reputation of being the photographer who could be sent out, handle difficult people and situations, and return with the photographs. And I have the feeling that despite the change of conditions, I could still come back with the goods.

So, I am wondering if you could make any suggestions about who you think might be willing to donate expense money for such a project? Would the Taconic Foundation be interested? If so, who would I see there? Would certainly appreciate any ideas you might have. And, again, many thanks, for your call.

Cordially,

Martha

Oct.1,1963

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A follow up on my letter of yesterday. Just this morning a friend of mine at NBC told me that the National Council of Churches's Committee on Religion and Race had money and was sending people to the South. He didn't know anyone on the Committee that I could contact. I am wondering if you know anyone there that I might call and go up and see?

Of course, I am still interested in any suggestions that you might have on someone or anyone at the Taconic Foundation that I might see. Or names of people at any group or organization that might give me expense money in return for my professional services in helping "the cause".

Best wishes,

Martha

October 2, 1963

via air mail

October 25, 1963

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

How much expense money do you need?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

via air mail November 18, 1963

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

I probably should have gone into some detail during our telephone conversation Friday, but I didn't want to use up your money. As I said in my letter to you a couple weeks ago, we can meet your expenses up to $1,200, but it has to be on an expense basis. This means filing expense accounts. I am enclosing a check for $500.000 which ought to get you down here and more, and we can advance additional money later. But I do have to ask you to keep a record of expenses, and I am enclosing, for that purpose, a couple of our expense account forms.

Just to recapitulate a bit. We shall expect to receive a number of photographs, mutually agreed on, and accompanying texts for them derived from your interviews. We would, also, of course, want publishing rights to these photographs and texts. While we understand that you will be covering any aspects of the civil rights movement which interests you, the only material we would want would be coverage of voter registration activity.

Nor do we expect that all of your coverage of voter registration activity would be assigned to us. I think you will find that we can work all this out satisfactorily to all concerned.

Best wishes, and I look forward to seeing you in a few days.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Nov. 18 1963

RHA

LWD

Please draw a check for Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts in the amount of $500.00 and charge to REGISTRATION AND VOTING SURVEY.

Rec'd 10/30/63

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I'd say $1200. It's not because I eat so much or live so lavishly on the road. It's because film, processing, and enlargements are expensive.

Yesterday, by way of somebody knowing somebody, etc., I saw a young man at the National Council of Churches. He has been hired as a full time staff photographer for their Committee on Race and Religion. He said he had been given free-wheeling there. The few photographs of his that he showed me were a bit too slick for my taste. When I asked him how long he had been there, he replied, "Only since September". But then, quickly added, "But I've been intensely interested in this problem since way back near the 1st of August". I was left speechless.

Let me know what you think of my sum.

Cordially,

Martha

October 29,1963

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

10/25/63

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Don't you ever answer letters?

Over the luncheon table today and by way of the grapevine I heard that the Taconic Foundation sent a photographer into Mississippi back in July or August. I knew her slightly when she use to live here in New York. She is now a housewife in Youngstown, Ohio. She has never been a real working photographer. She speaks with a heavy Hungarian accent and although her heart is in the right place, she has never been a very good photographer.

Well, is it too late? Has Martha missed the boat? Won't you give me the name of someone at the Taconic Foundation that I can go and see?

Cordially,

Martha

October 23,1963

PS. Have never heard a word from "the ladies" that came southward. Or did they come?

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Rec'd 10/2/63

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Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for calling and giving me some notion of what that group of women are about.

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Cordially,
Martha

Oct.1,1963

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A follow up on my letter of yesterday. Just this morning a friend of mine at NBC told me that the National Council of Churches's Committee on Religion and Race had money and was sending people to the South. He didn't know anyone on the Committee that I could contact. I am wondering if you know anyone there that I might call and go up and see?

Of course, I am still interested in any suggestions that you might have on someone or anyone at the Taconic Foundation that I might see. Or names of people at any group or organization that might give me expense money in return for my professional services in helping "the cause".

Best wishes,

Martha

October 2, 1963

RHA

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date 11/27 19 63

TRAVEL (type of transportation & destination)

New York City-Washington, D.C. (train)

Washington, D.C.-Atlanta, Georgia (automobile)

(auto @ .08 per mile) $ 86.32

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

New York City and Washington, D.C. $ 3.65

HOTEL (dates & places)

Washington, D.C. (11/25/63)

$ 11.50

MEALS

New York City-Washington, D.C. (train), Washington, D.C.

enroute Washington, D.C. to Atlanta, Georgia $ 11.55

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize) Film, rental of tape recorder, tapes, telephone $ 332.43

Total $ 445.45

Less Advance $ 500.00

Total Due $ 54.55

Signed Martha McMillan Roberts
(Please type or print)

Address 31 West 9th St City & State New York, N.Y.

Date and purpose of trip For photographs and written material on voter registration

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date January 20,1964 19____

TRAVEL(type of transportation & destination)

Automobile--Atlanta, Ga., Alabama(in and around),
Mississippi(in and around) and return to
New York City
(auto @ .08 per mile) $ 299.60

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINES, ETC.

$ _____

HOTEL (dates & places)

Selma, Ala., Clarksdale, Miss, Greenville, Miss.,
Jackson, Miss., Greenwood, Miss., Baton Rouge, $ 186.45
La., Raleigh, N.C.

MEALS

In above places and enroute
$ 225.25

OTHER EXPENSES (itemize) Postage, Tel., Office
Supplies, Processing, Typist, Tape Recorder
Rental $ 187.11

897.41

Total $ 897.31

Less Advance $ 794.00

Total Due $ 103.31

Signed Martha McMillan Roberts
(Please type or print)

Address 31 West 9th Street City & State New York 11, ~~N.Y.~~ New York

Date and purpose of trip Voter Registration

Make folder

January 24, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

Glad to hear from you, and please keep me informed. I hope you will see a publisher soon.

Now as to business matters. We agreed to meet your expenses "up to $1,200." In return we were to receive "a number of photographs, mutually agreed on, and accompanying texts"; both of these to be confined to voter registration activity. When you described to me your interviews, I further said that if you would have them transcribed for us we would pay the typist charge; these would be of great interest to us, and would be a good form of "accompanying texts."

Your expense accounts are a little confusing (where does the $794.00 advance on the second one come from? -- see copies enclosed), but they seem to add up this way:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1st expense account | $ 445.45 |
| 2nd " " | 898.41 |
| | $1,343.86 |

We agreed to pay $1,200, and we have. In addition, we'll pay the typist fee when you send in the transcripts; if eight of them cost $85.00, the entire 15 should be about $160.

If this isn't the way you understood it, either as to the photographs or the transcipts, please let me know. And good luck with the publishers.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2 (Expense account forms)

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Forgive my delay in writing. Since my return, I have been buried under with trying to carry on a smattering of free lance business ant at the same time trying to get my Mississippi material together.

How right you were about the job of transcribing tapes. At first, I hired a typist, a southerner. She was slow, broke one tape, and it ended up that I had to sit down and translate the dialect. I hired another. She couldn't understand the first word. So, I started in doing it myself. It has been tedious and meant getting to bed at hours like 4:30 and even two mornings at 8AM.

As of now, I have 8 tapes typed up. There are 7 more. But, I feel that these eight tapes are representative and that it is best to spend my time now on trying to do something with them. I plan to see your friend, Bob Peters, at CBS. If they can use any of the material, I am sure they would do their own editing. However, before I can show them to any publisher, I have the job ahead of editing these eight stories. They need cutting and rearranged to make them more coherent and readable. There is one in particular that I want to get to work on tonight. It is the story of a young mother of five, an SCLC worker in Cleveland, Miss. Her story isn't pointed so much toward what she has done in "the movement", but more toward her life in Miss. and what the system has done to it. She tells it with so much sensitivity. And I had tears streaming down my cheeks as I transcribed it.

I am enclosing the expense account. All toll, my trip expenses run about $18 over the original $1200. On top of the $18, I have added a typist expense of $85. This included what I paid out to the two typist plus a fee for myself. As for my fee, I am not basing it on actual time spent, but rather, on the time it would have taken a professional typist who would have been faster. That is if she could have understood the dialect. So, if my figures agree with those of your accountant, then you owe me $103.

I will certainly keep you informed on my progress in trying to get the material put into use.

Cordially,
Martha

January 20,1964

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Forgive me for not giving you a recent report on my Mississippi material. While I was trying to get enough of it together to show, I was, of course, trying to carry on my rent-paying free lance business. On top of this, we had a fire here in my building. Although, thank God, I escaped fire, I did have water damage. I did have about $500 of photographs ruined and my insurance agent tells me that since they are business and not personal property my insurance does not cover them. But, thank God, the tapes were in a metal drawer. I was out of the apartment for 10 days and at this writing have just resettled in it.

But about the material. While Congress was debating the Civil Rights Bill, I had a sudden pang of guilty conscience about having these tapes. I felt that maybe this was the time when they should be heard. I called your friend, Bob Peters, at CBS. He checked with CBS Radio and reported back to me that (1) CBS did not buy any outside tapes, and (2) tapes like my Arron Henry and Annelle Ponder tapes are libelous. Then, I called a friend of mine who is Director of Public Affairs Programs at NBC. He said that they might use some of the material on MONITOR, but they would cut them up and use them as brief spots. I didn't want this. I called WOR. They weren't interested. At this point, I had a change of mind. I decided to continue working on them myself.

Just before the fire in my house I did two things. I sent some of the material to the SATURDAY EVE POST. Although it is certainly off-beat material for them, I thought they might just use it because they are desperate these days. I haven't heard from them. Then, as you suggested, I took some of the material to Guy Bolte at VIKING. Last week, I had a call from him saying that he and two others had read the material. They thought it extremely well written, they liked the idea of a book of about 20 of these stories. That he had now sent the material on to the President of VIKING for his approval or disapproval. He ask if I could send him more material in the meantime. I have just sent him one other story.

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS

PHOTOGRAPHER

31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Now, you wanted transcripts of the tapes. But the thing is, if the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL puts it out in a booklet, then I can't use it. And I feel that you would certainly agree with me that it is important to try and get the material out and read by the widest possible audience. As far as the photographs go, I told you that the few I did get were mostly of the people I taped. These, of course, are useless because I realize now that I wouldn't dare use them for fear of retaliation against these people. As it is, I am worried about retaliation for these people from my stories even though I've cut out names and places. But, of course, everybody in Mississippi is going to know who these people are.

Guy Bolte said that he would call sometime this week and give me a definite decision. If VIKING turns it down, I will take the material on to your friend, Bob Goodman, at HARCOURT.

Cordially,

Martha

March 9,1964

Make folder
also
Make 3x5 address card

March 11, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

Your letter was a mixture of good and bad tidings. I am terribly sorry about the fire and your loss of photographs. I would hate to see you lose any of your photographs, but I infer from what you write that the loss may have included many of your southern shots; which makes it all especially distressing.

But I am delighted that you had encouragement from Viking, and I hope this will come to a successful conclusion. I am also delighted that you got turned down by the radio people. I have never seen the point in your wasting your stuff in bits and pieces, and if you think release of your material is going to affect the civil rights bill you are, I'm afraid, politically naive; so tell your "guilty conscience" to go hang.

Now as to SRC. I have never, at any time, told you that we wanted to put out a "booklet." We are running here a very big voter registration effort; your interviewees were people working on it. We shall, when we are finished with it, publish a book about the project. We need all the research material we can get. It's for this reason only that we commissioned you, and we want something! We do not

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intend, and never did intend, to publish your tapes by themselves. For our purpose, they might furnish quotes and would certainly be wonderful background notes.

We have no intention of interfering in any way at all with your publication plans. Get it read if you can by the "widest possible audience," but don't assume that this is our specific interest. Our interest is our book.

As to the photographs, don't you think we could exercise some judgment about their use? We are not callous. It had occurred to us that our book, which will not be published before late next year or 1966, could be enhanced by some photographs.

If Viking, or any other publisher, does give you a contract we would appreciate an acknowledgement.

I'll be up your way much of the week of April 13. Maybe we could talk.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The enclosed are transcribed from tapes--Aaron Henry, James Bell, and Willy Peacock, James Jones, Charles McLaurin. These are the tapes that deal with Voter Registration. The three tapes that I have worked up into stories do not deal with Voter Registration. There are still tapes that I simply haven't had the time to spend in transcribing ~~xxxx~~. This typing things from tape takes hours. The Aaron Henry one alone took me about 6½ hours. And it was the easiest one--articulate and practically no dialect.

The SAT EVE POST turned the stories down and now I have sent them on to LOOK. Guy Bolte called saying the Pres. of Viking(whoever he is) had decided, No. Reason was that they now have six public service books in the making and he didn't want another one. Since then, I have called your friend Bill Goodman at Harcourt. He in turn, referred me to Jeanette Hopkins whom I have been unable to reach.

Do you want to contribute to my time spent in transcribing? If so, these three tapes took me 15 hours. It isn't the cleanest copy, but if you only want it for research then it should be sufficent.

I will let you know what happens at LOOK and HARCOURT.

Cordially,

Martha

March 17,1964

file"

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Under separate cover, I am sending along 8 tapes. On some, the entire tape is to be transcribed. On others, only a part of the tape. I have designated which is which on each box.

I beg of you not to let these transcriptions circulate and this goes for the story "Life in Mississippi" which I gave to you. Right now, these stories are my "exculsives", but I have no patent on them. As I told you, I've had experience with ideas which I have told or given to editors and later discovered that my idea has suddenly become their own idea.

If you can think of any way for me to raise money to make a book, I will give you a rebate like with HOLT and let the Internal Revenue wonder what it is about. After putting 2 and 2 together, I suspect that your telephone call from Guy Bolte was really one of fishing to see if SRC would be the "advance giver" for the completion of my book. This makes me wonder if a re-opening of negogiations wouldn't be possible with VIKING should I find the money elsewhere. Today, I have been debating whether or not to send the material on to JOHN DAY or HARPER'S.

It was, indeed, good to see you and talk with you.

With best wishes,

Martha

April 17,1964

File
Roberts, Martha

April 24, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

The tapes have arrived, and we'll do the best we can with them. I mean by that that we'll get them transcribed as rapidly as possible, and will send them to you as they are completed.

After reading over your "Life in Mississippi" story, I am truly eager to see the book published; that piece is very good, and I do mean it. It is irritating to me that publishers would need or want any subsidy for publishing material like this. And so I would hope that you would pursue it with a couple others of the houses. If you still find that some kind of subsidy is going to be necessary, and could ascertain the amount, I would try to do want I could to help you raise it. Let's move as rapidly as possible.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET · NEW YORK CITY · GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A little over a week ago, I sent my southern material on to the JOHN DAY COMPANY. I discovered that they are a very small publishing house owned by Pearl Buck's husband and that PUTNAM does their sales and distribution. I will give them the customary 10 days or two weeks before checking with them. Should they turn it down, I will next try HARPER'S. After that I don't know. There is DOUBLEDAY and there is MC GRAW-HILL and MACMILLAN. But it is probably hopeless with all of them for up until now they haven't been interested in this subject.

Do send the transcriptions on as they are completed and I will start burning the midnight oil in putting them together. And many thanks for SRC's taking on this chore of transcription for me.

I will keep you informed on the progress or non-progress with JOHN DAY and HARPER'S.

With best wishes,

Martha

April 27,1964

May 12, 1964

file →

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

We've finished three of the tapes and are sending them back to you along with the transcripts. as follows:

Freedom Poems by Mrs. Lois Rogers

Gene Young, Cliff Garrett
(Cliff, Johnny and Willy discuss)

Youth Meeting in Jackson, Miss.

Others will follow as they are completed.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

P. S. -- They're done in very rough draft, but I think the important thing is to get off tape an accurate transcription.

File: Roberts, Martha McM.

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Many, many thanks for the transcripts on the three tapes. Since I, myself, have transcribed seven of the tapes, I know quite well that it is a slow and tedious job. And, thus, I am ever so grateful to you people for doing it for me.

Sincerely,

Martha R

May 30,1964

File
Roberts, Martha
McMillan

June 4, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Martha:

I don't know what Bob Coles might want. Why don't you drop him a note? His address is Coolidge Road, Concord, Massachusetts.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MARTHA McMILLAN ROBERTS
PHOTOGRAPHER
31 WEST 9TH STREET - NEW YORK CITY - GRAMERCY 7-1289

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

After all these weeks, John Day & Co. finally returned my southern stories saying, "No." I immediately packaged them up again and sent them on to HARPER & ROW. I would imagine that my chances there are slim because they have been publishing so much of this. But, we shall see.

Linda is staying with me now. I regret that Peggy isn't coming as far northward as NYC. It would be good to see her and talk with her.

With best wishes,

Martha

May 30,1964

PS. By the way, do you think that Robert Coles might use a photographer in his migrant study? If so, how would I get in touch with him?

July 1, 1964

Mrs. Martha McMillan Roberts
31 West 9th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

We've finally finished the remaining five tapes, which are being sent to you under separate cover. The transcripts are enclosed:

Eileen (Selma, Alabama)

Shirley and Alice Thompson, Parts I and II

Willy Earl and Dorothy Higgins

Dorothy Higgins, Part II

For whatever it's worth, Eileen spells her name Ilean near the end of the tape.

I'm sorry it has taken this long to complete this job, but we've had to sandwich it in with other chores.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

PART I

**WILLY EARL**
~~WILLIE EARL~~

My name is Willy James Earl, and I am fifteen years old. I am a junior high student at Joyce Street High School of Greenwood, Mississippi. I was born here in Mississippi, and have lived here all of my life.

I am now working with the civil rights movement here in Mississippi. I have four brothers and three sisters. My older sister is twelve years old. She is in Cleveland, Ohio.

The way I started working in civil rights is that I went to a mass meeting one night, and I got very interested in the mass meeting. I was afraid, because I had heard my parents talking about people shooting in houses, and killing people with bombs, and all like that. I didn't mind this, so I came to the office one Saturday morning and asked permission to join the civil rights movement. I got permission. I told my mother about this, and she said that was good, because she didn't think that I had the courage to join the civil rights movement. I've been working after school. During the summer time I will be working all part time in Mississippi, and probably out of Mississippi.

My ~~mother~~ grandmother is a housewife, and my mother works for a white lady. Before I was born, my mohher lived on the yard. When my mother got sick, she left the yard but the white lady didn't want ~~here~~ her to leave. She was very nice to my mother. My mother left and went to her sister's house on Ash Street in Greenwood, Mississippi. This is where I was born -- on Ash Street; 724 Ash Street. My father works at the Corporate Elevator Company in Greenwood, Miss., and he gets a salary of $50.00 a ~~wee~~ week. The

people that he works for are very nice. During my childhood, to time I was going to McLaurin Street School in Greenwood, I was meddled by white kids. I also got to fighting with a white boy about a bicycle that belonged to me. The way the fight started there was a friend girl of mine riding a bicycle, and he liked this colored girl, and he tried to take the bicycle from me. I liked this girl also, so I made him get off my bicycle, and he hit me and ran into the house. I told him he wouldn't come out of the house, he was afraid. He came out of the house and we started fighting. My aunt ran across the street and stopped us. He cussed me for everything he could think of -- he called me "nigger." It didn't hurt me, because I'm proud that I am black. A "nigger" can be anything. My mother always told me not to let words hurt me. She said that if you're black, be proud that you are black; if you're white, be proud that you are white, because black and white will be together some day. She said that our blood is the same, our hearts are the same -- the only difference is our skin, and if skin makes any difference, this world would not be as it is now.

Before I knew anything about what a "nigger" was I used to play with white kids that lived next door to a friend that my mother worked for. They were very nice to me, but when they were called in to eat at lunch time, I couldn't eat with them -- I had to say on the back porch and eat. My mother explained this to me. Every Saturday morning when I watched television at this white boy's house I could sit in his front room, but when breakfast time came, he would as

ask me if I wanted any breakfast. If I said "yes" I would have to sit in the hall or on the back porch and eat. So, I questioned my mother aboutt this, and she told me that I am a Negro and I can't do everything a white person does. I couldn't understand her then, but now I understand that the whites think they are more and better than the Negro. But, I think the Negroes are just as good as the whites; the only thing that is different is that our skins are black and theirs are white.

The way I felt is that I was separated from the white, and so my mother stopped carrying me over there to watch television every Saturday morning. So I had to play with the colored children, and I did but I really wanted to watch television. Didn't many of the colored children's parents have telev isions in their homes, I asked my mother why I couldn't go back over there. She said I would be in her way. I asked the white lady one day if I could come over, and she said if my mother brings me some Satudday morning I could come and stay a little while. So, one Saturday morning my mother woke me up and said she was fixing to go to work and that I could go with her but I couldn't stay in the house and play all the time -- I had to be out of doors to play -- so, I did. During that time my mother started fussing at me and told me that she didn't want to bring me over there anymore because the white people next door were talking and saying that this white woman is letting that "nigger" boy do everything; she must like some of those "niggers" too. So my mother stopped carrying me over there.

From that time on I ~~hasa~~ thought that I could never play with a ~~bl~~ white boy again. I was wrong.

I've met some more white friends while I've been working in civil rights, and ~~&sa~~ I'm having a very nice timex now ~~as~~ acting as brothers and sisters.

My mother is working for Mr. & Mrs. Chatman who stay on Grand Boulevard in North Greenwood, Greenwood, Mississippi. Mrs. Chatman is ~~are~~ originally from California, and she is married and has three kids -- two boys and one girl. They are like Negro people, I'd say. They don't make any differende -- when they get ready for my mother to eat, they will let her eat at the table with them. My mother has to work late at night. Mrs. Chatman will tell my mother to ~~bra~~ bring the kids over to watch television. We have a television also -- I do at least -- I have a television of my own. But Mrs. Chatman has a color TV. So we go over there and watch color TV. She asks us if we are hungry and if we say "yes" she will go in and ~~fix~~ fix a sandwich or two - or anything like that. She will even let us eat at the table with them/ When my baby sister was born, she was the first white lady to come to the house to see the baby. Mrs. Nader, she came, the white lady and many others, so did Mrs Freeman, that's who my grandmother is working for. My mother raised Mrs. Freeman's little girl from the time she was a baby until she was seven years old. My mother got sick with the sweet diabetes so she quit working. ~~Now~~ Now my mother works there part-time for Mrs. Chapman and they give her clother that my family would like and her baby would wear all the clothes -- they're brand new. She don't do like most white people

that gives the clothes they have worn. If these clothes are worn she has them cleaned and gives them to my mother. The family that my mother has benn working for recently, during the civil rights voter registration, this certain white man told my motherto go down and register that he would like to see the Negroes have a better life than they are having--so mother went down and registered. The next morning he asked her, "did you register" and she replied, "yes," and he said, "that's good."

High School in Greenwood, Mississippi, I am a senior in Junior High School, I am in the eighth grade, and 15-years old. I have flunked one year, playing, that's the reason I flunked. The reason I'm in eighth grade now I started school when I was seven years old. The reason I didn't go to school we lived in the country most of the time--part-time at least. Well, our school is a very nice school, its built nice. The only thing that's different we don't have the right kind of teachers. Our principal is a Uncle Tom. He doesn't want to get the kids involved in the movement in school--in the civil rights. The kids are afraid but they also come to xmass meetings but if he thinks you are passing reports out about the mass meeting, he will expel you from school or either whip you. And about the teachers, they are not all graduates of colleges, they are high school graduates and they are trained on the Negroes schooling. I don't think that nice because if you flunk when the student teacher is teaching you you are automatically flunked. Our school is nicely built. I am majoring in history, I'm an A student in history I have the highest mark in my history class and my next major is English but I can do better in mathamatics,

Well what I want to be in life is a singer, like Chubby Checker the most. I like to sing, and I am also in the Glee Club and taking Physical Education under Mr. Banks. He also talks about the Civil Rights. He asked us what we planned to do. Sometimes he jokes with me--calls me "Freedom" and things like that. I laugh at him.

Mrs. McCannon, my English teacher, has a two year membership card. She keeps it a secret, because she doesn't want to get fired. Sometimes she talks to me secretly. Asks me about what are we going to do to night. So I tell Her.

But my homeroom teacher, he is afraid. He has told me to try to stay out of jail, not to go back again. He says my education is more important. I told him to gain my civil rights and my equality is more important to me than my education. But I will go to school, to get this education. I am going to attend school as long as it takes.

I plan to finish school, and go to the best college in Mississippi or out of Mississippi. I would really like to go to Ole Miss., and I think I am qualified to go. When I graduate, I will try to go to Ole Miss.

I have been involved in the elections. I have been jailed on the cause of elections. Negro people cashed their freedom ballots all over Mississippi. I traveled through Columbus and Charleston. Came back at even 5:00 clock, and we decided to go down on Johnson Street. So we did. We took two boxes of ballots. We counted the manes wof the people who were running for Governor and Lieut. Governor. We had a Negro man running for Governor and for Lieut. Governor. The Negro man who was running for Governor was Dr. Aaron Henry and a ~~wh~~ white man who is a priest over to Tougloo Southern Christian College, Mr. Edwin King. We asked the people to cash their freedom ballots.

What they did was to check the people who they ~~threw~~ thought was suitable for Governor and Lieut. Governor. What I mean by "freedom ballots" is that if the Negroes had ~~powerful~~ power that would show you how they would vote, and how they would go by voting. We were doing fine. The chief of police came, Chief Curtis Larry, and asked us what we thought we were doing. So we explanined to him what we were doing. So he asked us to move on. We refused to move. He told us that we were on private property. So move off the private property. We moved off the private

~~off the~~ property. We moved back toward a fence. He still said that we were on private property. So we started singing. He kept saying that you all asking for it, so move on. And we all refused to move.

We were then arrested. Five of us. What they tried to do to us was put all of us in car together, but it didn't work out. They took two of my friends and put them in the Chief's car. So we went to the City Hall. They ~~Tony~~ search us. They thought that we might hang ourselves, because we were arrested. They took our belts. While the police was taking my belt, he jerked my lege and I fell bursting my lip. I got mad and pulled my belt off and broke the belt hook off. They threw us in the cell.

The next morning, I ~~ak~~ asked may I use the telephone. He did not let me use the telphone, he cursed me, and told me I had a chance last night, to go home where my mother was. He talked about me so badly. I cried. He asked me what I was doing. I told him my friends and I were trying to get people to cash freedom ballots. He asked what friends. Those "nigger lovers". I said yes.

Each time I was in jail, two or three policemen would ~~-ccm~~ come down and look at me make fun of me. One Sunday they put a man in jail with us who had the rickets. He was very sick. This man was drunk or anything. They put him in there, because I know they knew I was afraid of him. They told this man that I had some whiskey. The man came towards me. I told him I did not have any whiskey, and to go back because I was afraid of him. So the man went back and laid on the bed.

That Sunday evening about 6:30, they let him out of jail. The man was ~~sel~~ slepp-- he had the rickets again. They took him out of jail. The policeman was afraid to touch him his own self. He shoved the man outdoors on the concrete. Called one of prisoners (colored) in the cell with me to go and pick this old man up. So he did. The colored prisoner who picked this old man up, they let him use the telephone, but still would not let me use the telphone.

We got of jail on a hundred dollar bond, until that Wednesday for trial.

We went to ~~trial~~ trial. Two of my friends were white. They had their trial that

Wednesday, but this Negro girl and myself had to come back that Thursday and have our trial. The fifth person went back to California after paying his ~~find~~ fine. We asked for an appeal. That is what we had planned to do was to asked for an appeal.

During my time at trial, the judge asked how did I testify. I said not guilty. He said we suspended your case because you are an minor. I asked may I have an appeal. He said yes you may have an appeal. I asked was I free to go. He said yes. So I asked him was it alright to wait on my friends so I may have a way to get back to school. He said yes if you want to. He said you can to anything you want to. I wanted to wait on my friends until they got ready to go home. About five minutes after I had seated myself, a police asked me to come there. So I went to see what he wanted. He told me outside. He said I could have gone when I had a chance. He threw me back in jail. I asked could I use the telephone, before he put me back in jail----he said no.

While I was going to the cell. A police reached over another policeman and made me bump my head up side the wall. There was only one colored man in the cell that I went into, and he saw the police bump my head. I ~~cride~~ cried, because it really hurt me.

So that evening about 5:30 my white friends came and got us out of jail on a $300 appeal bond. While they were trying to get us out of jail, they were beaten up--coming out the county courthouse. A white man passing by beat them up. They asked help from the policemen, but they told them they got ~~waht~~ what they deserved.

That Friday I went to school. I told my teacher that I had been in jail. He said I heard. He said it was in the news and on television.

That morning about 11:30 I was taking Ph. Education. The police came out to the school. They said they had a warrant out for me. So I went to the office to see ~~waht~~ what they wanted.

The incident that happened one night during July-----I was coming from the I was coming from the Plaza Hotel one night here in Greenwood, on 82 Highway out there. What the man did to me, I left out of the Plaza Hotel and went to the 82 Grill and

I saw this man. I got into the streets and walked around him. So when I came back I did not see this man, and before I got to the hotel, this man attached me. I was locked up that day and was accused of soldemy, which was a lie, because I know better than that. The judge wanted to charge me a $500 bond. Mr. Sam Block asked him why, because I was a minor and why did I have to pay a $500 bond. The judge said he would suspend the case because the man who attached me they let him out of town. This person was Nathaniel Alexander, Mississippian. My principal told me it was best to go to the policeman. I asked him to call my mother, but he refused to do so. He told me to get out of his office, so I left out of the office. While I was entering my principal's office, the policemen had made him get from his desk, and there was a policeman sitting at his desk, one sitting on top of the desk, and the principal had taken a chair out in the lobby.

I also went on the march to Washington, August 28, 1963. To me it was the most exciting thing of all. I didn't know there were going to be as many people as there were. During the time I got hot, we stopped marching we started singing "Ole Freedom". That song means to me that we will get our freedom tomorrow or the next day, but we will get our freedom. I met all kind of people that hadn't ever been to Mississippi, but they had heard of Mississippi. I explained to them why I was up there and it was my first time out of Mississippi, my second time at least.

During my time in Washington, I met a man (white) named Mr. Bill Higs, Mr. Leonard Hill, who was very nice to me and asked me to stay at his house. That day on August 28, I took sick. I had tonsillitis. I went to the doctor at D. C. General in Washington, D. C.. They treated me very nice. They wanted me to talk to me about Mississippi, so I did.

After I left the hospital, we had a party at the Burlington Hotel, and there I had the most exciting time of all. The white kids were dancing with the Negroes like Negroes danced with Negroes. They just come up to you and ask would you like to dance? I danced with the people, because I like to dance, also.

While I was in Washington, I didn't wear any shoes, but one pair of shoes, and they were almost torn off my feet. They gave me money to buy me a pair of shoes. I had twenty or more dollars when I came back to Greenwood that the white people had given me, plus $17 which I had bought me a pair of shoes in Washington, D. C., and a pair of socks.

And now I am writing to my friends in Washington, D. C., Virginia and tell them thank you and how much I would like to visit them again.

My visit to Washington, D. C. was that I wanted freedom, a better education a better home to live in, better school to go to, better streets for my brothers and sisters to walk down and my friends; we do not want to walk ~~down the~~ into the streets, do not want to pay rent for a house that was worth a shack. I think when we get our freedom, it will be the most happiest day of all.

1. We will not have to go to a Negro church all of our lives. We can go to any church we want to; and any kind of work we want to. We won't have to work in the fields all our lives. We can have to opportunity to go to any college we want to. To work ~~any~~ in any kind of store we want to; to do mechanics work if we wish. Be on the police ~~par~~ patrol. I myself would like to see this ~~wer~~ day come for my mother, her sister and her friends, and for my sisters and brothers and my ~~sis~~ friends.

2. I think that when we get our civil rights we will have more equality. We won't be getting beaten by the polices as we are being beaten now. And that when we get Negro policemen they can arrest colored and white. That our children can go to any playground we want to, to any kind of party and be a member to the Youth Center here in Mississippi (it is only for white). We can go to any kind of movie we want to and we wouldn't have to sit upstairs and can ride any cabs we want to.

I hope that when that day comes and we get our freedom that the people of Mississippi will not be afraid to go down to the courthouse and register and to vote the way they want to, also, to vote for the President they want to, the Governor, the Senator or congressman and many others. It will give the Negroes to speak for themselves and their will be no white man interferring with them. And I know that one day the freedom bells will ring for all Negroes and for all whites -- all races.

I am sixteen years old. I am eighth grade in Greenwood High School. I have three sisters and three brothers. My mother and father does not live together. My mother lives on a planation out from Greenwood. My father lives in New York City. I was born in Lefore County, out from Greenwood. I have played with white children all my life, until I was about 14 years old. We played together, and came to visit me, but I never went to visit them. They went to church or to the cafe with me, but I could never go to church or to their cafes with them.

I grew up on a planation out of Greenwood. I picked cotton, but I always went to school during the school season. Sometimes I would stay out of school for a week or two in order to pick cotton.

During the chopping cotton season, the children I played with some whites and some Negroes.(the white children were the planation owners children) whites usually would come and give me a hand while I was in the field picking cotton. After I finish in the afternoon, it was really dark, I would have to go to the house and get water in for the night. My brother would have to cut wood, and my sisters would bring the wood in, also my two younger brothers.

The white kids and I played together during the week. We played hidding, rope, and other games. But when Sunday came we went to Church. The first and third Sunday was our pastorial Sunday, and second and fourth Sundays were the white children pastorial Sundays. During the first and thrid Sundays they could go to church with us, but when it came the second and fourth Sundays we couldn't go to church with them. This continued until I was about 13 or 14 years old. I still played with them during my thirteen year. I stop playing with them because I figured if they could go to church with me, I could go to church with them. If somebody died in our family, they could come to our funeral but if somebody died in their family, we couldn't go to their funerals. I just thought it wasn't right to be like that, so I stopped playing with them. I didn't tell them not to come to my house, I guess they just felt I didn't want them around.

Another reason I stopped playing with the white kids, because when my brother was a boyscout, the white fellow he played with was also a boyscout too, they would ~~pay~~ play games all of the time, and one time they were playing my brother broke his knee or his ankle and he had to go to the doctor, he was 16 years old.....now he is 18 years old and he cannot walk, because this white boy threw him on the ground and stumped his leg or his ankle.

These children I played with went to different schools. I thought it wasn't right for them to go to all white schools and I go to all Negroe schools. They didn't think it was right either. Because we played together yet we had to go to different schools and different churches.

I moved from the planation about one year ago. That is when I became interested in the Civil Rights Movembent. The planation where I was living, the owner told me I couldn't work on the planation and work for the Civil Rights Movement at the same time.....So I moved to Greenwood - 411 St. Charles in order to work for the Civil Rights Movement.

My mother still lives on this planation with my sisters and brothers. All of them still do farm work except my brother, he is 18 years old, he can't ~~work~~. walk. I live in Greenwood with an aunt of mine, and I have been living here for about an year.

During the day I would chop cotton and if there any mass meetings I would attend them and when September came along I started back to school. In October I went to distribute the free press, and I was jailed October 22. ~~They~~That kept me out of school for sometime. I was in jail for about a week for distributing the freedom press. This is a newspaper that carries the Mississippi news. I was let out on a $100 bond. The second day I was out I went to a new High School. I was jailed in Greewood Mississippi for as the polidemen said I was blocking traffice and ~~distributing~~ distrubing the peace. But I know nothing about this. I stayed in jail for about three days.

End of Part one

PART II

I got a few rough treatments in this jail. By rough treatments I mean that when the policeman took me into my cell, he threw me from one side to another side.

There wasn't any water in the cell, except in the toliet. I asked the policeman for some water and he said I couldn't get any...get that out of the toliet.

During the night there was no heat. I almost froze. During the night he would cut the lights off and during the day he would cut them on.

We were bond out on a $100 bond, and then we went to trial. During the trial we were found guilty of distrubing the peace. We were chareged a $300 bond for an appeal, and we went to jail again for a couple of hours, and then we were bonded out.

Since I have been out on appeal, I have been distrubting leaflets about the mass meetings and still going to school and working for SLCC

I am still in high school, and some of my subjects are music, English, Math., and so forth. I hope to finish high school and still work for the Civil Rights Movement and later on in life I would like to be an WAC.

I am with the Civil Rights Movement because I feel that Negroes are baing left behind. Ifeel as if I can do something for the Negroes and my way of showing it is to keep working with the Civil Rights Movement. I am still trying to talk to people to join the Civil Rights Movement.

While working in the Civil Rights Movement, I hope that Negroes will have a brighter day and I am sure that one day they will be considered just as equal an any other man.

YOUTH ~~MISSING~~ meeting
JACKSON, MISS.

~~The reason~~ I am with the demonstrations is to help the ~~Southern~~ colored people ~~people~~ of Mississippi to obtain freedom for all, in the state of Jackson, and I am a freedom fighter, and I have been for the last two years. Jackson, Miss., Feb. 12, 1947.

~~My name is Regina A. Curry, I was born Oct., 31, 1947.~~

~~The reason I am with the movement is one reason because I want to know why when Negroes graduate from high school or college that most of them become can't become a secretary or a president of some business company or another.~~

~~I attend Lanier Junior Senior High School. I am junior.~~

~~The reason I am for it is to try to obtain better jobs for the Negroes for Jackson, Mississippi, because I don't feel that because of your race you should be a second class citizen in the state of Miss. Also I am trying to obtain a scholarship to go to college, Tuskegee.~~

~~The reason I am with the movement is because a better job for the parents. For Negroes to stay of the capitol street.~~

~~My name is William Tyrone Chinn. I have been for the last two years.~~

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money without a permit. We ~~-~~

~~TYRONE CURRY:~~ ~~because they~~ were singing on the back or -

Most of us in this room were lucky enough to march to Washington,(that is to go to Washington)and through some way have been picketing and like that. I mean we have demonstrated on Capitol Street, we have picketed Glorio's, Jitneys Shopping Center, Krogers, and some of the white restaurants and white parks.

Because during the summer ~~they closed~~ we didn't have a chance, they closed our park down, because they were afraid of what might happen in the movement. As the movement was, they closed our parks down, and in October the white people of Jackson had a chance to go to the ~~fier~~ fair, but they didn't give us the opportunity to go to the state fair.

REGINA CURRY:

Another reason why I am with the movement is when the kids were going around to collect money for the kids to go to Washington, they were arrested for begging without a permit.When some of the kinds were walking the streets they said it was aginst the law to walke the street without a permit; and another was soliciting money without a permit. We have some of our members who were arrested from school because they were singing on the back of a truck and ~~distributing~~ distrubing the peace and they were sent to jail for a week and some days.

Some of the charges were ~~distributing~~ distrubing the peace, distrubtor minor,

JESSE JAMES:

I Jesse James, was born in Jackson, Mississippi, on October 1, 1946. I am a member of Jackson movement. I joined the Jackson movement because I was interested in the welfare of the Negroes in Mississippi.

First of all, we started demonstrating in July. On August the 9th I was jailed for 21 days for picketing in front of J. C. Penny's. In jail there, I was kept for 7 days in the city jail, and 14 in the county jail. When my father came to jail to get me out, he was told they never had a person in jail by that name.

YOUTH ~~MISSING~~ meeting 4 3
Jackson, Mississippi
better rights for Negroes

I am not afraid of their threats, mainly because I am a Negro,

JESSE JAMES:
Constitution give us certain rights that ~~wer~~ we are denied of in Mississippi.

WILLIE GIBENS:
When I got out, I joined with the movement again. School had begun. Several friends and myself took a day out of school and went out ot Jim Hill to whether the kids wanted to walk out or not. On our way back, we hitch-hiked a ride on a ~~tbuck~~ truck. The truck carried us as far as a block from Lanier. There we got of the truck and went to Maple Street Projects. There several policemen came. They arrested us. They took us to the school to see did we go to Lanier and we did. Then we were jailed for 5 days, for ~~Starting~~ exciting a riot, trespassing, loitering and distrubing the peace.

While we were in jail we were told not to ever come back to jail again. Me, myself I am 17 years old now, and he told me that if I ever come back again, I would be charged as an adult, surely I would go to county farm for six months. My other friends were off lightly. They were put on probation and I wasn't. ~~Tehy-t~~ They told me I would have to get out of the movement and have nothing to do with, but deep in my heart I ~~believe~~ believe that should continue demonstrating for the better rights for Negores in Mississippi.

I am not afraid of their threats, mainly because I am a Negro, and I know that the Constitution give us certain rights that ~~wer~~ we are denied of in Mississippi.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I ~~am~~ am 16 years of age. I attend Lanier High School. I was born November 6, 1947, in Flint, Michigan. I moved here and joined the movement last summer. There I was in the first march of Farris Street Baptist Chruchm and we were taken to the fair ground where we spent a couple days there. During the march a couple of us were pinched, hit and so on as we were put in the garbage truck to be taken to the fair ground. Most of my friends got out the next day and we started having workshops. There we learned how to defend ourselves during picketing and sit-ins.

I believe why I'm in this movement is because I am a Negro and I believe that all men are created equal; equal jobs and equal equalities.

CLIFF GARRETT:

My name is Cliff Garrett. The reason I joined the movement because really I am

YOUTH ~~MISSING~~ Meeting 4

Jackson, Mississippi

CLIFF GARRETT:

black, and I felt like that I could help out in some way to help my people. As it stands now, when I joined the movement, I felt like it was somehting I could really do. But the Negroes are really not together here in Jackson.

Would I go back to jail again? That depends on the Negro. If we pull together at this stage, I will; but it's doubtful now of course. We don't have any backing. We go to jail, get out, get a record and that's all to it.

If we really get the support we need when we go to jail, I'm willing to go back other than that, no.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I joined the movement at the ~~beginning~~ beginning of the summer. I've been an active member We have gone to desegregated parks, and we get arrested and get out, and that's it. We don't here anything else from it. We come back and tell the kids about, and they really don't know why they are going.

I don't see to many reasons for demonstration. The kids are the ones who w are demonstrating. We don't have enough support from the parents and the NAACP, and that's what we really need! My mother works at a clearner and my father is a druck driver. I work with CORE, and I really like the job I'm doing. Voter ~~Education~~ Registration is a great ~~Project~~ Project, if we could really get enough people to take part in it. The trouble is that we don't have enough people, and I think that's what holding the movement back. It's really going to take us together.

Well I hope that all this trobule will come to an end. Some day we will have equal rights which we are trying to do. We realize that the fight is hard and we haven't made half of the way, but I really think if we really get together we can go, other than that we are at an stand still, now.

Like this meeting we call today, it was suppose to have been a Youth Mass Meeting. Somehow, the kids did not show up, they are not interested. I think where the trouble stands is the support we have -- we don't have any support. Mr. Everett said he like to do things through the court, but the old saying goes, action speakse louder than

words. That seems like the trouble. The kids won't come in, the parents won't come in. The movement is at a stand still, in my opinion.

CLIFF GARRETT:

I am making a comment on this court project that Mr. Everett likes to do: He said that the Negroes are suppose to get together and keep the money out of the white man's hand, but yet and still he goes through court. This money only goes back through the white man's hand, which comes from the Negroes. We have a collection taken up after every mass meeting, and goes back through ~~the~~ to the white man.

WILLIE GIBENS:

Really about the money bid, I think that the white man use us as a thing. We just save up the money up and hand back to him in a ~~long~~ large sum.

I do believe when Meyer Everett was living, he did believe in action. I do believe that we will take this through, ~~and~~ if the colored people get in the streets and show this white man what we really want. And that's about all.

JESSE JAMES:

One of the reason I think that Charles is holding back so, for this is my reason: He is waiting for the Civil Rights Bill will pass, and hoping that it will pass.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER

If he is waiting for this Civil Rights Bill to pass, how long will we be waiting? If we be waiting that long, there isn't any use for us to call any meetings. That is why I say action now! Because if Charles, in a way, wants to call demonstrations. And sometimes he says we are going to demonstrate; but when the time comes, he jumps up and say we will not demonstrate.

JESSE JAMES:

I believe since the death of the late President Kennedy the Civil Rights Bill will have more affect and I am hoping that it will come through. I believe that Mr.Kennedy, as he may say, it was hard on both sides of the fence; but he went all the way for white, because he was white. He said that he might not believe in what you

say, but he would ~~id~~ die in order to give you the right to say it. That's why I say his whole thought was on the Civil Rights Bill, and I think more affect should be on it now, since it caused the death on a great man.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I am not saying ~~we~~ that I want demonstrations, and I am not saying that we should not demonstrate, I am for that a 100%. That is probably the way we can show the people of Mississippi that we are ready and we are waiting for and the most we need right now is a good leader at this time.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER

We could demonstrate and we could show the people of Jackson, Miss, that we are ready to demonstrate, but, like you say, we do not have any one to show us to way anymore. I don't care which way you go, you must have a leader.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I think we have a leader, but the people have really thought of this famous man and that is God, and He is our leader. He only help those who help themselves. The way it is, we start demonstrating and then we stop, and I think that's a great fault on our part. I think if you start you should go all the way the way through it.

REGINA A CURRY:

I would like to say something about the movement.....I think if most of the Negroes would participate in the demonstrations that the movement would be a great success. Without all the Negroes participating, I don't think that the movement will be a great success.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER

She is right, just like I said yesterday, if colored folks stop sitting on their porch, clapping their hands and tell them to march on children maybe we can gain something.

WILLIAM TYRONE CHINN:

About demonstrating; the first thing they told me when I joined the movement,

was to get anywhere, you had to frustrate the white people. We started demonstrating and then we stopped. When we stared the first time, we frustrated the white folks. ~~Soky~~ They were getting tired, they were ready to give up anything just to keep us from frustrating them. And then it failed. We stopped demonstrating. Okay the white folks got their courage back up. They said they would do it once, they're do it again. So we did it once, and we did it again. We started demonstrating and then we stopped. By doing this we will never accomplish anything.

The white man knows, that when we started demonstrating once, and ~~the~~ we stopped; the second time we demonstrated, they know we stop again. All we have to do is to stick together. They'll say to one another, they started once but they will stop again. All they do is to stick together. ~~Soky~~ They say no, no, no. We get discouraged, and we stop. That's all they want us to do. As long as we stop, we will never get anywhere.

CLIFF GARRETT:

The greatest fault that we have in Mississippi is fear. I think they are afraid of the white man, and what this white man can do to them. They figure that the white man is there only way to seige. Since slavery has been abolished, they think there is no other way. It has been put in their heads for so long, they can't get over, they think that we are still in slavery.

REGINA CURRY:

I would like to say that when Meger was killed, the movement stopped. In stead of the movement stopping, the people should have kept marching. It would have brought some affect, but not a great deal of affect upon the colored people.

Another thing I would like to say, is that it's not only the parent who is not with the movement, but some of the kids. Some of them don't ~~why~~ what they are marching for and the purpose of this movement. If we could get more of the kids to march and the understanding of this march, as a whole, this movement would be a great success if we could get more youths to participate in the movement.

TYRONE CHINN:

I don't think that this boycott is successfully because we dom not have any support.

I think if we could get all the people together and stop shopping on Capitol Street, we would get more out of this boycott, because people are still shopping, and it's even the people who come to meetings go to Capitol Street to shop. These people come back to the meetings, sit down and say they don't shop. We went down there, and saw people who attend meetings and still go back to shop on Capitol Street. If we could just hold off this shopping on Capitol Street for Christmas, we would get more out of that.

WILLIE GIBENS:

With this boycott, I think really, we are taking too big of a step. I think we should try to boycott a line of stores like Star's first, then we could demand. Then go to new dealers stores. I think to many people have to many stores to go to at a stand, and we I think the people don't have to many places to go as it is, and I think we are should just get one line of stores first.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER

I am going back to Regina in what she said about the its not only the parents, it is also the kids. Look at it like this. How can the youth be definitely interested in the movement when their parents don't teach them to be interested in it. How can they know what they are marching for when their parents don't want them to march.

WILLIAM CHINN:

I'll answer that question for you Marvin. Just because our parents don't want us to be in the movement, that doesn't mean that we don't. We have our lives in ahead of them.

REGINA CURRY:

I would like to say back to you again, Marvin.... I said it's not only the parents, it's the youths. Some of the youth don't really don't know what they are marching for, why should they go out there, and they don't know what they are marching for?

Another thing you said; the reason some of them are not marching, is because they are afraid that their parents might lose their jobs.

WILLIAM CHINN:

It's like this: If parents say don't march, maybe the kids think about their parents putting

them out of the house, won't give them any clothers, any money, or anything like that. That's why they are afraid to march.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER (MARVIN)

Okay, you said it's not only the parents its the teenagers. I had told you, don't you understand. You said they won't participate because the parents won't participate.

~~WILLIAM GUINN~~ CLIFF GARRETT:

I think you really have to give up three things to get your freedom: That is blood, sweat, and sacrifice. They are going to take some from each one of us whose going to enjoy this freedom whenever it comes, if it comes.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER (Marvin)

You are right Cliff, but there is one thing we have to look ~~for~~ at, if your parents don't want you to do it, you can tell them to sit down, because they aren't putting any blood in the streets, you are putting the blood in the streets.

REGINIA CURRY:

I would like to ~~say~~ say that my Mother and Father told me that I couldn't march, but I marched anyway. They threated to put me out. I'm still marching, and I'm still at home. My father is a truck driver, and my mother is a maid.

WILLIE GIBBS:

My reason for saying it is not very effective is because the stores on Capitol Street. As teenagers, Henry Taylor's, R. C. Brown, Mackrays, and Shangbirds is our favorite stores for buying our clothes. They kept the style up-to date. These stores say that they are having big going ~~of~~ out of business sale. Everything is cut to half price or 60% discount. So all the kids rush down. They can't miss this big sale, because they have all the clothes at a low price that is up-to date on the styles.. There they go again, they are on Capitol Street. They don't want to lose anything. But acutally these stores that have these sales on clothes, before the boycott list was drawn up, these clothes cost the same. But the Negroes didn't know that. Because all summer they were working, saving money to buy clothes for the winter. But actually they think they are saving, when actually they are losing by still going on Captial Street. Everytime a colored person go on Capitol

Street he is hindering his freedom.

CLIFF GARRETT:

On this boycott some of the stores that were on the boycott list, at the meetings whenever they tried to get a conversation going with the manager of these stores, just because they hire a colored person to work in the store, they usually put them some place else. When they see that Meger coming they put them back at the check counter. When he leaves, they put them back, They are still doing this in the stores and they aren't making any process.

WILLIE GIBENS:

They say stay off Capitol Street. I heard that Miller's is a great contributor to the White Citizen Council.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: (Marvin)

Yeah, but there is one thing about it. If we are going to boycott something, we just can't say we are going to boycott this, we are going to boycott this. We have to boycott a certain thing, because this Negro is going to say they are boycotting everything and we don't have any place to shop. And that is what has happen on Capitol Capitol---they have boycotted everything. If they boycott everything, we can't shop.

CLIFF GARRETT:

About Miller's, Charles is giving some consideration because they know that we can't boycott everything, because if we start by doing that then they will just forget about the movement. We have to have our clothes. Then we start all over again. We will be back in the whole again.

REGINA CURRY:

Another thing, Charles has asked that all Negroes not to turn on any Christmas lights, since President Kennedy was killed. That all Negroes should have a black Christmas. But as of now, all the Negroes are not participating in what we are doing. Most of them have put up lights, and it isn't even time for them put up lights. I think if they would cooperate, the movement would be a great success, and as of now, I don't think it will.

YOUTH MEETING - 11
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

CLIFF GARRETT:

As you ~~like~~ look at the demonstrations we have done from the summer, I don't think we have gained anything from it. I think we have just wasted our time, and effort. I think that the movement is ~~progessing~~ progressing but we can' just see it right now, but later on we will see the light.

It is slowly progressing. You can see it by the white man's reactions. He has shown in some way that he is disliking what we are doing. If he wasn't acting in any way, that would show us that we weren't doing anything.

~~TYRONE GUINN:~~ JESSE JAMES

To overcome this white man we have to have will power and determination. The white man has this. He has will power, determination and cooperation. The white man is not going to see one of his fellow man go down by the Negro. They are going to stick together.....But the Negroes are not. If a Negro see a Negro falling he is going to say to himself....That's him, not me. That is not skin off my back. So he just let him fall, without trying to help. So what I am saying is that all the Negro needs is togetherness, will power and determination to overcome.

CLIFF GARRETT:

All we have been saying is the white man, the white man has been holding us down for years. But why not look at the truth-----the Negroe is holding himself down.

Just like Jesse said the white man will look out for the other white man. But the Negro is looking out for one person, himself.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:MARVIN

There is one thing about it: It's not all Negroes who just don't look out for himself. Some Negroes will look out for himself.

~~JESSE JAMES~~: Hillie Gilens

~~Whilll w~~ While we were demonstrating we had all kind of demands that we were asking for. One of our demands was that we have colored policeman. We got colored policemen with records, and everyting of that kind. The Mayor got who he wanted to be policemen,

He didn't consider Negro citizens electing who they wanted for policemen. Mayor Thompson got who he wanted. The policemen use ~~brutis~~ bruitalility at football games, You go to a football game and stand at the side line, or park your care or stand on your car, they will tell you to get in your car, or move on. They tell the kids by the gate to move on. They want let you any time stand around and look in. But like I said ~~TYRONE CHINN:~~ we will overcome some day, if the Lord is willing.

TYRONE CHINN:

Just like ~~Jesse saiding~~ Willie saying about this Mayor Thompson, I can give you an example. Take day before yesterday on the radio he was speaking about the -----he didn't say the Negroes, he said that the niggers, could come down on Capitol Street and shop. He spoke on televesion and he started of by saying the niggers, and caught himself and said the colored people of Mississippi could ~~can~~ come down and shop just as well as the whites.

CLIFF GARRETT:

Mayor Thompson said if he caught anyone telling anybody not to shop on Capitol Street that he would put them in jail, because he has a jail bigger enough for them. And he also said that he would protect anybody or any colored person that went down on Capitol Street to shop.

I think that if we all went down to Highbirds Hotel one day and have dinner, do you think he will protect us then.

REGINA CURRY:

I would like to comment on Cliff's speech that I think we shall overcome some day but until we do, I think the movement should stop singing We Shall Overcome, because we haven't made any progress since this summer. Until the Negroes ~~state~~ start to participate in what the movement is doing, then I think we shall overcome, if they participate.

WILLIE GIBENS:

One reason I think that the Negroes of Mississippi are not participating in the demonstrations, because we start and then we stop. Get them all up in the air

AND THEN LATER we stop. We should start what we are doing, and that will make more, and more people come. That will make more Negroes more of the fact that we are fighting for our equal rights.

I think if we should start again this demonstration, we should get all the support we can, then I believe that we can make a movement and we will overcome this situation.

TYRONE ~~CLIFF~~ CHINN:

Since the movement has been going on, there have been jobs for Negroes, that usually have already been there. But we just couldn't find the qualified Negro. Mainly because of education. We are not receiving the education that most whites are receiving, because they have up-to date books, better books and we do not.

Negroes can know just as much as the white, but you must put forth effort. But the colored man just don't want to put forth too much effort as the white man. The white man he has it easy, he doesn't have too put forth much effort to learn more than the Negro! But the Negroes don't like hard work.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I have spoken to the youths in this community and they are really ready to move. We are asking for the backing of all Negroes----the whites aren't going to help us, then who is. I think we should start the movement back.

REGINA CURRY:

I think if we start the movement back again, and don't stop I think that most of the Negroes will participate and that this movement will be a success. It may not be as fairly well as the first one, but if all the Negroes will participate and stick together I think that this movement will be a success.

WILLIE GIBENS:

I really do believe that if this movement starts back again, I believe that something will really break, and will help the Negroes in some way. I think that about rounds it up, thank you very much.....

This is Regina Curry, Willie Gibens, Tyrone Chinn, Marvin L. Wilson(Unidentified speaker) Cliff Garrett and Jesse James Wright

EILEEN (Selma, Alabama)

INTERVIEWER: You can just talk about anything you want to talk about. Did you go to the school they had this summer?

EILEEN: In Atlanta?

Interviewer: No, here, at the churches?

Eileen: Well, we had meetings at the churches

Interviewer: Everyday at noon? That's what I meant. Yeah, Did you go to those?

Eileen: Yes, I went to the schools everyday.

Interviewer: Did you go all four weeks?

Eileen: I think I went all four weeks. I don't remember too well.

Interviewer: Were these schools at the same church or different churches? Was this in the summer?

Eileen: (COULD NOT MAKE OUT ANSWER FROM TAPE) In the summer? No, not in the summer. One was in the summer.

Interviewer: What was that for?

Eileen: It was for the Civil Rights Student Leadership

Interviewer: How long did you go to that?

Eileen: For four weeks.

Interviewer: Well, how did you get interested?

Eileen: In the movement?

Interviewer: Yes.

Eileen: Well, when Denard LaFayette came to town he started this movement here and asked a lot of the kids to come around to the church. So, we got interested and started going too and kept on going. That's how we got interested.

Interviewer: What did you do there? I mean at the church.

Eileen: We sang , and talked about non-violence and the meaning of civil rights, and trying to get people to register to vote.

Interviewer: And this was when - a year ago?

Eileen: I'd say it was a year ago. Just about a year.

Interviewer: Were you interested in it before that?

Eileen: I didn't know about it before that.

Interviewer: You just started going to the school? Friends of yours go too?

Eileen: Yes.

Interviewer: So what'd you learn?

Eileen: What did I learn? I learned how to go about canvassing, getting people registered to vote -- urging them to go down to the courthouse -- how they should go about filling out the forms. I also learned how to demonstrate. I learned about non-violence. I also learned that we didn't have our rights ~~and~~ -- I've been knowing that all along, but I learned more about it.

Interviewer: Are you a native -- have you always lived here in the South?

Eileen: Yes.

Interviewer: And ~~what~~ where do your mother and father ~~do~~ live? Have they always lived here too?

Eileen: No, my father lives in Maconville(?). My mother lives here.

Interviewer: So why do you really do this?

Eileen: Why do I really do this? Well, I felt that the Negroes here were not treated right, and I wasn't treated right myself. So, I felt we needed equal rights. We didn't have equal facilities, we didn't have the right facilities, and I felt we should do something about this. So, I just started going to these classes to learn more about it.

Interviewer: So how did you feel knowing about equal rights?

Eileen: Well, we don't have any recreation, but I think the other race does. Okay, we can go to some small place, but just like these restaurants downtown, we can't go there, but they can. I feel if they can go there, we can too.

Interviewer: What about the movies?

Eileen: The movies? Well, in the movies -- when we go to the movies, I think -- you be looking at the same picture, but you are separated -- we're upstairs, and they are downstairs. If there happens to be a fire in the movie, how are we going to get out of there?

Unidentified speaker: They don't have but one exit for the Negroes, and all those exits downstairs for the whites. And, downstairs for the whites, ~~there~~ you can go out and buy popcorn and things like that -- this is real nice. And ~~an~~ in the ~~bathes~~ bathrooms for the whites, they have mirrors all around the walls, and in the Negro part they have a little shabby sink where you wash your hands and a little stool. It's really nothing.

Interviewer: What other facilities do you think aren't equal? You know, the movies, there's no recreation -- What else?

Eileen: Oh, in the department stores. Okay, the fountains are unclean for the colored people -- they're filthy. They whites have electric fountains. We have those little white washbowls that you ~~wash~~ wash your hands in -- we have to drink out of that. The whites have those electric fountains where all you have to do is mash a button and the water comes out. I think this is not right. Oh yes, we have to go around to the back door if we have to use the bathroom anywhere downtown -- you have to go around to the back

or either they ~~dont~~ don't have one for the colored downtown, anyway. Yeah, in the library. We were not allowed to go in the library, but we are now since we had to get application forms.

Unidentified speaker: The library is still not integrated. The Negroes can go in and check out books, but the seats in there are not integrated. As I understand it this Carnegie man, when he died he willed all these books to the city of Selma, and I'm a native of Selma. I've been here 16 years, and I think I should....

Interviewer: How is your school?

Unidentified speaker: Compared to their school, I think they have two gyms, and we have one gym -- it's not big enough. They have more equipment in their school than we do. We get the books they use -- the books they use this year, we get them next year. The band uniforms -- when we use the uniforms they use -- we don't get any uniforms.

Eileen: And also during the summer they have air condition, but we don't. We have to suffer in that hot heat. They have air condition, I think, in every room. I'm not sure because I haven't been there before, but I've heard of it.

Interviewer: So, when did you have your demonstrations?

Eileen: We had demonstrations starting the 16th of September. I was in the first demonstration. There were 67 of us. We didn't get a chance to march or attempt to demonstrate much, because we just got to the corner of a street and the cops came and picked us up for unlawful assembly.

Interviewer: Where did you start? At school?

Eileen: We started at the church. Brown Chapel Church. When we

got to Lawrence Street the cops picked us up.

Interviewer: How'd they know you were coming?

Eileen: They were watching usx from the church.

Interviewer: Well, how'd they know?

Eileen: Well, you see we have a lot of "Uncle Toms" here.

Interviewer: And what did they do? Put you in a bus?

Eileen: Yes, they loaded us up on the bus, and carried us out to the city jail. From there they took us out to Camp Selma -- this place is not fit for dogs to live in. That night while we were out there they gave us -- I don't know what it was -- but anyway they gave us cornbread and water. There was dirt in the bread -- just filthy.

Interviewer: Were you boys and girls? 67 of you?

Eileen: Yes,

Interviewer: How many girls were there in one unit?

Eileen: Well I'd say about 38 girls.

Interviewer: How long were you there?

Eileen: We were in the city jail a day or so, and then they transferred us to the county jail. We were there for a day or so. Then they took us out to Camp Selma. We stayed there two days. Then they brought us back to the county jail and from there they took us to the courthouse where they asked us some questions, and we went before Judge Reynolds. He put us on probation, and gave us a year and a day, on probation. When I was on probation, I went back to jail. Judge Reynolds told me...

Interviewer: How'd you break probation?

Eileen: I didn't go back to school. I went back to the church, and the Judge told me that that Monday he was going to send me to

Mt. Mays (?) -- which, he didn't. I went before him Monday morning at 9:00 o'clock. He gave me another year and a day on probation. He didn't send me to Mt. Mays -- he gave me another year and a day on probation. My mother had to sign a paper to get me out. He told me to go back to school, and if I stayed out of school again, I would be going to Mt. Mays.

Interviewer: Why did you stay out of school?

Eileen: For a meeting at the church.

Interviewer: For what?

Eileen: Well, you see I was taking care of some important business at the church like answering the phones -- see we were getting in long distant calls from different cities and states, and I had to answer the phones.

Interviewer: So you're on two years and two days probation now?

Eileen: Yes.

Interviewer: Well, do they watch you or anything now?

Eileen: I'm sure they do.

Unidentified Speaker: There was one boy who broke probation and they sent him to Mt. Mays. He's out now,though.

Eileen: Yes, that's the thing I can't understand when they sent him to Mt. Mays he was picked with a bunch of kids coming from school. They sent him out to Mt. Mays just because he was with that bunch of kids because they thought they were demonstrating. They didn't send us to Mt. Mays

Interviewer: Tell me some more about the jail. That is, Camp Selma.

Eileen: Camp Selma?

Interviewer: How long were you there?

Unidentified Speaker: I didn't go to Camp Selma.

Interviewer: Where did you go?

Unidentified speaker: I worked in the office answering the phone. I guess I was made a secretary while everybody else were in jail.

Interviewer: You didn't demonstrate then?

Unidentified speaker: No, I didn't demonstrate. When they took the kids downtown to picket - in front of the courthouse and downtown stores I was in the car taking notes of that.

Interviewer: Well, do you think the demonstrations did any good?

Unidentified speaker: Well, we started off nice, if we had just kept it up. But the kids..... Our sheriff called us"educated fools"

Interviewer: What do you mean by "educated fools"?

Unidentified speaker: That's what he said. He told the kids, "go back to school, you're nothing but educated fools anyway." He was standing at the car one day when he said that. He was talking to another deputy. Our principal signed a paper that if he caught any kids on the streets to bring them back to school or else send them back to jail, and a lot of kids were standing around the church, but he couldn't come on the church propertyx and pick up any kids, and that made him real mad, and that's when he called the kids "educated fools."

Interviewer: Well, would you do it again?

Eileen: If we have to, I will. I'll soon be seventeen, and they can't do me that way. It's a juvenile that doesn't go to school.

Interviewer: What grade are you in?

Eileen: Eleventh.

Interviewer: Oh, you have one more year, then where will you go?

Eileen: I plan to go to college.

Interviewer: Where?

Eileen: I don't know yet.

Interviewer: Do you want to stay on in Selma?

Eileen: I don't know; I don't know. My mother has to decide that.

Interviewer: Were you really demonstrating because you felt that things weren't equal, is that it? Were there other reasons?

Eileen: Well, the reason I demonstrated was because I ~~wt~~ wanted my rights, and I want my kids to have ~~they~~ their rights when they grow up. I demonstrated because the rest of the Negroes here in Selma didn't have their rights, and they didn't have equal facilities to use.

Interviewer: You didn't realize these things before you got in the movement?

Eileen: I don't really think I had my mind on this thing until I got in the movement.

Interviewer: You just accepted it? What about you?

~~Eileen:~~
Unidentified speaker: I've been thinking about it a long time. I always knew that we didn't have equal rights, and I feel that if Negroes pay taxes in Selma they should be allowed to vote and if they help to pay taxes to put the courthouse downtown, they shouldn't have "white" and "colored" signs over water and on the doors of the bathrooms, and if Negroes pay taxes, they should be able to sit anywhere they want to in the courthouse -- no black and white sides. That's the way I feel.

Interviewer: You think voting is important?

Unidentified speaker: I think 68 per cent of the people in Selma are Negroes, and the whites have always been getting who they

want -- the sheriff, the mayor. I think the majority of the Negroes can just once get a sheriff or a mayor or a governor of Alabama that they think could help everybody -- justice for all

Interviewer: What do your mother and father do? Do they live here in Selma?

Unidentified speaker (COULD NOT MAKE OUT ANSWER)

Interviewer: How does your mother feel about this?

Unidentified speaker: Like all the rest of the people do. Stay home and don't march, but I go on anyway.

Interviewer: What does your mother do?

Eileen: Well, my mother's not doing anything right now. She was a maid, but she got sick, and she's not doing anything now.

Interviewer: What does she feel about it?

Eileen: Well, she tells me the same things -- stay at home. She told me not to get in no trouble, because it would all be brought down on her/ I didn't listen to her -- I just went on anyway. I got in jail, and that upset her a lot. Still, I wouldn't listen. I did it again, and it still upset her. So she just gave in, and told me not to get in no trouble no deeper than I am in.

Interviewer: What does your father think?

Eileen: I don't know.

Interviewer: Does he live with you?

Eileen: No m'am.'

Interviewer: Does your mother work for a family here in Selma?

Eileen: Yes m'am, she works for Miss Mae Johnson.

Interviewer: Has your mother had any repercussions from all this?

(THIS QUESTION NOT ANSWERED)

Interviewer: How many people were in jail -- all total?

Eileen: I'd say over 300

Interviewer: 300? Of your age?

Eileen: No, there were some grown-ups in jail too. They majority that were in jail were teenagers

Interviewer: Why did they do it -- for the same reason as you did it?

Eileen: I don't know. They have to give their own opinions, I just don't know.

Unidentified speaker: Dick Gregory's wife was in jail.

Interviewer: Here?

Unidentified speaker. Yes m'am.

Interviewer: Well, how were you treated in jail?

Eileen: We were treated awfully bad. In the city jail they gave us some -- I don't know -- some grits, biscuits, and black water. The grits, they looked like water themselves, with dirt in them: the biscuits looked like dogs' bread. We told the lady we didn't want anything to eat, and she told us we weren't getting any better treatment at home, and patted her behind at us. We didn't say anything else to her, because she was old.

We left the city jail, and went to the county jail. They gave us too many peas and cornbread -- everyday -- peas and cornbread. For breakfast they gave us grits, biscuits, sytup and butter milk -- it was sour milk. It looked like it had little flies flying around on the top of it. And we couldn't eat that either. We had to sleep in our clothes because they

bars were open to the men in the prison.

They took us from the county jail to Camp Selma. When we got there that night they gave us some dog bread and water which we didn't eat. We slept in our clothes down there also, because they had guards walking by the windows and they were looking in - so we couldn't pull our clothes off. That morning they called us to breakfast -- we thought we were going to get a good breakfast. Okay, the captain said we had some cornbread for breakfast and some watered grits and some syrup and black water. We tried to eat it because we were starving from not having anything to eat.

Later on up in the day some clergymen came and brought us some books to read and some personal things. They started taking us out -- I think it was two at a time. Our parents would come by the courthouse and sign us out on a piece of paper which was on probation for a year and a day.

Interviewer: What did you do while you were in there during the day?

Eileen: During the day? We sang, and prayed. We didn't have anything else to do. We talked to the boys across the... you see we could talk to the boys across the alley between the two cells.

Interviewer: Anything else?

Unddentified speaker: I think when I go back down to the library.... I want to sit down in the library. I want to see how it feels to sit in a white library.

Interviewer: You mean you can take books out, but you can't sit down in there?

Eileen: I also have something to say about the library and the people here in Selma. I don't think they are cooperating right. We have only one Negro that uses that library downtown. We all should be using it, but only one girl uses the library -- one young lady at least. I think all of us should use it -- we have cards to use the library, but we don't use it -- only one girlx uses the library.

Interviewer: Why?

Eileen: I think all of us should use the library downtown since we can get cards to use it. We should also be able to sit down to get our homework out just like any other person.

Interviewer: Well, do you have any future plans for demonstrations or anything like that?

Unidentified speaker: Ms I only want to demonstrate at the library. I want to sit in the library

Interviewer: That's your main aim --do you read a lot?

Unidentified speaker: I read -- I check out a lot of books downdown, but the ladies in there look mighty funny when I go in. I guess they think Negroes don't have any sense. I think they think Negroes are nasty -- they don't want to sit by Negroes -- they don't want to associate with Negroes. My personal feeling about that is that I really don't want to be sitting by them because they are not any better than I am. I just want to sit in the library, and I'm going to do it if I have to sit in there by myself. We can't check books out for English and History at school, so I go downtown to check out books, because most of the books at school don't have anything about History. Most of the books they have have been used year after year. I think the teachers use one book every year. I think a child in every class have

the same thing. They check out the same book, and they read the same things over and over and over. I don't think they have many history books in our library at school.

Interviewer: What grade are you in?

Unidentified speaker: 11th.

Interviewer: What are you going to do ?

Unidentified speaker: I'm thinking about becoming afield secretary, but I want to go to college too. I think I can do both.

Interviewer: Where do you want to go to college?

Unidentified speaker: I don't know as yet. I really became interested in the whole movement when people started talking to me all the time, and I felt the same way that they did. I didn't think we were being treated right in Selma either.

Interviewer: Do you know any white boys and girls here in Selma?

Unidentified speaker: I used to know some, but I forgot their names now.

~~Interviewer~~

Interviewer: On your street?

Unidentified:speaker: No, we'd walk the tressle and they'd be down there --- so we knew each other very well.

Interviewer: How old were you then?

Unidentified speaker: Ten or eleven.

Interviewer: But you played together then?

Unidentified speaker: I think it's the white parents that put this in the kids' heads, that that they are white and we are black, and we are nasty -- something like that. If they didn't -- the kids wouldn't even think anything about it. Then later on they start calling us "nigger". One boy kept on playing with us and the other kids started calling him "nigger

lover.

Interviewer: You got anything else to say about what you think or feel or something?

Eileen: During the summer in July I went to a SNCC conference in Atlanta. Most of the kids that were there were college students, and there were six high school students there and I was one of them. We were told to ask questions about just anything that we ~~felt~~ wanted to, because we were free to ask. In this conference it was mixed -- white and colored, and we lived together at an interdenominational theological center. I had five white roommates during this conference. I don't think they were any different from me, because I think we dressed the same way, I think we looked the same way -- only I was black and they were white, I think we talked the same -- only they had a different accent from what I had. We actually asked the same questions, and they were in this movement for the same thing I was in there for.

Unidentified speaker: While they were at the conference we were planning demonstrations, and when they came back I think everything was ready but it failed and we had to start all that stuff from the bottom again. Maybe we'll march again sometime i in the summer. I think if they march in the summer they won't put anybody on probabion because we won't be in school, and I think more kids will cooperate in this thing. Most kids' mothers didn't want them ~~put~~ out of school. They wanted them to go to school to get an education.

Interviewer: Have you been doing anything about voter registration.

Unidentified speaker: I've canvassed. We had a canvass. Whenever

at 4:30 and canvass until late in the evening.

Interviewer: You mean at homes?

Unidentified speaker: We'd meet at the SNCC office.

Interviewer: What do you mean by canvass?

Unidentified speaker: We go from door to door asking people if they are registered voters, and if they are not we try to get them to become one. We ask them if they would like transportation down to the courhouse. A lot of them wants somebody to keep their babies so we set up a nursery to keep their babies in -- we even set up a housecleaning program. I think 200 and something people went down at once -- in October. They started giving numbers after that -- 60 numbers a day, and I don't think many people have been down since.

Eileen: I think one reason why this movement has stopped -- it hasn't completely stopped though, it has just slowed down -- is because the grown-ups wouldn't cooperate. They acted like they weren't behind us. They were supposed to be out there demonstrating and doing what we were doing. I know that we are young and they are old, but they should have been behind us, and wouldn't have to be on probation now.

Interviewer: You mean the parents?

Eileen: That's right

Interviewer: I guess they just didn't understand. Isn't that what you would think? Were they afraid?

Eileen: That's it. They're afraid of losing their jobs...they arentt making over twelve dollars a week. That won't hardly pay rent or anything else. Rent is so high -- $31.00 for two rooms and a kitchen -- you know that's just too high. Just like your parents making $12.00 a week, now, and they have to pay $31.00 for two rooms and a kitchen. How can they support their families, and pay that rent too?

Unidentified speaker: We need equal job opportunities. I think when Negro graduates here if he doesn't go further North some place he won't get a job here. When kids graduate from Parrish they just go downtown and they get to be secretaries and all that, but a Negro can't do that here because they won't hire them.

Eileen: Just like the Mayor here said -- he didn't have to go to college to get his job here. He just finished the eighth grade. He can just go into politics just like that. The sheriff, he didn't have to go to college -- they just put him in office. During the demonstrations they just hired everybody for posse, every white person for posse -- they didn't have any education or anything -- they didn't know how to read or write. While we were in county jail, I think, the man was asking us a lot of questions and we had to answer him about fifty times before he understood what we were talking about. He didn't know how to spell our names. My name is Ilean, and he didn't know how to spell that. I think they should have some education because they were put into office.

Unidentified Speaker: Yes, like she said, they deputize anybody. They go right to the country and get a little old farmer, and I know he doesn't know how to read and write. They deputize just anybody, just so they are over 21 years old

Interviewer: Did you ever work?

Unidentified speaker: Yes, I worked for this lady. She went to Montgomery to spend the night, and I spent the night at her house. I was kinda surprised -- she told me to look in her closet and get her pajamas and sleep in them, and to sleep in her bed, and put the babies in the bed with you. She had three kids -- 7, 4, 12 -- and we all slept in the bed together. They were real nice.

Interviewer: Anything else?

Eileen: About these mass meetings we've been having I don't understand. Okay, Jim Crosby sent his posse out down to the church to listen in to what we've got to say. We're not keeping anything from anybody, so we just go on and say what we've got to say, and they just take back the wrong news. Just like there might be around 1,000 people at the church, and they put in the newspaper that there were around 250. The only time they told the truth, I think, was when Martin Luther King was here to speak at the mass meeting. There were around 2,000 people at the church. The church was filled, all the trees were filled. One thing I didn't like when they escorted Martin Luther King into town they had to make a big fuss over it, and said that the FBI had furnished Martin Luther King transportation here. I think Martin Luther King

had his own secret service here, and he got here on his own.

Oh yes, also during the mass meetings there would be a fire chief standing in the door. He used the excuse that the church would be too crowded -- overloaded -- and a fire might start in the church, but the church wasn't overloaded -- but he would stand there anyway trying to listen in. And another thing, I think it was 6 young ladies that went to a white church here in Selma -- for the first time here in Selma. The pastor permitted the students to come into the church, but one thing was different -- they had to sit in the balcony -- up in the balcony where we usually have to sit in the movies -- up in the balcony. When they started taking up collection they wouldn't go up in the balcony to take"colored money" -- they stayed downstairs and took up the "white money" -- all the money is the same. The next day an article was written in the paper by a lady that belonged to the church where she said that we came to church with no hats on and that they wear hats to church and we don't because we don't know how to dress to come to church. She talked about us like little dogs. So we put an article in the paper and told her that we wanted her to know that we hadn't been to another white church but we planned to go back, and we did not plan to sit in the balcony.

Interviewer: What would have happened if the movement had never started -- would you have done anything?

Eileen: If the movement had never come? Well, all this was going on in all the southern states , and I would have thought of something to do after hearing about all this equal rights -- and I know that we didn't have our rights. We need equal rights here, and I think the movement would have started here anyway.

Interviewer: You mean just among yourselves?

Eileen: Yes m'am.

Eileen: When Kennedy was assassinated, November 22, we felt very bad . It seemed like the whole world died when he died. It seemed like he was the leader of the whole United States, and we felt that we lost a great hero. We looked up to him. He was the only president, in our age, we are known to look up to, and the only white person we look up to, because he was just for all -- both white and colored-- he was for all the races, and we looked up to him as a great leader. I think we lost a great hero. Some of the students here in Selma think that since Kennedy was assassinated we might be sent back to Afrida but I don't think so. We have another president, and I think he is just as good as Kennedy -- not quite, but I think he's just as good as Kennedy. We have to look up to him just like we did Kennedy.

Unidentified Speaker: I think when the President died, the whole world died. I don't think we'll ever have another president as great as he and President Lincoln. I think President Johnson will carry out the work that President Kennedy started.

He made a speech on TV saying that we have talked about civil rights long enough and it's time to act.

Eileen: The March on Washington -- from Selma I would say there were about 25 from Selma. There were 6 students and 19 adults. It was a great success in Washington. I never saw so many different kinds of people before -- I never met so before. I also got a chance to meet the President, but I didn't get a chance to shake his hand. I met many stars and actresses from many places.

Interviewer: How'd you meet them?

Eileen: I didn't really meet them, but, you know, I saw them in person. I didn't get a chance to say anything to them because there were so many people.

Green Sheet

PART I

SHIRLEY THOMPSON

My name is Shirley Thompson. I was raised in New Orleans. I had most of my grammar schooling in New Orleans. I am now attending Southern University in New Orleans. I haven't finished yet.

I'm working with CORE for this semester and in January I will be going back to school. I am majoring in Political Science and my minor is Sociology. I haven't decided as yet what I am going to do after I finish school.

ALICE THOMPSON

I am Alice Thompson, the sister of Shirley. I am older than she is. I also grew up in New Orleans. I attended the segregated schools in New Orleans. Right now I am a junior at Southern University in New Orleans, majoring in Social Science and when I finish school I would like to be a social worker, especially in the New Orleans area.

My mother and father work here in New Orleans. My mother works for the State. My father works for a department store there, but he lost one of his jobs because we were in the Civil Rights struggle.

I have been with the CORE office since July. In January I will have to leave in order to finish my schooling. This is something I will have to do.

My sister and I are working in Clinton, Louisiana. We are now having Voter Education plus we are having selective ~~binding~~ buying campaign which is going hand and hand with voting because the selective ~~bind~~ buying campaign has to do with voting.

We are protesting against the registrar. The only way we can show the people the strength and what we want to do is to vote against segregation. Shirley has just come here, to Clinton. I don't think she knows to much about it.

One of our workers has been put in jail. So we had to go and get someone else to put in his place. So Shirley hasn't been here for about three days, but she is fitting in just right.

ALICE THOMPSON - 2

Part I

Today we have registered about 100 or more people. When we got here there were 84 people on the ~~registration~~ registration ~~rool~~ rolls, but we registered over a 100 and we had 84 before. Why it is so low, because every~~thin~~ time we register somebody they take off more than we register. This is why the number stays down so much.

When we first got here, we held clinics here in this house which we re-named the freedom house. We have clinics here all day and through the night. Most of the churches, the parish and peoples houses trying to get people to register.

I think we had a most successful job with the people, especially the Negro people. The only thing that was hard was the dealing with the registrar. It was not a problem getting the people to register, because if we didn't take them, they went on their own. When they got their most of the people failed. About w 21 would pass, and this would go on all the while we were bringing people to register. Now the books are closed until January 14 and after January 14, we will start back with the voter education drive. Now we are concentrating on the selective buying campaign. Right now it seems to be going on alright. We don't have many problems. We are keeping the people out of the stores.

SHIRLEY THOMPSON

The effect of the boycott is being felt by the merchants up town. About two months ago we gained the right to picket by sending over 50 people to jail. When they came out we had the right to picket and nobody was arrested. About two weeks ago the merchants got together and started having ~~wop-a-~~ us arrested personally. We asked them why? The Mayor told us that the merchants owned the sidewalk. The merchants are losing quiet a bit up town. And that is why I believe if is being very effective. This is really hitting them in their pocketbooks. They are doing what they can by arresting us.

Today they have are having big bargains. And they are giving money away.

SHIRLEY THOMPSON - 3
Part I

The first prize, I think, is $100, second, $25, and the last prize is $10.

About fifteen minutes ago, we sent about three person down there to picket. Most likely they will be arrested. It is very interesting to see that the merchants are having such good bargains just before Christmans. To be correct, I do think any store would have a big sale on just before Christmas. It is very strange for them to have one.

Last week we got around 8 or 9 persons arrested for picketing downtown. These people are still in jail, right now.

ALICE THOMPSON

To help the boycottes we have set up a freedom store and a freedom service station. The freedom store, we help finance that, but the freedom service station is financed by the owner himself, to help out with gas. We set up these places because we have a boycott going on in Louisiana. Negroes would have to travel at least 20 miles in order to buy, so we are trying to help them out on this project. Tehy are highly successful. The freedom grocery store has operated successful without any confusion from the white citizens or the law enforcement. The gas station had problems, with getting gas, when it first started out. The operator had to go around to at least 4 or 5 different gas companies before he could operate regularly. Now things are going okay.

PART II

ALICE THOMPSON

Shirley and I joined the civil rights organization in New Orleans, in 1960. We were in the NAACP Youth Division in New Orleans.

SHIRLEY THOMPSON

When we joined the NAACP, our first action was to start a picket line. We picket Woolworth's for discriminating in their lunch counters.

SHIRLEY THOMPSON # 4
Part IX

We also worked on Voter Education in New Orleans, too. About three months later we joined CORE. We started picketing Woolworth and different stores like that. About April, or the last part of May I joined the freedom riders. I ~~went to~~ went Jackson, and went to jail for about 40 days. After I got out of jail, I came back to New Orleans and picketed. We also went to jail for sitting in at the police station of August of 1961. There were 21 of us. Think Alice can fill you in wiht most of the details from 1960 to August of 1961.

ALICE THOMPSON

As Shirley said we sat in and picket in New Orleans. We got a few things desegregated in New Orleans. For example, the downtown lunch counters, a few small restaurants, the city parks and playgrounds, and this is small compared to what ~~wh~~ we have to do in New Orleans.

Every summer CORE has a summer task force. Last summer Shirley joined the summer task force, but I didn't. She worked in North Carolina.

This year CORE sent all local chapters applications for summer ~~take~~ task force. When we learned they would be working in Louisiana on Voter Registration, this was something that I had been ~~working for~~ waiting for for a long time. I think this one of the biggest things we could do in Louisiana ~~because~~ so I jumped at the chance to work here in my own State, because I know it is needed very much.

In July we left New Orleans to work for Voter Registration. We have been in Clinton and other places since July.

SHIRLEY THOMPASON

Just like Alice said before, last summer I was on CORE summer task force and working mostly in North Carolina. The name of our project was "Freedom Highway". We went through North Carolina testing Howard Johnson, because he had been discriminating against us Negroes. While we were working on these Howard Johnson's, we were working on these places where they were located in different neighborhoods.

We started several movements in Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Raliegh and one of the most wonderful movement I think I have ever seen was in Durham. I think it was in August when we had a demonstration at Howard Johnson with about 4,000 people. We assembled on the grounds of Howard ~~Hoh~~ Johnson and we prayed. James Farmer and some of the Negroes leaders were there and they spoke, and we ~~sanged f~~ sung freedom songs.

We had a good movement going on in Statesville. In August, one Sunday, about 200 people went to jail. A policeman beat a girl, which was about 15 years old.

~~ALICE THOMPSON~~ SHIRLEY THOMPSON

The policeman beat the girl very bad. On that same evening they beat up about 7 or 8 more persons including Rev. Elbert B. Cott. He is the Field Secretary for CORE.

After I left Statesville I went to Charlotte. We started picketing there at Howard Johnson. We were trying to get people to help us support our project. In Charlotte we also had a good ~~meov~~ movement there. For ab out two or three weeks we had at least 20 or 30 persons going to jail, each day. We had at leat 200 persons arrested in Charlotte.

At the end of August the "Freedom Highway" ended. After that I went back home to New Orleans to work with the local CORE group.

ALICE THOMPSON

When Shirley got back we were in the process of desegregating the ~~luch~~ lunch counters, in the main shopping district in New Orleans. We had finished ~~negoitating~~ negotiating with the downtown merchants after we had picketed for two years every day. After two years we were ready to sit down and talk. The merchants decided for us to get 100 ~~perep~~ people to sit at the lunch counters in order to test the public. So we did this. We got 100 people together and tested every ~~ly~~ lunch counter in the downtown area and also the surrounding shopping centers. This was successful. ~~ee~~ Now the shopping centers and the downtown lunch counters are desegregated. When we got through with this, there was so much for us to do, so, we decided to take the parks.

One city park was already desegregated. I don't know how it got desegregated and left out the other city parks. New Orleans CORE initiated suit. The suit was filed and. Now all the parks and playgrounds are desegregated. We had a few people arrested in some of the parks.

GENE YOUNG, ~~CLIFF~~ Cliff GRRRET
(3 boys discuss Cliff, Johnny, Willy)

My name is Gene Young, and I live in Jackson, Mississippi. I attend Lanier Junior High School. My mother is a housewife and my father was a soldier in World War II. Now he works for the Veterans Administration Hospital. The reason why I'm interested in civil rights is because I think that very man was created equal. Three of my brothers have been to jail, and I've been also. One of my brothers' arms was broken while taking part in civil rights demonstrations.

Last summer my arm was twisted while being arrested in Jackson, Mississippi . Since then I've worked in voter registration in Canton, Mississippi and made speeches in New York, Washington, D. C. and New Orleans, La. I've met many important people while working in civil rights, and I think the Negro should have a better education. For instance, when we meet an important person we will not want to make these statements that are not correct, like not using your words correctly in front of someone important to you. ~~At the~~ At the March on Washington people came from all parts of the United States and some people from abroad. Some people came to march, and some people came to play. Some people were too tired to play or march. What I sat on the platform and listened to people such as Mahalia Jackson, Dr. Martin Luther King, John Lewis, ~~Mr.~~ Atty. McKissack of North Carolina, and other people who were represented. I was a personal friend of Medgar Evers. I was in flight to N. Y. on the night of his death, and I thought it was a sad thing. His wife took it serious, but did not break down. She told people not to let him die in vain. The only thing he did not want was for us to

buy on Capitol Street. To date, some Negroes are still going down there.

My brothers and I are going to attend a school now, and if we take part in civil rights demonstration while school is going on, we may be sent to a reform school, or my be expelled from our school.

My brothers and I have been arrested. Two of my brothers have been arrested three times, and my other brother and I have been arrested twice. I was arrested the first time for participating in civil rights demonstrations -- marching without a permit. I was sent to jail and spent two days in there. The second time I went to a white park, and I was arrested for breach of the peace, and I was sent to jail and spent nine (9) days. After I came out of jail, I got sick from the food that I received in the jail, and I was entered into a hospital and came out. Then I went to Canton, Mississippi to work in voter registration. After then I went to Shreveport, Louisiana to make a speech at a mass meeting, and then to the March on Washington. I met many interesting people, as I've said before, and my brothers..two of my brothers went. I believe they have more things to say than I really do. The first time I made a speech was before Lena Horne and Dick Gregory. I was at the Masonic Temple in Jackson, Mississippi . I was a little afraid, but I knew what I was going up to the platform to say. I made an imitation of Ross Barnett, and made the house go wild. Everyone was applauding. I told them I appreciated their hands, but they needed to use their votes to get people such as Ross Barnett out of office. Then the Field Secretary working for the Congress of Racial Equality Jerome Smith asked me to come to make a speech

similar to that. We left on the night, as I said before, of the death of Medgar Evers. I imitated Ross Barnett, the governor of Mississippi. It went like this: "We the people of the soveriegn state of Mississippi." But then we had to change it -- and we would soon one day have to say, "We the people of the free state of Mississippi."

When I got to New York I told the people of the hard time I had in jail. They mixed our food with a broom in a garbage can and fed us. They fed us powdered milk, or commodities, as you might call it up here.

While I was in New York my brother's arm was broken, and he was sent to the University Hospital in Jackson, Mississippi. He had on an NAACP T-shirt and the doctor tore it off of him, because it made him so mad.

The reason for my working in civil rights was that one day our school had a walk-out, and the police beat up a parent while coming for her children. This wouldn't let me go, because this was a white policeman beating her up. We did not have no colored policemen on the force then. I've been working in civil rights since the past summer - 1963. My brothers have been working with us also, and we have conducted workshops and canvassed for voter registration campaigns. Also I'm doing this, because I believe that, as I said before, each man should have equality, and as the song goes: "We Shall Overcome", but we need everyone to help us. I believe that I am doing the right thing, because in the Constitution of America it was written up, and it said, "...that all men are endowed by their creator." And now, we are living in Jackson, Miss. today still cannot have a job working on the main street of the city.

What I'm looking forward to in the future is that each of us have equality -- equality for all men. I would like to be a shhool teacher in the Jackson public schools system, and also I would like to have a few white faces in my class, and not all dark-skinned children. My brother wants to be a brickmason/ He wants to build white high schools, he wants to build white homes for other white people. He doesn't want to build a home in a ghetto area where there are all colored people. My other brother, he wants to be a chemist -- he wants to teach white students, and other students of all races. But what good is this? -- just teaching children of your own race? What good is it going to college knowing what kind of job you will get when you come out? What good is it going to the best college in America such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton -- any college you can ~~ma~~ name and when you come back to Jackson, Miss. you might have a job working for another white person, or maybe on a garbage truck.

CLIFF GARRETT

My name is Cliff Garrett, and I attend Lanier Junior-Senior High School. The real reason I joined the Jackson movement is because I felt that I was black, and I could help out in some way to make it easier for my people. I joined the movement in the beginning of the Summer of 1963. I really believe that there was something that I could do to make it easier for my people.

I have been arrested ~~several~~ seven times, and the movement is at a stand-still now -- it is not moving as steady as it ought to be.

We don't have very much support. The kids now are wondering if they go to jail, how would it be? Would they go to the Oakley (?) or what? People now, I don't know, they say they're scared. We are now working on the Voter Registration, trying to get more Negroes to vote, because we really believe that in Mississippi there are more colored to vote to get the ones they want in office. We are now fighting for equal rights in Mississippi. The fight is now, as I said before, at a standstill -- but the Negroes are now fighting because they believe that freedom will be coming. The death of President Kennedy was a great loss to the Negroes as well as to the whites. The President's heart was on both sides of the fense -- it wasn't for white because he was white. He might not have agreed with what you have had to say, but he would have died for the right of you to say it. When they killed Medger, they said that the movement would be as stopped, butthey are wrong, the movement has only slowed down. The fight is still going on. The colored people are not really together to make this fight go on as it should, but it is slowly moving -- and I guess we can be thankful of that.

We are now in the process of voter registration. It is not a full drive yet, but in a couple of weeks we plan to have at least a majority of the people in Jackson as registered voters. Demonstrations will now start back on December 15, which me and my friends will take an active part in.

The demonstration I took part in was a mass march on Capitol Street. We went to Farish Street Church where the kids met.

There were at least a couple of thousands of kids from all around

the ~~an~~ neighborhood. We loaded in the church, ~~by~~ then by twos we marched down Farish Street. On the way to Farish Street we were stopped by the Jackson Police Department. They were waiting on our arrival. We were then loaded into garbage trucks and taken tothe fairgrounds. We were there without beds. For our first meal they gave us ~~bal~~ balogna, two pieces of bread, and some powdered milk. We slept that night -- they didn't give us no bed. We stayed there until round about..... late that night the boys and girls were separated. While we were there we slept on concrete--we didn't have no beds, and no kind of facilities. The restroom was not in working order. We really had to live on nothing. We were there without food, and when the NAACP tried to bring us food they wouldn't let it come in...the police stopped it there. The food they fixed for us was in garbage cans~~m~~, but we did not accept that that morning. We waited til noon and we had a foreman, and we called the NAACP. They said the food might not be clean, but ~~it~~ eat it anyway. So, at lunch time they served us some hard rice, some pork and beans, and milk, and bread. And that was our noon lunch. We were taken back in the room, locked, and there was no little police brutality while we were there. Some of the kids were singing and the po lice came in there, lined us up against the wall, and beat up a ~~couple~~ couple. Then he asked us if there was any complaints. The kids -- about 20 kids complained about the beds, the food, so forth. He separated the kids complaining from the others, and took the kids to jail. When they were arrested, we were still at the fairgrounds, and it was very rough there. There wasn't nothing we could do but sing, and wishto get out. When we first got there the kids were really there to be there, and when their parents came to get them they said, "No we're not leaving, we came

together, we'll laave together." That worked for a couple of days, then the kids started sprawling (?) off, and when they parents came to get them, the kids would really leave. I stayed there a week or so and then was released, in the custody of our parents. The judge said that we would return and in a way that we would be sent to the county farm for six months. That really didn't scare the kids

Another demonstration I took part in -- we went to Liverson Park -- an all-white park which me and four or five of my friends attended. We were put into a car and taken to the park -- we got out of the car and went in and we played just like we really belpnged there. We really did believe that that was our park as well as the whites. We were there for round about fifteen minutes, and the police came up and asked us to leave. We told him, "No, we had equal rights to play here, and this is where we are going to stand." Then the police asked us again. Then he pushed on a couple of kids, and we stood back, and the police said, "Well, you're arrested.". They took us to jail, and we stayed in jail for a couple of weeks. Then we were released in the custody of our parents again, and the man provided a summer school down at the jailhouse for us. He said we should come there from 8:00am to 3:00 pm, and we'd be served lunch at 12:00 o'clock. This worked our for a couple of days -- they gave us school books, and we stopped getting lunch -- they didn't want to feed us, and when they sent us home, we had to walk all the way home at noon-time. So we decided among the kids that we wern't going to attend this summer school anymore provided by the Jackson Police Department. In a couple of days we were arrested again

for contempt of court. We were carried to the county jail, and we were done very horribly there. We were pushed on and beaten. But the kids really believed in what they were going to jail for. We stayed there a couple of weeks, then we had a big court to come up. The judge decided to send some of the kids out of town. He tried to get a couple of us in the Army, which didn't work out. Our lawyer was there, but there was not too much he could really do. We were released in a couple of weeks and carried back home.

The reason they started this summer school for us was to keep the kids out of the movement. They had someone to let them know the news about what time the workshop began. Really the reason they had this school was to keep the kids from being active in this workshop. The workshop was made up of adults as well as children. We were there to learn this white man's ways -- the way he thinks, and what he would like to do. We believe in one thing -- you find out everything about this white man, and you'll be able to defeat him. The best workshop we had was at Pratt Memorial Church. The time was from 10:00 to 12:00. The kids were there as well as the adults, and we were there to learn everything we could about the white man. We had a few white friends there who were from around New Orleans who were there to tell us the way they feel about the Negro -- they didn't have anything really against the Negro. The grown-ups were arrested for contributing to the delinquency of minors -- which was about these workshops. So we decided to get kids to run these workshops and they did very well. The workshops began scattering, and began to breakup. The kids didn't know the reason why they were coming to the workshop.

The police started taking us from the park to the jail -- that was about 10:00 o'clock. So we missed breakfast. For noon lunch

we had cornbread, some rice, and some kind of peas. At 6:00 we had the same food we had at 12:00. We got hungry between meals, but we couldn't get anything, and they didn't allow us to smoke up there, or make any kind of noise. We had to be quiet or they would come in there and beat us. They threatened us, many times if we didn't cut out that singing, that we would be beatened or sent to solitary. That didn't scare the kids, because they really wanted to sing to relax themselves.

For breakfast, we had three biscuits, some syrup, some kind of fat meat, and some black coffee without sugar. It wasn't a decent meal -- it couldn't do anything for you, but you didn't have nothing else. That time I was in jail for two weeks and a half.

After the March on Washington, my mother was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor because she signed the papers for me to attend the March on Washington. There were quite a number of people at the March on Washington from all walks of life -- there were whites as well as blacks, it didn't make too much difference. At the March on Washington a reporter came up to me and asked me why did we march. The reason I told him was that we were there to represent the colored people around the world as well as in Jackson, and we were there to show the President how we felt about degregation among the Negroes in Jackson, as well as any place else that is segregated. I told him that our thought was to break this segregation as well as change the white man's minds. We don't want integration, we want equal rights. To get equal rights, we have to integrate.

When I finish Lanier High School I'd like to get more active in the movement. I plan to be field secretary for CORE, if possible. Really there's a place for me in this fight, and I plan to take my stand. I'm wondering about the people coming up, and what I can do for them to make it easy.

I'm a little disappointed in the the Negroes, because now I think the fight would be half way over if the Negro had really pulled together. I'm pleading with all Negroes to come together to see what you can do, because there is a place in this movement or this fight for all Negroes as well as whites. The whites are out here fighting for you -- what do you want to do for yourself? I plead with all Negroes to come forth now, stand up be counted, let the white man know that you are tired of this way. We're going to make a change in Mississippi as well as any other segregated place. Now is the time -- not a year from now, or two years, we're ready to be counted in this number. I thank you, Cliff Garrett.

JOHNNY JONES, JR.

My name is Johnny Jones, Jr. I'm a sophomore at Lanier Junior-Senior High School. My mother is a checker at Crescent Laundry and Cleaners.

Why I Was Interested in the Movement. -- When the movement began some friends of mine had all been to jail. They asked me why didn't I join in the movement to have a little fun with them. At first it was just fun to us. So, we went to jail a couple of times and we were treated sort of bad in jail--or on the fairgrounds, at least. We slept on a concrete floor

on night, and there were about 50 boys in there, and they threw about seven bunks in there and said we could use these. We threw them back out and told them that it wasn't enough so we wouldn't take them.

It was a very experiencing trip on the fairgrounds. At night we sang and prayed, and the police got very angry and told us if we didn't stop they what they were going to do. We kept going. Then when the reporters came, they wouldn't let the reporters see us the first day, but the second day when the reporters came in they were mopping up and cleaning up and they let the reporters come in to see the place. We told the reporters they had just cleaned up the place because they hadn't cleaned it up in the beginning. It was just a filthy little place in the wall they had for us. The reporters asked me what did I hope to gain from these experiences. I told them that in one case I hoped to gain better rights as a first-class citizen so that when I get older and become a young man I will have the right to do as I wish on certain occasions, and to be free as all men are, to live like all other human beings live.

WILLY Gibbons and Johnny Jones:

Willy: Johnny, what do you think about jail now?

Johnny: Well, I think jail is a cruel and a wonderful place to be if you are there for a good occasion.

Johnny: Willy, going to jail, what did you gain from it?

Willy: What did I gain? Well, really I didn't gain anything. The thing that I was hoping that I would gain would be freedom and independence for all my countrymen.

Willy: Johnny, as things are going now, what do you think about the movement?

Johnny: Well, now I think the movement is moving a little slow at the moment, but our civil rights leaders say that we are making progress. Right now, I think we're just standing still.

Johnny: Willy, would you go back to jail again?

Willy: Certainly, if it were for a good purpose, and I can't name any better purpose than freedom.

Johnny: Cliff, would you go back to jail?

Cliff: Well, yes I will if we get the kind of support I think we really need, I would go back to jail. Support that I refer to is backing -- I mean, if we should go to jail again, and come out with a big trial, I wouldn't like for it to be like it was before. We didn't have any lawyers in there with us -- we need their support and backing.

Johnny: Willy, how many times have you been to jail?

Willy: I've been to jail several times. This last time was when I was picked when I was out of school and they charged us with disturbing the peace and vagrancy, and inciting to riot. This last time I was supposed to be sent to Oakley Training, but unfortunately, they changed their minds and just put me on probation, and they didn't give a time that I would be off.

Cliff: Really integrating up there is a fact, huh?

Willy: Yes.

Cliff: How did you fill about the white people up there in Flint, Mich?

Willy: Well, up in Flint, Michigan where I was staying we were in an integrated neighborhood where whites and Negroes were both living. We lived next door to these white people. Well, sometimes when my mother had to go to work -- I was very small then, but I can remember -- we went over to their house and stayed, they fed us and took good care of us, we would go out and play with their kids, and there was a big field in front of our house, and we would all go out there and played and did all sorts of things together. We ice skated together -- it was really togetherness up there.

Cliff: Johnny and ~~Jackson~~ Willy? do you really think the colored people are ready for freedom?

Johnny: In a way of speaking, I say the majority is, but there are still some that are not ready yet. I think in due time they will be ready. By not ready I mean they are not ready to pull together for each other and stand together and fight side by side.

Willy: Johnny, I can kind of go along with that, because the white man and his fellowmen will stick together. If one white man has fallen down, well this man will come along and pick this other man up. But if a Negro has fallen down another Negro will come by and say, "It's no skin off my back, I don't see why that I should pick him up because it's not hurting me, it's only hurting him."

Johnny: Well, Willy, on that point I think you're wrong because it's not that way in all cases. Well, I say for you, Cliff and I -- when we're together if something goes wrong

one, then something goes wrong with all and we would all pitch in and help each other. So I feel that the majority of the Negroes are that way too, in a way of speaking

Cliff: Since we've been demonstrating out in the streets, do you think we've made it any place by this?

Johnny: Well, I think we let the white people know that we want something that we don't havex that's ours and we're supposed to have it. In this way of showing them, it's letting them know.

Willy: Johnny, at the speed we're going now how long do you say it will be before we get our equal rights?

Johnny: Well, I'm not so sure about how long it takes things to be done, but as one of our civil rights leaders have said, freedom will be here in '64. I disagree with that though -- I don't think so. The way the movement is going now -- our brother Charles Evers -- he likes to go through court all the time, and all this money that he's taking up it's going right back in these white folks pockets, see. If it were me up there I would keep demonstrating, keep all the boycotts, and try to get all the people together and try to hold on to these things, and try to get full support from everyone.

Johnny: Cliff, could you tell me why did you really join the movement?

Cliff: Well Johnny, the reason I joined the movement was I was black, and I felt that there was some way to help the Negroes.

Willy: Johnny why did you join the movement.

Johnny: Well, my reason is the same as Cliff's -- because I was black, and I felt that I should help the movement, too. Another reason is that a lot of my friends encouraged me that I should, and my mother encouraged me, and because of my race, too.

Cliff: Willy is your family with the movement?

Willy: Yes, I'd say half of my family. My mother she doesn't really go along with this because she's kinda afraid for me and our family.

Johnny: That's what I meant when I said that all of them were not ready, because some of us are afraid for their children to be washed down the streets with firehoses or tear gas, beaten or even when we're in a church having a mass meeting the church might be blown up. That's one reason that all the families are not together. But some families feel that what must be done, must be done, and if their sons or daughters are going to be harmed they're going to be harmed anyway.

Willy: Well, what you're saying is that the Negroes are not really together, wouldn't you say.

Johnny: Yes, I would.

Willy: They've got that sense of fear and that why you say the movement is slow. You wouldn't say it's stopped, would you Johnny?

Johnny: No, I wouldn't say it's stopped, I'd just say it's slowing down. Fear -- that's a great word, fear. Most people don't realize that fear can stop most anything.

But I don't really think they're scared or anything.

Willy: We say that the youth has really carried this movement. Wouldn't you say that the movement has stopped because school has started?

Johnny: In a way I'd say so. Our brother Charles Evers said he didn't want any demonstrations during school. Do you remember Cliff the first day of school we planned a walk-out, and we had some of the kids at the school ready, and we were called to the office and talked to by our principal -- he had a long talk with us.

Cliff: Really, like I said before, the officers are not really together -- The NAACP, CORE, or SNCC. At the beginning of school, the youth had started a walk-out. The NAACP came over and talked with Mr. Butler. Right Johnny?

Johnny: Right. But I don't -- while school is going on if we do get what we call freedom for all of us, which it really would be -- I think we really do need an education with it. So I think we should go to school unless we have a good reason for walking out of school.

Cliff: I'd say this Johnny. I disagree with you on that. Why' go to school, and graduate this year, finish school see, here in Mississippi -- what could you be?

Johnny: You could be no more than a school teacher, bricklayer or carpenter, You couldn't get in any big business and make real money like you could any other states. But it would be a good idea to get an education -- a real good education -- therefore, wherever you go, you would have and education to go with you.

Cliff: If you got this education in Mississippi - it's a ~~a~~ secondary education. If you got this so-called education here and you graduate you'd want to stay here in Mississippi, in your own home, and be something here. You wouldn't want to move off somewhere else and try to seek your goal -- you 'd want to stay here and make something of yourself.

Johnny: They always say that education is something that ~~tha&&~~ they can't take away from you. They might can take your car, money, or anything, but education is something noone can take away from you. They can't take something that you have in your mind -- they just cant take that away from you.

Cliff: Well, deep in our hearts~~x~~ we do believe we shall overcome, right?

Johnny: Right.

Willy: Right

Cliff: As long as we sing this song some day something will turn around for the Negro and go forward. Wouldn't you say Johnny?

Johnny: Yeah, I think things will straighten out, and we'll ~~tak&a&~~ take a big run, or a big leap one, and be free. I hope it comes very soon

Cliff: Me too.

FREEDOM POEMS , by Mrs. Lois Rogers
Clevelandm Mississippi

"A FREEDOM PRAYER"

O Lord, the maker of all mankind,
Please hear my freedom prayer.
You see the condition the world is in today,
I know you shrely care.
Our lives here are like pilgrims,
We are trodded down with the soil.
O Lord, if it be Your will,
Please help us in our struggle and toil.

O Lord, I pray you help the mean white men,
That draws the color line; without even racial resentment,
Please help us to change their minds.
O Lord, I pray our children will be free,
And can live in dignity.
And all the chances in their lives,
To be what they want to be.

You have spared me to see men suffer and die,
At noon, midnight, and dawn.
O Lord, if it be Your will,
Please let Thy Kingdom come,
On Earth as it is in Heaven.

Amen.

"A PRAYER FOR REDEMPTION"

O Lord, with Thy hand of mighty,
Guide me in all ways, so true,
As I seek to redeem my brother.
Together my brother and I will seek to
redeem the community.
O Lord, I pray for understanding,
As communities seek to redeem the country.
I pray that the country will seek to redeem
all countries.
At this period of time, if my life has not
been a sacrifice,
I pray for physical strength.
My load will be strong, my spirit will be high,
but my body will be weak from suffering.
O Lord, I pray for brothers so true,
Communities of love, and countries of understanding.
When these things come to pass,
I know the redeemed one is now.

## "I AM NON-VIOLENT"

I am poor in wealth,
But rich with love and dignity.
No evil jim-crow law will strip me of this pride.
I am willing to suffer, give love in return for hate.
I will always tell the truth.
If I lose my life in this struggle,
The world will enrichen by my sacrifice.

## "HOW WHITE MASTERS SPEAK"

John, John, come here boy.
I'm going to beat your back.
When I called the meeting to order,
You were there peeping through the crack.
I told you to trim the hedges,
Work the garden, and wax the floors.
When the meeting ended, you were standing behind
the door,

Mr. Robinson discussed the first business,
Mr. Wilson discussed the rest.
I heard you whispering through the crack,
"Oh, man, what an address."

Let this beating be a lesson.
Don't let it happen anymore.
When you see white folks doing business,
Do what you're told to do.

## "TOO MUCH COMMON LABOR"

Too much common labor is a crime,
When you can't wear decent clothes.
There are plenty fine houses in the world,
And most common laborers are out of doors .
Too much common labor, too much common labor,
Everywhere in the South you pass,
Negro men with picks and shovels; the women with
mop, pails, and rags.
Let me tell you Mr. Common Laborer,
Learn to use your head.
Don't shovel, pick and mop for the rest of
your life,
Vote sometimes, instead.

"FREEDOM SOLDIERS"

Freedom soldiers are standing ready,
In every little town you go.
There's no time for fear and worry,
Just join in if you want to go.

The Freedom soldiers' is the strongest army,
Fighting with non-violent words.
They're not afraid of losing the battle,
Their interest is saving souls.

If you are not a soldier,
You are standing on the sideline.
What can you say you've done for freedom
At the end of this struggling time?

"GOD MADE THE WORLD"

When God made the world, He said "Let there be light."
He made the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule
the night.
He hung the stars up in the sky.
Everything he made is right.
He didn't leave the world dull for sight,
To everything He gave a color -- mountains, hills,
lakes, and streams,
The whole world is a beautiful scene.

He made the world full of many things --
everything for a reason.
If we use them right, the world will be happy and
pleasing.

Today the world is a new day,
Both black and white must do their part.
The sooner we all agree,
Living won't be so hard.

"NO DISCRIMINATION IN HEAVEN"

When we reach the land of promise,
There will be no colored line.
There will be no signs of segregation,
We all shall be combined.

All of the pure in heart shall enter,
Of every race and tongue.
When we reahh the land of Caanan Caanan,
All races shall be as one.

We need not think we're going to heaven,
And live on jim-crow lies.
The evil men make the laws,
And we lie when we abide.
We do not like the system,
And we know it isn't right,
We call ourselves Christians,
Why not speak up for justice and right?

We will never see the land of promise,
With race hate on our minds.
We might as well find some place else to go,
We are just wasting time.
Let us all stop now,
And start treating each other fair.
Silver and gold will not be endured,
Nor will our skin or color.
We must love all that dwell on earth,
Every man must be our brother.....

April 8, 1957

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
American Association for the United Nations, Inc.
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would like to know that Mrs. David Levy, whom I saw recently in New York, is assisting the Southern Regional Council with a very generous contribution this year and has agreed to make a similar contribution for two succeeding years. It was very pleasant to see your picture prominently displayed in her library, where we talked.

May I take this opportunity to add my own thanks to those of Fred Routh for your kind contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council at this time of special need. Your friendship and support mean a great deal to us as we face the heavy responsibilities of an organization of this kind in the South today.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

(Member: World Federation of United Nations Associations)

File

*Research Affiliate.*
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

National Headquarters, 345 EAST 46TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Telephone: OXford 7-3232
Cable Address: UNASAMER

April 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of April the eighth.

I am so glad that Mrs. Levy is helping you, and I send you my best wishes for success in your undertakings.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

ER:PB

*Honorary Presidents*: WILLIAM EMERSON • JAMES T. SHOTWELL • SUMNER WELLES. *President*: CHARLES W. MAYO, M.D.
*Chairman, Board of Directors*: OSCAR A. DE LIMA. *Chairman, Board of Governors*: MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
*Executive Director*: CLARK M. EICHELBERGER.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
211 EAST 62ND STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1957

July 16, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you so much for the copy of your report. I am glad to have it and I look forward to reading it with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

February 24, 1959

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I take pleasure in sending you the enclosed copy of our annual report of program activities. This gives me a chance to say again how grateful we are for your friendship and assistance to the Council over the years.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

*(Member: World Federation of United Nations Associations)*

*Research Affiliate.*
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

National Headquarters, 345 EAST 46TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Telephone: OXford 7-3232
Cable Address: UNASAMER

March 11, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your annual report of program activities. I read it with great interest and appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

ER:PB

*Honorary Presidents*: CHARLES W. MAYO, M.D. • JAMES T. SHOTWELL • SUMNER WELLES.
*Chairman, Board of Directors and Acting President*: OSCAR A. DE LIMA. *Chairman, Board of Governors*: MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
*Executive Director*: CLARK M. EICHELBERGER.

# MRS. ROOSEVELT AIDS INTEGRATION

N.Y. Times 5-27-59

## Asks Support of Southern Fund, a Target of House and Senate Inquiries

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt appealed yesterday for support of the pro-integrationist Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. Some of the group's leaders have been targets for Congressional investigations.

Mrs. Roosevelt told a fund-raising meeting at the Delmonico Hotel:

"I think it is probably the only organization left in the South where people of different colors can work together, and I hope we can give it the financial as well as the spiritual support it needs.

"What happens on the firing line "affects our leadership in the world against real Communist control—not just the 'communism' which is put on anything you don't like. For instance, in the South, if you happen to be for integration, you're called a 'Communist.'"

One of the fund's field secretaries, Carl Braden, is now appealing a contempt conviction for refusing to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities last July. In 1955 the Senate Internal Security subcommittee asked the Department of Justice to determine if the group was a "Communist front"—a charge strongly denied by its president, Aubrey W. Williams.

The fund, whose headquarters are in New Orleans, grew out of the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and has operated independtly since 1946. It is run by sixty-five directors from the seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia. James A. Dombrowski, executive director, said it had 3,500 contributors.

t yesterday's meeting Hubert T. Delany, former Domestic Relations justice, raised more than $17,260 from the 200 persons present. Mrs. Roosevelt gave $500.

The session also adopted a resolution opposing bill in Congress that would reinstate sedition laws. Mr. Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration, joined with Mrs. Roosevelt in warning that southern states might use such laws against integrationists.

Mr. Williams said the fund enjoyed the complete confidence of southern Negro leaders. But he asserted that a "combination" of the Senate and House committees and southern Governors, Attorneys-general and state courts had "all but wiped out all white southern voices in behalf of integration." Mr. Williams now publishes a quarterly, The Southern Farmer, in Montgomery, Ala.

House tenure—his eyes and ears.

# My Day by Eleanor Roosevelt

I was saddened to read of the notice served on the Rev. Robert B. McNeill who was removed from his Southern Presbyterian pastoral post in Columbus, Ga., on the order of his church's governing body. It is interesting to realize that Rev. McNeill was born in Birmingham, Ala., and that it was only after he grew up that he made the discovery that a belief in segregation on the basis of race or of color is a dangerous philosophy.

I don't think his dismissal will do Rev. McNeill himself any harm, for I am sure there are many churches that would like to affirm a belief in free speech for their ministers, and I will not be surprised to find that such churches exist in the South.

The harm lies in the fact that such a decision indicates a failure to understand what disservice is being done to our country in the over-all struggle of democracy versus communism.

* * *

**All of us know from the records that the men** of the South know how to die for their country, and the women have known how to support their men. But it is a much more difficult thing to live for your country when it means a change in the mores that you have been brought up with.

The knowledge that you can help to safeguard your country in the struggle that lies below the surface but which is going on all the time between the Communist powers of the world and the powers of the West only by accepting a change in mores is often perhaps not well understood.

* * *

**I was reminded the other day that in speaking** of the Southern Conference Educational Fund I mentioned that it "is probably the only organiza- left in the South where people of different colors can work together."

The reminder came immediately that the Southern Regional Council and its state and district affiliates also work, regardless of different colors, for equality among men. And I was told that the Montgomery Council on Human Relations, a local branch of the Southern Regional Council, played an important part in the bus civil rights and are being made to suffer for their boycott there.

I am very glad to know how many people of courage the South has, but I am not surprised, for, as I have said, this is a traditional quality of the South.

[illegible]

[illegible], [illegible]

is [illegible]

**SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**
822 PERDIDO STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

June 12, 1959

Dear Miss Wilkins:

We report to you with pleasure that our annual reception at the Hotel Delmonico on May 26th was a gratifying success. Three hundred persons were present and the Southern Conference Educational Fund received in contributions and pledges more than $17,000.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the honored chairman, commended the Fund, saying, "The Southern Conference Educational Fund seems to me a very important organization because I think it is probably the only organization now left in the South where people of different colors can work together for integration."

The Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the bus protest in Birmingham, Alabama, vividly described the dynamiting of his church, the personal indignities and harassments and the two mob situations he has faced. He urged that we all work to make America truly "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

If you were one of those invited who could not attend because of the afternoon hour or a prior commitment, you may wish to join with those who were present in supporting the Fund by making a contribution or a pledge on the enclosed card.

If you made a contribution at the reception or one of the house-parties that preceded it, accept our thanks for your generous support.

Cordially yours,

Ruth Rosenwald

Ruth Rosenwald

Hubert T. Delany

Hubert T. Delany

Maurice H. Mogulescu

Maurice H. Mogulescu

For the New York Friends of S. C. E. F.

PA - F.Y.I.
To be filed under Josephine Wilkins

RECEIVED JUL 10 1959

Harold -

Here's that correspondence -- will be in touch with you before I move further. It was good talking with you this morning.

JW

JOSEPHINE WILKINS

307 East 44th Street
New York 17, N. Y.
June 17, 1959

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Word from the South tells me of great appreciation of your reference to the Southern Regional Council in your column of some days ago. And of course you must know of my own.

It was a joy to have that little visit with you in your office on the 9th, and I left you and walked up First Avenue with a singing in my heart over your gracious suggestion about my coming up to Hyde Park on the weekend of the 28th. Within the next few days I shall get in touch as you said with Miss Corr to inquire about that beautiful possibility.

Cordially,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

*Memo* FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

January 22, 1960

MEMO: To: B. Cooke
J. Constable

Please change Mrs. Franklin D.

Roosevelt's address to the following:

55 E. 74th Street
New York 21, New York (21)

MF. - Noted
Can passing info to 4th floor

This is to notify you that

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's

new address is:

55 East 74th Street

New York 21, New York

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt

FREE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

GRAND CENTRAL
STATION

NEW YORK, N.Y. 17
JAN 20
11-PM
1960

BC: Miss Josephine Wilkins

via air mail September 26, 1960

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
55 E. 74th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The dinner last Tuesday evening was, for me, for Mr. Dabbs, and for the Southern Regional Council, a wonderful occasion. We can never thank you enough for this opportunity to discuss the work of the Council with a select group, and in so warm and gracious a setting.

I know from Josephine Wilkins how very busy you have been, and this gives us added reason to be grateful for your willingness to help in this way.

We shall be writing follow-up letters to the guests (except for your friends, the doctor and his family), and to those who were invited but could not come. We shall let you know of the results, both in terms of financial assistance to the Council and enhanced interest in its work on the part of these influential persons.

It would be a pleasure, at any time, to render you any service that I or the Southern Regional Council can command.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin Delano

REGARDING:

Resolution passed at Annual Meeting of SRC, November 19, 1962 at Mrs. Roosevelt's passing.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Board - Annual Meeting, 1962

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Roosevelt, Mrs. F. D.

REGARDING:

Correspondence between Mrs. FDR and Joe. Wilkins relative to contacts made with Sen. Herbert Lehman for further financial support for SRC from Fund for the Republic.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Board - Josephine Wilkins

MEMBERS:
JAMES ROOSEVELT, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
JOHN H. DENT, PA.
ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, ILL.
NEAL SMITH, IOWA
WILLIAM H. AYRES, OHIO
EDGAR W. HESTAND, CALIF.
CHARLES E. GOODELL, N.Y.

# Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

DON LOWE
DIRECTOR

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

## Special Subcommittee on Labor

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

FYI
MMB-file

November 22, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for the three copies of the "Report On Employment Opportunities For Negores in Houston."

The discovery through Subcommittee equal employment opportunity hearings thus far and through collecting research data, that employment discrimination exists, is of course no earth shaking revelation. I must say, however, that the extent and ramifications of employment discrimination in America today approach a magnitude that is nothing short of shocking. We have so much to do and perhaps so little time in which to do it; nothing less than a strong Federal equal employment opportunity act, vigorously enforced, can be accepted.

Thank you once again for the reports. We would very much appreciate receiving any further material you might like to pass on to us.

Sincerely yours,

James Roosevelt

JAMES ROOSEVELT
Chairman

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JR:af

November 17, 1961

The Honorable James Roosevelt, Chairman
Special Subcommittee on Labor
Committee on Education and Labor
United States House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Congressman Roosevelt:

I received your letter of October 20th regarding the postponement of the hearings in Atlanta. Thank you for advising me.

I am enclosing three copies of a report which we have just released on employment opportunities for Negroes in Houston. As you will note, this is the first of four similar reports we are planning. The second on Miami should be released within a month.

These do not purport to be comprehensive surveys. They are intended simply to portray the employment and career opportunities which face the Negro in these cities.

If you should desire additional copies please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. -3-

MEMBERS:
JAMES ROOSEVELT, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
JOHN H. DENT, PA.
ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, ILL.
NEAL SMITH, IOWA
WILLIAM H. AYRES, OHIO
EDGAR W. HIESTAND, CALIF.
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# Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

DON LOWE
DIRECTOR

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

## Special Subcommittee on Labor

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

I M - for MBB - file

October 20, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Sourthern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Due to the tremendous work load involved in the preparation of hearings before this subcommittee in Chicago, Illinois, Los Angeles, Calif., and New York City, N. Y., it is necessary to postpone the scheduled hearing in Atlanta, Ga., on November 1 and 2, 1961, until sometime after the first of the year.

Please accept my warm thanks for your cooperation in the preparation of material for this hearing.

Sincerely yours,

James Roosevelt

James Roosevelt
Chairman
Special Subcommittee on Labor

JR:phb

JM
return to MB for filing
Yes, please
send file
for use for
Sec's testimony
Jim

October 10, 1961

The Honorable James Roosevelt, Chairman
House of Representatives
Special Subcomittee on Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of October 3 I accept your invitation to testify before the Special Subcommittee on Labor in Atlanta, Georgia on November 2 at 2:00 p.m. My testimony will be limited to such findings as are then complete in relation to our studies of employment opportunities in Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga, and Miami.

I shall endeavor to forward my written statement to your office a few days before the hearing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

MEMBERS:
JAMES ROOSEVELT, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
JOHN H. DENT, PA.
ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, ILL.
NEAL SMITH, IOWA
WILLIAM H. AYRES, OHIO
EDGAR W. HIESTAND, CALIF.
CHARLES E. GOODELL, N.Y.

# Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

DON LOWE
DIRECTOR

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

## Special Subcommittee on Labor

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

October 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Pursuant to your conversation with a member of our staff, I wish to formally invite you to appear before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am Chairman, to testify as to the findings of employment studies made under the direction of your organization in Atlanta, Ga., Miami, Fla., Chattanooga, Tenn., and Houston, Texas. We request that you appear at the U. S. Courthouse, Atlanta, Georgia, on Thursday, November 2, 1961, at 2:00 p.m.

It is requested that you limit your oral testimony to fifteen minutes but submit a comprehensive written statement containing the findings, in detail, of these studies. We would appreciate receiving an advance copy of this statement at this office, within a reasonable time, prior to the hearing date so that pertinent questions may be prepared. At the time of your appearance before the committee, we would like you to submit approximately thirty copies of your written statement for distribution to the Members and the Press.

Your cooperation in the preparation and presentation of this material will be greatly appreciated as we feel that your organization can contribute valuable assistance in the consideration of this proposed legislation.

Sincerely yours,

for Don Lowe

James Roosevelt
Chairman
Special Subcommittee on Labor

JR:og

HAAS, HOLLAND & ZINKOW

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
JACK H. ZINKOW
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

ROSE M. SCHREIBER
WILLIAM M. SINRICH

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I see no reason why you should not appear to testify at the invitation of the Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Labor.

The purpose of Congressional Investigating Committees is to ascertain facts and to determine whether or not legislation is needed in the area under investigation. An organization which, at the request of a Congressional Committee, appears and gives testimony is not doing anything more than making available to the Committee the facts ascertained in a particular area under study.

Even if by some exceedingly technical construction this could be considered action in support of a legislative program (questions immediately arise "what is the program", "is the testimony in support of it", etc?) This constitutes such a minute part of the total SRC activities, that it would be what we call in law "de minimis", that is, too inconsequential to be of importance.

The exemption is not jeopardized unless "a substantial part" of the program is devoted to"attempting to influence legislation".

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Joe

JFH:RS

For Haas, Holland and Zinkow

file
Sec Contributors
1967

Placed on N.S. & FCR Mailing lists
See: PA memo of 1/9/67

January 9, 1967

Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Rosenfeld
160, Southampton Avenue
Berkeley, California

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Rosenfeld:

Thank you sincerely for your contribution of $150. Our receipt is enclosed. Please know that support such as this, and the faith it indicates in our work, are very, very important to us.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Official Receipt

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Kathy Martin

Miscellaneous Contributions 1968

March 11, 1968

Contribution of $213.75

check from

Davis, Skaggs & Co.
111 Sutter Street
San Francisco, Calif.

stocks-bonds

for: Mr. ~~Thos.~~ Arthur Rosenfeld
(See attached corresp)

CHECK COVERS 00-81388-1

4 Medtronics Inc. 213.75

Post to 1968 contributions
Net proceeds from Sale of
4 Medtronics Inc Stock:
$213.75
Rec. 3/11/68

January 12, 1968

Mr. Arthur H. Rosenfeld
160 Southampton Avenue
Berkeley, California

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld:

We have just been informed through Davis, Skaggs & Company of your thoughtful gift.

Such unsolicited support and the vote of confidence it represents means a great deal to us, and we are genuinely grateful. We shall make every effort to see that these funds are used effectively.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

January 12, 1968

Mr. Robert P. Mann
Davis, Skaggs & Company
160 Sansome Street
San Francisco 94100

Dear Mr. Mann:

Thank you for the welcomed information of the gife of Mr. Arthur H. Rosenfeld of four (4) shares of Medtronics Inc. stock. We will write to Mr. Rosenfeld to express our appreciation.

We would be grateful if you would sell the shares and send the proceeds to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DAVIS, SKAGGS & CO.
*Established in 1927*
STOCKS — BONDS
MEMBERS
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE
AMERICAN STOCK EXCHANGE (ASSOCIATE)
PACIFIC COAST STOCK EXCHANGE
TELEPHONE 362-2484
CABLE ADDRESS: DASCO

160 SANSOME STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 94104

December 31, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Mr. ARthur H. Rosenfeld, 160 Southampton Avenue, Berkeley, California has asked us to transfer four shares of Medtronics Inc. stock to you as a gift. The common stock is selling at approximately $50.00 a share.

Will you please advise us whether you would like the certificate or would like us to sell the shares and send you the proceeds.

Sincerely,

DAVIS, SKAGGS & CO.

Robert P. Mann

Robert P. Mann

RPM:ms

DAVIS, SKAGGS & CO.
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June 24, 1968

file (Rosenfeld)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Sincerely,

Robert P. Mann
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Robert P. Mann

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# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

## THREE RAMPARTS WE WATCH

BY

EDWIN R. EMBREE

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

1941

# *THREE RAMPARTS WE WATCH

We in America and in many other countries have been slowly groping our way toward liberalism and democracy. It has been a long, hard trek. We have not yet fully reached our goal. But we will not turn back. In spite of the waves of hate and tyranny that are now sweeping the world, we are determined to press on toward tolerance and free opportunity for all the people.

From the beginning this nation has been in the war between freedom and tyranny. The very settling of America was a search for fresh opportunities, a revolt against the old restraints and dogmas.

At first we had limited ideas as to the scope of freedom. We held one great group of our own population in slavery; many of the early settlements showed little regard for religious liberty; the rights of servants and of labor were subject to the privileges and power of the propertied class. But steadily throughout the history of the new nation we have extended the theory and the practice of liberty and opportunity. We freed our slaves and have given these freedmen at least a share in American opportunities. We have slowly established the idea and the fact of religious liberty. The rights of the working classes have steadily grown, and the standard of living of the masses, while still far below what it might be in this country of abundance, is well above that known in any other great realm at any other time. Meanwhile we have greatly enlarged the positive services and safeguards to all the people: education, health, protection of the weak and needy.

All this has come slowly. During the three hundred

*This paper is a reprint from the Julius Rosenwald Fund Review for the two-year period 1938–1940. Additional copies may be obtained on request from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

years of colonial and national progress the American people have found that freedom is not a gift but is something to be fought for inch by inch, to be won through wise planning and hard work. Each advance is a struggle against greed, an even harder struggle against lethargy and stupidity.

We have by no means fully achieved freedom, equality of opportunity, or equitable distribution of the nation's abundance. But, as we join in the fierce struggle against the forces of hate and intolerance, it is heartening to recognize the substantial progress we have made on the long road toward democracy.

America will have to fight with wisdom and might if she is to defend her faith. And she will have to continue to build more and more strongly the ramparts of her own social structure if democracy is to survive, if the order we are defending is to prove worthy of the defense.

## THE NEGRO

Among the weaknesses of our democracy is our treatment of Negroes. Our attitude toward this race, which makes up one tenth of our entire population, more than one quarter of the historic region of the South, is a threat to the whole theory and practice of democracy. So long as we degrade one segment of the people we set a pattern of caste and discrimination that may easily be transferred to other groups. No race or class can be firmly assured of fair play so long as we continue to treat any group unfairly. Consideration for the Negro rests not merely on the grounds of humanity and charity; it rests on the solid base of enlightened selfishness. It is a question not only of the rights of the Negroes themselves: it is a question of the total health and strength of the nation.

We cannot have an enlightened democracy with one great group living in ignorance. We cannot have a healthy nation with one tenth of the people ill-nourished, sick, harboring germs of disease which recognize no color line, obey no Jim Crow laws. We cannot have a nation orderly and sound with one group so ground down and thwarted that it is almost forced into unsocial attitudes and crime. We cannot come to our full vigor in the arts unless we give scope to the talents of that race which has proved itself most creative in all forms of art and expression. We cannot come to full prosperity with one great group so ill-trained that it cannot work skilfully, so poor that it cannot buy goods.

The Emancipation Proclamation seventy-five years ago struck the shackles from the Negro slaves. But that edict gave freedom of person only. All the essential marks of free men have had to be won by hard and painful struggle: education, health, self-reliance, economic prosperity. While much is still to be won, progress has been substantial.

Literacy, which marked but five per cent of the race at emancipation, has swelled to over 85 per cent—a higher literacy rate than that for the total population in many countries of Europe or the Americas. Negro children, who seventy-five years ago were denied access to education by the laws of many states, are now in school in steadily rising numbers: over two and a half million in elementary and secondary schools, over forty thousand in colleges. And this is not mere routine school attendance. Many individuals are showing highest attainment in science and literature and the whole range of scholarship. Meanwhile, in the South several Negro colleges have standards fully equal to those of their white neighbors. Fisk and Atlanta and Howard

are among the educational leaders of the country regardless of race, while Tuskegee and Hampton and, more recently, the Fort Valley State College of Georgia, have set fresh patterns in education that are widely copied.

In health, while conditions are still far below any decent American average, Negro death rates have come down from an estimated 32 per thousand in 1890 to about 15 per thousand today. While the Negro rate still contrasts poorly with the national average of 11.2 it is practically on a level with the averages of such countries as France and Italy whose recent annual death rates were 15.3 and 13.7. A small but increasingly well-qualified group of Negro physicians, nurses, and public health officers are leading the slow trek of the race toward sound health. Well-organized hospitals in a score of cities, staffed by Negro physicians and nurses, are bases for steady improvement in medical standards.

The Negro still furnishes an undue percentage of crime and delinquency. A part of this statistical showing is due to the tendency of police to arrest Negroes much more casually than whites and of many judges too readily to assume their guilt. There are thousands of pitiful cases of the jailing of innocent Negroes just as there have been hundreds of cases of mob violence against Negroes who were not even on the scene of any crime. Even so, the Negro shows a record of actual delinquency beyond his proportion of the population. The causes are easily seen in conditions which the nation can remedy if it sets about it earnestly: lack of facilities for recreation; congested housing, with red light districts and lawless gangs often pushed into his residential section; lack of adequate schools to occupy his time and interest; limited openings for employment or any regular

part in economic life; a "low ceiling" of opportunity which thwarts his normal desires and ambitions.

In economic status it is hard to get accurate figures. Certainly Negroes are below other large groups of the population in income and in property ownership. They currently furnish more than twice their quota of relief cases. On the other hand, there is some evidence of progress. Nearly 700,000 Negroes own their own homes, almost double the number of home owners of 1900. In spite of recent tribulations of the farmers, over 150,000 Negroes own their own farms, a total of eleven and a half million acres, more than the acreage of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island taken together or about one third of the State of Alabama. The value of these farms and homes comes to the impressive figure of two billion dollars. While the depression has cut the income of Negro workers, as of all workers, the Negro has been steadily advancing in the range of his occupations. During recent decades, teaching and the professions and government service have steadily expanded and now give careers of some distinction to 160,000 of this race.

The Negro has made unique contributions to the arts. He has furnished America's distinctive folk music and folk art: the spirituals, jazz and swing, the dance, and the folklore. This creativeness, swelling up in an ebullient race, is now finding increasing expression in the more sophisticated forms of the fine arts: literature, drama, musical composition, painting, and sculpture. Both in the art of infusing the humblest living with zest and rhythm and in all forms of folk and fine arts, this race is a lively leaven in American life.

Negroes are no longer simply a people of the rural South. They have spread throughout the nation until

more than one fifth of the total number are in the North and more than one quarter are in cities and towns both North and South. New York City alone has more Negroes than Kentucky or West Virginia. Chicago and Philadelphia each has more than two hundred thousand, while around one hundred thousand each are crowded into Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Memphis, Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans. Fifty thousand are in the new city of Los Angeles on the Pacific Coast. Though urban life swiftly checks the Negro birth rate, the new distribution is in general good for all concerned. It removes the acute pressure in the South and makes the Negro a constituent part of the general American people.

Slowly Negroes have been given more freedom and wider opportunity. They have made the most of the new openings and built a life fuller and happier for themselves and richer and stronger for the nation. The masses are still far below the average American standard in almost every phase. They are therefore still far from making their full contribution to American culture and prosperity. We must go much further in equalizing opportunities before Democracy can be anything more than a high-sounding term to Negroes or have any real meaning as a way of life in America.

## THE SOUTH

Another weakness in the national structure is the unequal distribution of opportunity among the various regions. The South is a special and complex problem. Most Negroes still live in the South. And by history and traditions this race is under peculiar handicaps and in turn creates peculiar problems. Prejudice against Negroes obscures all social questions, often cloaks

abuses which degrade much larger numbers of the poorer whites, prevents a united front in labor, farm reorganization, decent wages, proper schools, or any other social advance. The South has a quarter of the nation's population, a third of its area. It has a heritage that includes some fine aspects of culture. But it is poor. Because of the collapse of the old plantation system, the South has been impoverished for three generations. This poverty has kept it from taking its proper place in the national economy, has stunted services to its citizens in such fundamentals as education and health.

In one respect the South is vitally affecting America's future: it is the only section of the country that is reproducing itself abundantly. In fact the rural South is furnishing a large part of the annual increment to the population of the nation, and this increment is flowing steadily to the North and East and West. The number of children of white women of child-bearing age in typical rural states of the South is twice as high as that in industrial states of the Northeast (827 and 786 children per thousand potential mothers respectively for North Carolina and Alabama versus 363 for Rhode Island and 362 for New York State). During the three decades from 1900 to 1930 three and a half million people born in the states of the Southeast moved to the North and West. Questions, especially of education and health of southern rural children, thus affect directly not only this region itself, but a large number of the future citizens of all parts of the country.

Many things are being done to improve conditions in the South. Industries are steadily moving in to provide a better balance to agriculture. The federal government in its farm programs has given special attention to the South in soil conservation, rehabilitation of farms and

farm families, diversification of crops. A few eminent universities and substantial businesses are beginning to provide posts important enough to hold the best brains and abilities which formerly had been drained off to more alluring opportunities in other sections. The South itself is throwing off much of the provincialism and blind worship of tradition that has long held it in thrall.

In one crucial aspect, however, the needed change cannot come by efforts within the region. The funds available in the South today simply cannot provide public education of average American standard. Although southern states are putting a greater proportion of their public funds into education than any other region, this provides less than half as much support per pupil as the average throughout the country. The only way to provide standard American schools for the children of this region is through federal funds.

National equalization of school facilities has been strongly recommended by government commissions appointed by both Republican and Democratic administrations. Proposals recently presented to Congress provide for efficient and equitable distribution of federal subsidies of from one hundred million to two hundred million dollars a year. These are small sums amid the huge expenditures for national defense. And one of the surest ways of preserving a sound and virile democracy is to provide adequate opportunities for the education of all our children.

No single act will transform a great region. But this plan to equalize schooling (which will benefit chiefly the South) will basically affect the growth of the nation's reservoir of children and will be another great

step toward better opportunities for Negroes, who still live mainly in the rural South.

## LIVING TOGETHER

The problems of one race and one region are but fragments of the general problem of human relations. The life and death struggle in the world today is in defense of liberality and tolerance. The war is between the Nazi doctrine of race hate, religious intolerance, the ruthless dominance of all diverse cultures by one set of arrogant overlords and the American ideal that all groups have a right to their own lives and that the very fact of diversity adds to the richness and strength of society.

We in America are committed to our ideal—but we have never fully realized it. We have grossly discriminated against Negroes. We have practically wiped out the Indians who were the original owners of the continent, and to such Indians as survive we are only beginning to grant some freedom for their own ways of life. There is jealousy and prejudice against Jews. There is mistrust of the Catholic Church and snobbery toward its members. Settlers from eastern Europe and Asia, no matter how orderly and loyal, are still often subject to suspicion.

Dislike of strange people has been common throughout human history. Wars have been fought time out of mind because of conflict of race or religion or nationality. This was understandable when men were provincial and admittedly ignorant about the world and human relationships. Antagonism to alien groups was of small consequence when tribes lived in isolation, when it was possible for differing peoples to keep at a distance from one another.

But today the world has shrunk to a single closely related province. Travel, trade, and communications have brought all peoples onto one another's doorsteps. We are in fact so closely bound together throughout the world that we must learn to live in harmony or destroy one another.

America fortunately has been for over a century a miniature of this diverse world society. We have had some practice in the happy and effective living together of the most varied people. We have not made a complete success of it. But we have shown that a virile, interesting and prosperous society can grow from diversity even more vigorously than from standardized, inbred stock. We in America think we know part of the answer to this world problem. But the whole question of human relationships needs much more intensive study, much more careful observation and interpretation, much more education.

In modern times the world has made miraculous progress in physical research and mechanical invention. It is a truism that our physical power has so far outrun our social understanding that, like Frankenstein, we are in danger of being destroyed by our own inventions. The pressing problems of research and action today are in the realm of understanding ourselves and the social relationships we have built up around us.

Fortunately, some interesting advances have already been made. Anthropology, for example, has shown how men have lived together happily and successfully under the most diverse customs and social orders. It has made it clear that there is no evidence that any race of men is innately superior to any other. History has confirmed this finding by recording how now one race and region and now another has carried the torch of

civilization. At one time Egypt led the world, at another China; for a long period the Mediterranean Greeks and Romans flowered in art and literature, in law and organization; more recently the peoples of northern and western Europe and their descendants in America have forged ahead. Peoples of the most varied stock, finding a fortunate environment and starting a new ferment of ideas, rose for a time, then gave place to very different stocks in different regions. If supposedly inferior peoples had been curbed throughout world history, our ancestors—crude barbarians roaming the forests of Gaul and Briton—would surely have been among those selected for destruction. We owe our place in the sun today to the fact that no previously arrogant people annihilated or completely suppressed their neighbors, even such unpromising neighbors as our forefathers. This escape of ours should give us pause as we view races which seem below us in mechanical power or in some other aspect of development that happens to be in fashion today. Live and let live is not only good ethics; it has proved throughout history to be the way to insure continued movement in the tides of civilization.

Furthermore, at any given era various races have special talents which enrich the total society. Today the Caucasians of western Europe and America have so much mechanical power that they nearly rule the world. But even now other cultures offer much which these "Nordics" lack. The graceful arts of living so beautifully developed in Bali and the many islands of the Pacific, the intellectual keenness and nervous energy of the Jews, the creativeness in art and music of the Negroes, the daring and hardihood and individual resourcefulness of the American Indians, the calm

dignity of the Chinese, the energy and drive of the Japanese, the enjoyment of life regardless of material luxuries and mechanical gadgets of the Mexicans—all these have their place in a rich world society quite as much as the scientific genius and organizing efficiency of the western Europeans and Americans. Just as we have built material wealth by exchange of goods throughout the world, so we may enrich society by cultural exchange in ideas and the arts of living.

Now, just as some of us are coming to appreciate the diverse gifts of these varied peoples, and others are stirring anew bitter hates and aggressions—at just this time the new science of psychology is beginning to reveal the springs of hate, the mechanisms of aggression and intolerance. These findings are still tentative; their newness and the terms in which they are stated still offend many of us. But there can be no doubt that psychology, especially that branch known as psychoanalysis, is giving fresh insights into human nature.

We may in time learn more of the causes that make a whole people go mad. There seem to be definite patterns by which a group of usually quiet and even kindly citizens suddenly turn into a raging mob, by which a whole nation is inflamed to spread terror and destruction over a continent. If we can get at the causes of mob violence we may be able to check them, just as we have learned to curb the great contagions that formerly swept the world.

We need not be unduly pessimistic about further understanding of ourselves and our societies. It is not a question, as some people dolefully claim, of "changing human nature". We have not changed the nature of the physical universe, yet by understanding it we have turned it in a thousand ways to our service. We do not

need to change human nature, but we do need to gain much more knowledge if we are wisely to affect human relationships.

On the other hand, we need expect no panaceas for social ills. After many centuries of medical science, we have not yet wiped out bodily disease. We have, however, curbed many of the great contagions; we have added two decades to the average span of life in regions where modern medicine is practiced; we have greatly increased the average health and vigor of the people. We will not transform human relationships in a decade or a century. And of course hate and intolerance are by no means the only ills that human beings foist upon one another. Greeds and frustrations express themselves in many social ailments, even as germs and distempers produce manifold bodily diseases. But we do have a right to expect social progress to come step by step just as control over the physical universe has come slowly but steadily.

It is not appropriate here to urge specific programs of reform or of research. The brains and ingenuity of wise men may be trusted to find means of progress in this realm, just as they have in physical science, once we gird ourselves to the task. The essential thing is to realize the necessity for much greater wisdom in personal and social development. As we learn and practice healthier ways of living with all our neighbors, we will be strengthening the ramparts of our democracy and adding to the well-being of the peoples of the world.

April 6, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Secretary to Dr. C. S. Johnson
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. I appreciate your sending me the letter and list from Mr. Willcoxon. I have been in touch with him and got several copies of his list, because I thought it represented something which might be useful in other states. Incidentally, I spoke at both of the meetings mentioned in Mr. Willcoxon's letter.

We do not have a complete and up-to-date list of the active interracial committees in the South, but we are in the process of compiling it, and we shall send you a copy of it as soon as possible. The 117 active committees mentioned in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER included a great many which were reported to Mrs. Ames in existence, but which she had no information as to the chairmen or secretaries.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships


March 30, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson: I have been asked by Dr. Charles Johnson to send you the enclosed letter and list from Mr. F. C. Willcoxon, the chairman of the Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation. Had it not come at a time when the staff here were either extremely busy or out of the city, it would have undoubtedly been called to your attention earlier. However, Dr. Johnson thought that you probably already knew of the meeting, and requested that I ask you about it.

Can you also let us have a list of the active interracial committees in the South, with their addresses and the names of chairmen or executive secretaries? The last issue of Southern Frontier mentioned 117 such committees in the southern region. We are trying to draw together the active organizations in this field throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Allen

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

P.S. Dr. Johnson is en route to San Francisco, and will pass through Chicago on his way back April 8th.

May 19, 1944

Mr. H. H. Giles
Consultant, Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Giles:

Thank you for your letter of May 9. I regret that on account of an exceedingly heavy schedule I was not able to give it immediate attention.

As you know, the Southern Regional Council is quite young, having been in existence as a formal organization only since its charter meeting on February 16. It therefore does not have much of a past, but it hopes to have a great future. Since it is in some respects an outgrowth and expansion of the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which has merged with the Council, you will, no doubt, be interested in the history of the Commission. Incidentally, most of the back issues of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, some of which contain articles reviewing the development and achievements of the Commission are out of print. It may be that there is a complete file of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER in the offices of the Rosenwald Fund. Another source of information about the Commission is an evaluative survey which was made by Dr. William E. Cole. I am sending this to you under separate cover. Since it is the only copy we have, I shall appreciate your returning it.

I am sure that you have read Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I think that it is an excellent appraisal and that it contains some guideposts for the revitalization of the work of the Commission.

I am sending you the following materials which I hope will go a long way toward answering your questions concerning the plans and activities of the SRC: a reprint from the March issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors, April 28, 1944, and a copy of an address which I delivered in Raleigh on April 20, 1944, the charter of the Council, and the By-laws.

I suppose that new resources and new techniques are rarities, but we have a few ideas which we want to experiment with. For example, we are employing a very capable young lady, Miss Margaret Fisher, who has done excellent work for the War Manpower Commission in integrating women and Negroes into industrial employment in the South. Miss Fisher will carry on exactly the same type of industrial relations work for us. We feel that a person who is tactful and intelligent can, by persistent efforts, break down some of the resistance of employers and employees to the participation of Negroes in industry. We shall also try to put some new life into the Association of

Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and get the Association to concentrate its efforts on preventing race riots and other violence in the postwar period. The work of the A.S.W.P.L. has amply demonstrated the fact that church women in the South can organize for constructive social action without being branded as crack-pots and Communists.

In addition, we want to make an effort to set up a cooperating arrangement whereby the interests of a number of organizations can be channeled into a long-time constructive program of political education for Southern Negroes.

Still further, we want to have a try at making some impression upon the police and police administration in the South. We feel that Myrdal was about right when he said, "The police are undoing all of the good which has been done by the schools." We realize that this is a very great problem, and we are not sure just where to take hold, but we shall try two lines of approach. One of these is personal contact with police officials and mayors wherever we have members and friends who are in a position to exert influence. The other is a series of institutes for police officials in which, over a period of time, we hope to introduce some liberal ideas on the relation of the police to minority groups. We shall probably set up these institutes through several of the better departments of government and public administration in Southern universities, keeping in the background ourselves.

What we are aiming to do depends in large measure upon our ability to find certain additional suitable personnel, and this in turn depends upon our finding some additional financial resources.

Why not pay us a visit some time so that we can discuss in greater detail our mutual interests and problems?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

P. S. The Raleigh address is enclosed. The other material is being sent to you under separate cover.

GBJ

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

May 9, 1944

Dear Doctor Johnson: It is apparent that the problems of intercultural understanding are steadily growing more serious and urgent. Everyone interested in democracy and in education must be concerned about them. During the coming year, it will be my job as associate director of the Bureau of Intercultural Education and as a consultant to the Julius Rosenwald Fund to study these problems and to assist wherever possible in doing something about them.

There seem to be two levels of effort which need to be and are being made simultaneously. The first is general information and influence toward the understanding and more intelligent solution of problems. This first level is a mass approach, perhaps somewhat superficial, but designed to create a favorable climate of popular opinion in which deeper-going efforts would be possible.

The second level is that of both immediate and long-time educational measures in the schools. Here there are efforts to lay the foundations for coming years.

I am anxious to discover what you are doing and to assist in present programs of promise as well as to inaugurate new ventures. My personal knowledge of people and activities in this field is limited. Would you be willing to send me a brief statement of your plans for the coming year and the names of the people in your organization and associated with it, who have done any reports which would cover your past activities and which would assist in locating the most effective instruments for the accomplishment of our common purpose.

In addition, I would appreciate very much having a personal explanation from you about your feeling as to what are the most needed types of new developments and new resources to be used in the effort to substitute intelligence for violence and prejudices.

Yours very truly,

H. H. Giles

H. H. Giles
Consultant, Rosenwald Fund
and
Associate Director, Bureau
of Intercultural Education

Doctor Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

P. S. At the Chicago office, I have just learned that Doctor Johnson has sent you a request for most of this information. I would appreciate the addition of your plans for the coming year sent to me.

HHG.

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

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Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships


May 19, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson: As Dr. Charles Johnson has told you, we are working on a handbook of organizations whose work has a direct or indirect bearing upon race relations. This will include national organizations as well as regional, state and city committees. We have already asked you for a list of southern committees when you have had an opportunity to get it in shape, and I am writing now at Dr. Johnson's suggestion to ask you about certain southern organizations which have been suggested for inclusion, on which we would like your opinion. Specifically, do you think these two organizations should be included:

American Association of Southern Workers
Harry M. Chester, Executive Secretary
11 Pryor Street, Atlanta

Southern Workers' Defense League
212 Palmer Building, Atlanta

Frank McC. is away on leave

We also have listed in our files the Conference on Education and Race Relations, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta. Was this a temporary conference, or is it a permanent organization? I shall be much obliged for any help you can give me.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Allen

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

May 24, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson: Your letter of May 19th finds Mr. Giles out of the city. When he returns on June 15th your letter will be brought to his attention and I am sure he will get in touch with you.

Very truly yours,

H. Thayer

Secretary to Mr. Giles

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 12, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

I am sorry that there has been an unavoidable delay in my reply to your letter of May 19 concerning two organizations which have headquarters here in Atlanta.

I think that "American Association of Southern Workers" should be "American Association of Social Workers." At least, the regional branch of this latter Association holds annual meetings at 11 Pryor Street, Atlanta. It is a professional organization of social workers with very high standards, and should no doubt be listed in your handbook. The present executive secretary is Miss Russell Brinson, who may be addressed in care of the State Department of Public Welfare, Atlanta.

The Southern Workers' Defense League is an organization to protect the civil rights of workers along the line of the Civil Liberties Union. It has no particular interest in Negro workers as such, but tries to help all workers regardless of race. It is generally believed that the League has Communist Party support, but I do not know how true this is. Its secretary is, I believe, a Socialist and not a "fellow-traveler" or a Communist. He is Frank McCallister, Secretary on Leave. Mr. McCallister is now with the War Labor Board, Atlanta. The address which you have, 212 Palmer Building, Atlanta, is correct.

The Conference on Education and Race Relations was a sort of sideline activity sponsored by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Regional Council is not undertaking to carry it on as a permanent organization, and it should be omitted from your list.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

July 6, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

At last we are able to send you some information about state and local interracial committees in the South which we promised you some time ago.

It has been quite a task to get up-to-date information, and it is still far from complete. We know, for example, that there are many local committees which are not affiliated with the state interracial committees, and it is sometimes difficult to find out who the officers are. However, we are collecting new data as rapidly as we can, and as our directory grows, we shall send you supplementary lists from time to time.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

July 27, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

Our list of local interracial committees is growing gradually. I am enclosing a list of Texas local committees and their chairmen which came in this week.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

July 28, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

I shall be glad to take care of the letter from the Florida man, Mr. Burton T. Wilson.

I was delighted to meet you at Nashville. I wish I could have stayed at least a week and could have gotten much better acquainted with all of the people there. I did sort of steal away from the picnic, because the time had slipped up on me and I had to grab a chance to ride into town to catch a nine o'clock train.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

July 25, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson: I was very much pleased to find the list of state and local interracial committees in the South on my desk when I got back from Nashville. It fills out the list I have here, which was noticeably lacking in southern committees.

I enclose a copy of a letter from a man in Florida - the kind of letter which I find most difficult to answer. I have sent him a couple of pamphlets and put his name on the Monthly Summary mailing list, but am relying chiefly on the fact that he belongs in yourbailiwick. I wrote him that I was referring his letter to you. Perhaps that was hard on you, yet he seems like the kind of man who ought to be encouraged.

I was sorry that I did not have a chance to say goodbye to you when you left. You must have stolen away from the picnic very quietly. I enjoyed meeting you very much, and it gives me a lot of satisfaction to be able to write to a real person instead of a name.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Allen

Dr. Guy Johnson,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

August 18, 1944

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

Thank you for your letter of August 14 and the check for $7,500 representing an additional sum appropriated to the Southern Regional Council by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

We are grateful for the continued interest of the Rosenwald Fund in the work of our Council, and we trust that by the time of your Trustees' meeting in November the Council will be well enough on its way to deserve the further support of the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

August 14, 1944

Dear Doctor Johnson: I am happy to be able to report to you that the Executive Committee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund at a meeting held August 7, appropriated an additional sum of $7,500 to the Southern Regional Council. At the request of Doctor Alexander, I am enclosing a check for the full amount of the appropriation.

The Committee express continued interest in the work of the Council. Possibly by the time of our Trustees' meeting in November, the Council will be so well organized that our group might consider a pledge for a period of three or four years.

Yours very truly,

ERE:ejj

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 27, 1944

Miss Elizabeth Allen
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Allen:

Thank you for your letter of September 25. I have mailed Mr. Austin Scott in the Chicago office of the War Manpower Commission a copy of The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose and one of the Southern Offensive reprints today. The material was sent with our compliments, and the envelope was marked "Personal" as he requested.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

September 25, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson: Austin Scott, who acts as minorities consultant in the regional office of the War Manpower Commission here (although that is not his official title) has asked me for some material about the conferences preceding the origin of the Southern Regional Council and about the Council itself. Could you send him a copy of The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose, and also a reprint of your article, Southern Offensive. He will be glad to send the 10 cents for the pamphlet.

His address is Room 1200,222 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois, and he asked that the envelope be marked Personal, as they have developed such an efficient system of mail control down there that they usually handle your mail without your ever seeing it. He and I will be much obliged for this favor.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Allen

Dr. Guy Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Julius Rosenwald Fellowships

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

October 23, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a statement of our 1945 fellowship program, which I hope you will post and otherwise call to the attention of persons who may be especially qualified for these grants. I realize, of course, that the present emergency has reduced greatly the number of students who may be interested in or able to apply for fellowships. Our Committee feels, however, that this fact makes it more urgent than ever that persons of superior ability be given opportunities for additional training wherever possible.

We should like to have applications reach us at an early date. In any case they must be received not later than January 1, 1945. Detailed correspondence concerning candidates or other aspects of the fellowship program should be addressed to Mrs. William C. Haygood, Acting Director for Fellowships, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed list of the Fellows selected by our Committee for this year. We will appreciate your help in finding an outstanding group of candidates from which to make our 1945 selections.

Very truly yours,

ERE:RR

Mr. Guy Johnson,
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
## 4901 ELLIS AVENUE
## CHICAGO 15

## FELLOWSHIPS

1945

The Julius Rosenwald Fund offers fellowships under two categories:

I. To Negroes.

II. To white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South.

Both types of fellowships are intended to provide opportunities for special experience or advanced study to individuals who have already given evidence of exceptional ability and who wish to prepare themselves further. Because of the keen competition, it is not worth while for any candidate to make application unless he can show an exceptional record of accomplishment and unless he has definite plans for further preparation for distinctive service.

The fellowships are not restricted to any special subject or activity. They are open not only to scholars and scientists but to persons in the fine arts, creative writing or journalism, education, agriculture, business, or public service.

The fellowships are open to men and women. It is expected that candidates will be not younger than 24 years nor older than 35 years, though the Committee is willing to consider very exceptional cases on their merits. Candidates must have completed their general college course or their general professional course before making application, or give evidence of maturity and preparation which may be regarded as the equivalent of a general education of at least collegiate standard. Persons in law, medicine, library science, or the ministry can be considered only for advanced work beyond the initial professional degree; persons in nursing will be expected to have both a bachelor's degree and an R.N. certificate.

The term of the fellowships will normally be one year, and renewals will be considered only in exceptional cases.

The amount of the award will be determined in each case on the basis of the expected expenses involved and of all other factors which enter into the given application, including the length of time proposed. It is expected that the awards will average $1,500 for a full year's work.

The Committee on Fellowships will require full information about the personal history of the candidates, their education and experience, and a definite statement of the proposed study or investigation.

Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1945. Blanks may be secured from Mrs. William C. Haygood, Acting Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1944

From the Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

The appointment of 37 Julius Rosenwald Fellows for 1944 was announced today by Edwin R. Embree, President of the Fund. The Fellows include 22 Negroes and 15 white Southerners, selected for their creative talent or distinguished scholarship. The fellowships this year average $1700. In addition, scholarships of $500 plus tuition were awarded to 18 outstanding graduating seniors of selected Negro and white southern colleges to enable them to begin graduate study.

This year's awards, totaling $78,100, bring the total expenditures of the Julius Rosenwald Fund for fellowships to slightly over $1,000,000. Approximately 800 individuals have held grants in the 16 years in which fellowships have been a major program of the Fund.

Fifteen of this year's appointments were in the field of the social sciences, eight in the arts, five in the humanities, and one in the physical sciences. There were eight awards for graduate work in the professions - medicine, law, dentistry, library science, and religion.

Among this year's Fellows is Margaret Walker whose book of poems, For My People, was selected for the Yale Series of Younger Poets in 1942. Her volume has been the best seller among the 41 in the series and has won great critical acclaim as well as popular acceptance. Miss Walker will prepare a manuscript of poetry for publication under her grant as well as complete a historical novel based on Negro life in America.

Another of the new Fellows is James Pipes Register, the author of Ziba, a collection of Negro folk poems and ballads published last fall by the

University of Oklahoma Press. Mr. Pipes (his pen name), during twelve years as the white clerk in Forty-acre Store, Lake St. John, Louisiana, collected his material from the Negro farmers and workers who made the store a community center. Ziba has been widely praised for its authenticity as well as its beauty by both Negro and white folklorists.

On this fellowship Mr. Pipes will make a historical review of the Negro as workman, analyzing the signal contribution of Negroes to industry and agriculture and their part in pushing back the frontiers as well as a forecast of the Negro's future in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations, many of which he is entering for the first time during the war.

Hale Woodruff, instructor of art at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, has been given a reappointment to continue his painting of the southern scene. Mr. Woodruff has received numerous honors and prizes for his work including the Harmon Bronze award in 1926; his mural depicting scenes from the famous Amistad Case of 1839 in the Talladega College Library is widely known. Mr. Woodruff during the past year has completed a number of oils and water colors which were given a one-man exhibition at the Grace Home Galleries of Boston this spring and have since been on an exhibition tour of southern museums.

Another of the distinguished Fellows for 1944 is E. Franklin Frazier, head of the department of sociology at Howard University and noted authority on the Negro family, in Brazil and the Caribbean as well as in the United States. He will continue his studies of the Negro family in the United States during the period of his grant.

Attached is the total list of awards.

## JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND FELLOWSHIPS

### AWARDS TO NEGROES FOR 1944

THELMA DAVIS ACKISS, chairman, social science and social research, Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas: to make a socio-historical study of the Negro community of Houston, and for graduate study at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

J. EDMOND BRYANT, M.D., associate attending physician, Provident Hospital, Chicago, Illinois: for further training in the pathology and surgery of diseases of the chest at the University of Chicago.

MARGARET BURNS BUSH, foods and nutrition teacher, Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago, Illinois: to analyze the value and practicability of a nutrition service for students in Chicago public high schools, and for graduate work at the University of Chicago.

GLADYS ELIZABETH CHILDRESS, concert pianist, Colorado Springs, Colorado: for further study of piano under private teachers, and for graduate study at the Juilliard School of Music.

LESLIE MORGAN COLLINS, instructor in English, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri: for graduate work in English at Western Reserve University.

ESTHER VICTORIA COOPER, executive secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Alabama: for a study of the attitudes of southern Negro youth on the war and post-war plans.

ELDZIER CORTOR, Chicago, Illinois: to do a series of paintings on the life of the Gullah Negroes of Sea Island, Georgia.

JOSEPH HENRY DOUGLASS, instructor, State Teachers College, Fayetteville, North Carolina: for study of the rural Negro family in North Carolina, and for graduate work at Harvard University.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, head of department of sociology, Howard University: for further studies of the Negro family in the United States.

NAOMI MILLS GARRETT, member of English teaching project, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Port-au-Prince, Haiti: for graduate work in romance languages at Columbia University.

JAMES ALBERT GIBBS, JR., instructor in chemistry, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee: for graduate work in chemistry at Harvard University.

ADELAIDE CROMWELL HILL, instructor in sociology, Hunter College, executive secretary, Urban League, Englewood, New Jersey: for graduate work in sociology at Columbia University.

MOZELL C. HILL, assistant professor of sociology, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma: for graduate studies in sociology at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

CHESTER BOMAR HIMES, Los Angeles, California: for a sociological novel about Negro life.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history and acting head of the department, Howard University, Washington, D. C.: to write an analytical and statistical history of the operation of the mandate system in Africa, 1928-40.

PAULI MURRAY, Washington, D. C.: to analyze the extension of minority rights under New Deal labor and social legislation and court rulings, and for graduate work at Harvard University.

DOROTHY BURNETT PORTER, supervisor, Negro collection, Howard University library, Washington, D. C.: for a bibliography on the contributions of the Negro to Spanish-American and Brazilian poetry and fiction.

DOROTHY MARGARETTE REED, D.D.S., Washington, D. C.: to do post-graduate work in the field of orthodontics at Columbia University.

MARGARET ABIGAIL WALKER, New York City: for creative writing in poetry and prose.

DOROTHY GWENDOLYN WILLIAMS, instructor in library science, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia: for graduate studies in library science at the University of Chicago.

THEODORE WILBUR WINCHESTER, special organizer, United Transport Service Employees, Chicago, Illinois: for a study of the national labor policy with respect to minority groups in the railway industry and the mass production industries, and for graduate work in labor economics at the University of Chicago. Reappointment.

HALE A. WOODRUFF, instructor of art, Spelman College: for a series of paintings depicting the Negro of the South. Reappointment.

AWARDS TO WHITE SOUTHERNERS FOR 1944

RICHARD OBEE COMFORT, minister, Lavergne, Tennessee: to study the training of rural religious leadership in the United States and Mexico, and for graduate work in religion at Peabody College.

RHODA C. ELLISON, assistant professor of English, Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama: for a study of early Alabama publications, and for graduate work at the University of North Carolina.

ROBERT GWATHMEY, instructor in painting and drawing, Cooper Union, New York City: for a series of paintings in rural North Carolina.

LAURETTE MACDUFFIE KNIGHT, New York City: for the writing of a novel on native fascism, set in North Carolina.

ARTHUR STANLEY LINK, instructor in history and political science, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina: for a study of the South's place in the birth of the new freedom, and for research in southern history at Columbia University.

JAMES PIPES REGISTER, Melrose Plantation, Melrose, Louisiana: to make a study of the Negro as workman and his contribution to American life.

JACK ALVIN RHODES, research fellow, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma: for graduate studies in the field of public administration at Harvard University.

D. B. ROBERTSON, Union Theological Seminary, New York City: for research on the sources of sectarian religion, and for graduate studies at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary.

ANNA GREENE SMITH, teaching fellow, department of sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: to do research on southern leadership, and to pursue graduate study at the University of North Carolina.

MARY CECILIA THEDIECK, teaching fellow, Department of English, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts: to pursue graduate studies in the history of the English language and literature at Radcliffe College.

JAMES HARRISON TIPTON, assistant regional director, Fair Employment Practices Committee, Atlanta, Georgia: for studies in rural education and the rural southern community, and for graduate work in psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.

MADIE BELLE WARD, teacher of languages, State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama: to complete a study of three phases of southern dialect in southeastern Alabama speech, and for graduate studies in linguistics at the University of North Carolina.

OLIVE ELIZABETH WESTBROOKE, Jonesboro, Arkansas: for graduate work in sociology at the University of Chicago.

MARION MARSHALL YOUNG, M.D., Winston-Salem, North Carolina: for graduate study in medicine to prepare for practice in the rural South.

HILDA JANE ZIMMERMAN, instructor in history, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina: to make a study of penal reforms in the South since the Civil War, and to do graduate work in history at the University of North Carolina.

December 12, 1944

Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

If my understanding is correct, the Julius Rosenwald Fund is to send us $7500 as the balance of the appropriation which was made to the Southern Regional Council for the year 1944. We shall be glad to have a check at the convenience of the Fund.

I wish you could have attended our annual meeting last week. We feel that it was notable for the full participation of all of those who were present and for the frank discussion of segregation and discrimination.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

## REVIEW FOR THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD 1942-1944

BY
EDWIN R. EMBREE
PRESIDENT OF THE FUND

CHICAGO
1944

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

January 9, 1945

Dear Doctor Johnson: The enclosed article, Why Do We Feel As We Do About the Negro? by Elta G. Roberts was addressed to the Julius Rosenwald Fund. At Doctor Alexander's suggestion we are transmitting it on to you in view of the fact that this kind of thinking from a Texan is somewhat rare. We are also enclosing a copy of our letter to her. She wondered if her article would be of any benefit to the Negro and is offering it to be used in any way that seems best.

Sincerely yours,

Sumiko Oura

SO Secretary to Doctor Alexander
Encs.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COPY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

January 9, 1945

Dear Miss Roberts: Your note of January 4 with the enclosed article on Why Do We Feel as We Do about the Negro? was called to the attention of Doctor Alexander. He thought that the merits of the article could best be appraised by Dr. Guy B. Johnson at the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia and we have today sent it on to him. If he has any comments to make, he will let you know.

Sincerely yours,

SUMIKO OURA

SO Secretary to Doctor Alexander

Miss Elta C. Roberts
818 Hickory Street
Abilene, Texas

cc Dr. Guy B. Johnson

J. Rosenwald Fund

January 12, 1945

Miss Sumiko Oura
Secretary to Dr. Alexander
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Oura:

Thank you for sending us the article "Why Do We Feel As We Do About The Negro?" by Mrs. Elta C. Roberts of Abilene, Texas. I think that it is quite a good article, and we shall try to see that it gets published somewhere.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

February 21, 1945

Miss Julia Waxman
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Waxman:

When Dr. Alexander was in our office yesterday, he thought that you still might have a supply of the reprints of his Harper's article, "Our Conflicting Racial Policies," and that you might send us some. If so, we should greatly appreciate your mailing us 100 copies, by Special Delivery, as we are anxious to use them in an important meeting of women from various parts of the South which will be held here next week. In case you cannot send as many copies as we are requesting, please let us have what you can.

We have asked for the privilege of reprinting this article, but have not yet had a reply from the publishers.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

AIR MAIL

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLC = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON FRIDAY VOTED TO RESTORE 7,500 DOLLARS NOT PAID ON LAT YEARS APPROPRIATION AND AUTHORIZE PAYMENT OF A FULL ADDITIONAL 25,000 FOR THIS YEAR CONTROLLER WILL ARRANGE WITH YOU FOR PAYMENTS THESE AMOUNTS FOR BALANCE OF YEAR=

WILL W ALEXANDER.

7,500 25,000..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 4, 1945

Mr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Embree:

The Report of the Executive Directors of the Southern Regional Council for the past year should have been mailed to you. As there is some confusion in our records, however, we are not sure that this was done. I am, therefore, sending you the enclosed copy, together with a leaflet containing resolutions and the program for 1945 which were adopted by the members at the annual meeting.

We appreciate greatly the support which comes to us from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and we hope and believe that the Council will develop into an organization which you and other officials of the Fund will feel has merited this support.

It would please us very much to have you visit our office. Won't you include Atlanta in your itinerary sometime?

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

J.R. Fund

May 21, 1945

Dr. Edwin Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the bibliography on race relations which was compiled by Julia Waxman. It is a splendid compilation. We get quite a few requests for bibliographies here, and we could probably use at least 50 copies of the pamphlet if you can spare that many.

It seems a shame to criticize such an excellent piece of work, but I should like to call your attention to the fact that the pamphlet lists only two of our pieces of literature, both of which are a bit out of date. Our most popular pamphlets are America's Tenth Man, Understanding Our Neighbors, Singers in The Dawn. These were all started by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, but have been revised and reprinted by the Southern Regional Council. I hope that it will be possible to list these in future editions of the bibliography. Our monthly paper, The Southern Frontier, might also be worth mentioning.

I understand that you are to make the commencement address at Atlanta University on June 4. I want to extend you a cordial invitation to visit Council headquarters while you are in Atlanta,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships


May 1, 1945

Gentlemen:

We think you will be interested in the enclosed bibliography on racial and cultural relations in the United States. If you could put additional copies to effective use, we should be glad to supply them.

Very truly yours,

ERE*JW

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Northeast Atlanta 3, Georgia

America's Dentist Man
Understanding our
Neighbors
Singers in the Dawn
The Southern Frontier

June 8, 1945

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

You have, no doubt, heard through Dr. Charles S. Johnson that the Southern Regional Council is greatly interested in implementing a program to aid the returning veteran in adjusting himself to civilian life. This was discussed in detail at the meeting of our Executive Committee on May 25 and it was agreed that such a program should be put into effect immediately.

We were most fortunate in being able to secure the services of Dr. George S. Mitchell to direct this program and, according to present plans, he will join our staff about June 18. The salary agreed upon for Dr. Mitchell is $7500 a year, and it is expected that an additional $7500 will be required for travel, secretarial assistance, and other expenses.

On instructions of the Executive Committee, I am writing to request that the Julius Rosenwald Fund appropriate to the Southern Regional Council for this special work the sum of $15,000, to be paid in equal quarterly installments, beginning July 1, 1945.

Because of the Fund's interest in problems relating to the veteran, we are confident that this request will receive sympathetic consideration, and we shall look forward to hearing from you as soon as convenient.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . EMILY H. CLAY . . . .

June 8, 1945

TO: GBJ

Dr. Charles Johnson called from Chicago this morning to say that he had tried to reach you yesterday and, since you were away, he decided to get in touch with me.

He had discussed with the Rosenwald Board our Executive Committee's "matter of the GI, and the matter of support for the program" and they had set aside $15,000 "to start Dr. Mitchell off with." (I made shorthand notes on what he said and these are exact quotations!) Dr. Johnson's embarrassment was that there was no letter asking for an appropriation. He, therefore, requested me to send a letter today, over your signature, asking for the appropriation, divided $7500 for salary and $7500 for other expenses, and stating when the appropriation should begin and how it should be paid.

Attached hereto is a copy of the letter which I have prepared. I hope that it isn't too bad.

DARBY-ATLANTA

June 8, 1945

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

You have, no doubt, heard through Dr. Charles S. Johnson that the Southern Regional Council is greatly interested in implementing a program to aid the returning veteran in adjusting himself to civilian life. This was discussed in detail at the meeting of our Executive Committee on May 25 and it was agreed that such a program should be put into effect immediately.

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Because of the Fund's interest in problems relating to the veteran, we are confident that this request will receive sympathetic consideration, and we shall look forward to hearing from you as soon as convenient.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Associate Member


# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships


June 11, 1945

Dear Doctor Johnson: Mr. Embree has asked me to thank you for calling his attention to the omissions in the bibliography in regard to the material available through the Southern Regional Council. Miss Waxman, who compiled this bibliography, has left the Fund and is now in India with the American Friends Service Committee.

You may be sure that when there is a reprinting of the pamphlet we shall be glad to bring this matter to the attention of whoever may be working on corrections and revisions.

Very truly yours,

Sumiko Oura

SO Secretary to Mr. Embree

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

Dallas (Tex.) News
NOV 23 1945

# Southerners Offer Suggestions For Future of Rosenwald Fund

Seventeen Southerners last week told officials of the Rosenwald Fund in Chicago:

"The South today needs men of good will for leadership—and an economic standard which will keep promising people in the region."

Called to Chicago to discuss future programs of the fund, which has from three to five years to run and some $2,000,000 more to spend on southern leadership training, the group offered numerous suggestions on problems ahead for their section of the nation.

Unfortunately, there were no representatives of industry or business present. The session included educators, churchmen, labor leaders and newspapermen.

**Decisions Reached.**

In outline form, these are the decisions which were reached in two days of conferences on the fringe of the University of Chicago campus:

1. The South is capable of solving its own problems with leaders of its own people, but the quality of leadership must be improved through education on a mass plane. To achieve this, a sweeping program of community meetings was suggested, at which the problems of the local areas could be analyzed and suggestions made by those in attendance for meeting them.

**Full Picture Perspective.**

2. The South is not going to make remarkable headway on improvement of racial relations by talking about them. Racial relations must be studied in the full picture of other affairs. Thus, if the economics aspect of a city or county involves exploitation and low wages for a broad group, the economic analysis will suggest a racial relations solution. It was especially urged that the full projection of community problems be made, rather than taking race as a guiding sign.

3. Established agencies are best for dealing with southern problems, since they have public acceptance. It was considered unwise to begin new organizations to work on the new problems of the South. Industry, business, newspapers, labor and educational and religious organizations offer the avenues for study. Labor representatives were interested in carrying the ball on racial understanding, but were advised that the light in which many communities hold labor unions would not help the new effort materially.

**Extended to White Leaders.**

4. Extension of Rosenwald fellowships to promising white Southerners, some attention through church organizations to study of rural southern problems and use of some of the fund's resources for educational work in the poorer sections were suggested.

It was especially urged that southern leaders be called upon to work out programs to meet some of these problems and return to the South to place them in effect. To that end, it was suggested that close attention be given the wage standards in the South and the standards of living, since many of the more promising people in the past have left for higher salaries in other regions.

November 27, 1945

Dear Mary:

It was grand to get to know you Sunday, and I hope we will be seeing lots more of each other. I don't know of many things more encouraging than finding someone who has interests and ideas like your own - especially when they are pretty rare ideas and interests, like race relations in the South. You are a real inspiration, Mary, and I can't imagine a field in which your fine personality, determination, and leadership could mean more than in this one of working against the prejudice and discrimination which cripples democracy in the South and in the whole country.

I told the boss, Dr. Johnson, about your interest, and he seemed most enthusiastic about your chances of getting a Rosenwald fellowship to help financially in your graduate work. He was, of course, anxious for you to consider Chapel Hill and if you are thinking of working here in the South I can't resist putting in a little plug for that myself - Dr. Howard Odum and Dr. Rupert Vance are two guys that are tops in sociology in the whole country and know the South well. The Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill has lots of research done by graduate assistants who are earning their way through M.A.'s. And Chapel Hill is the most wonderful place in the world! If you aren't going to confine your work to the South, you might want to study at one of the big universities like Columbia or Chicago, though.

The stuff I'm sticking in with this is about the Rosenwald fellowships for 1946, but the top sheet has been the same for a number of years so I expect it will be the same in 1947. All you do is write to Mrs. Haygood, whose address is at the bottom of the page, and ask for application blanks. We don't have on file a copy of the blank, but I have seen them and as well as I can remember they want to know a little of the outline of the research you plan to undertake in graduate school, what your main interest is, and some references from undergrad school. They don't get an awful lot of requests from Southern students these days, except possibly at Chapel Hill, and I think if you're interested in some worthwhile specific phase of race relations work you stand a good chance of getting some help from them. You might like to look over the list of Rosenwald appointments for 1945 to get an idea of the type of things people do who get 'em. I've starred the ones that sound most like the sort of thing you'd be doing. As you'll notice, some of them have "reappointment" after them. If you do a good job the first year, Rosenwald will pay your way through another year by renewing the deal. Aren't they just like Santa Claus? I think so, because they pay my wages!

Probably Mrs. Haygood will take it from here, but if there is anything under the sun we could help you with around here I wish you'd let us know. Oh yes, I am sending some of our publications under separate cover. Here's hoping I'll be seeing you soon, Mary. Sincerely,

Jane

P. S. What's new from Malcolm?

January 16, 1946

Miss Sumiko Oura
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Oura:

Will you please send a copy of the Directory of Agencies in Race Relations to Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald, President, North Carolina Education Association, Hickory, North Carolina. If there is any charge, please bill us.

Thank you very much.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

January 30, 1946

Miss Alicerose Barman
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Barman:

In Dr. Johnson's absence from the city on a field trip, I wish to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of January 24.

We are very glad to know that you have a file of information on persons who are interested in working in the field of race relations, and that you can recommend applicants to us. We appreciate your writing us about this service, and we shall certainly call on you when we are in need of personnel.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Ines B. Tillison
Office Manager

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

January 24, 1946

Dear Mr. Johnson: We at the Julius Rosenwald Fund from time to time receive requests for recommendations of people to fill various sorts of jobs in the field of race relations. We also hear from persons interested in making careers for themselves in this new and vital area of human endeavor. Many of these letters come from people recently demobilized or about to be demobilized from the armed forces. We are asking such persons to send us specific information about their qualifications--personal, academic, and vocational--together with references. It is our hope that in this way we may serve as an agency to bring together opportunities for work in race relations and people fitted to meet such opportunities.

If at any time your organization is in need of personnel, we may be in a position to recommend applicants to you. Please feel free to call on us if we can help in any way.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Boone Barman

Mr. Guy Johnson
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15

The Committee on Fellowships wishes to thank you for your confidential statement concerning

Mr. Cy W. Record

Vaudie U. Haygood

MRS. WILLIAM C. HAYGOOD
Acting Director for Fellowships

# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO 15

## FELLOWSHIPS

1946

The Julius Rosenwald Fund offers fellowships under three categories:

I. To Negroes.

II. To white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South.

III. To persons from any part of the United States working in the field of race relations.

The fellowships are intended to provide opportunities for special experience or advanced study to individuals who have already given evidence of exceptional ability and who wish to prepare themselves further. They are not restricted to any special subject or activity. They are open not only to scholars and scientists but to persons in the fine arts, creative writing or journalism, education, agriculture, business, or public service.

The fellowships are open to men and women. It is expected that candidates will be not younger than 24 years nor older than 35 years, though the Committee is willing to consider very exceptional cases on their merits. Candidates must have completed their general college course or their general professional course before making application, or give evidence of maturity and preparation which may be regarded as the equivalent of a general education of at least collegiate standard. Persons in law, medicine, library science, or the ministry can be considered only for advanced work beyond the initial professional degree; persons in nursing will be expected to have both a bachelor's degree and an R. N. certificate.

The term of the fellowships will normally be one year, and renewals will be considered only in exceptional cases. Grants will not be awarded for a term of less than six months.

The amount of the award will be determined in each case on the basis of the expected expenses involved and of all other factors which enter into the given application, including the length of time proposed. It is expected that the awards will average $1,500 for a full year's work.

The Committee on Fellowships will require from each candidate full information about his education and experience, and a definite statement of the proposed study or investigation.

Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1946. Blanks may be secured from Mrs. William C. Haygood, Acting Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

COPY FOR DR. JOHNSON

February 22, 1946

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the audit of our regular account for the year 1945. You will note that a bank balance of $9,476.53 was brought forward on January 1, 1946. This was made possible because of the legacy of $9,375.46 which we received from the Estate of Esther Morton Smith during the year 1945 but held in reserve for 1946. Following the custom established by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, on the basis of long experience, the Council has endeavored to carry over sufficient funds to cover expenses for the first month or two of the year, inasmuch as payments on appropriations usually are not received until later.

I am enclosing, also, a copy of the financial statement on our regular account for the month of January, showing a bank balance of $4,863.15 on February 1. This will take care of our needs for February, but there will be a very small balance at the close of the month. We shall greatly appreciate it, therefore, if we may have a payment on the Fund's appropriation toward our regular expenses for the current year.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Copy to Dr. Alexander

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Statement of Finances - Regular Account
January 1946

**Receipts**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Committee on Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S. | $ 25.00 | |
| SRC: Dues | 83.00 | |
| Contributions | 34.00 | |
| New South | 12.00 | |
| Mailing List | 20.00 | |
| Miscellaneous-Literature | 123.88 | |
| | 297.88 | |
| Balance in Postage Account - January 1, 1946 | 7.89 | |
| Balance in Bank - January 1, 1946 (Including Legacy from Estate of Esther Morton Smith - $9,375.46 - Reserve for 1946) | 9,476.53 | |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | $ 9,782.30 |

**Expenditures**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $ 3,330.94 | |
| Special Services | 100.00 | |
| Travel | 342.06 | |
| Rent | 130.00 | |
| Telephone-Telegraph | 35.83 | |
| Supplies-Equipment | 120.31 | |
| Printing-Literature | 199.05 | |
| Subscriptions | 21.25 | |
| Miscellaneous-General Expense | 9.19 | |
| Postage-Express | 100.22 | |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | | 4,388.85 |
| | | 5,393.45 |
| Less: Balance in Postage Account- February 1 | $ 105.30 | |
| Balance in Air Script Account | 425.00 | 530.30 |
| **BALANCE IN BANK FEBRUARY 1, 1946** | | **$ 4,863.15** |

March 5, 1946

Mrs. Alicerose Barman
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Barman:

Dr. George S. Mitchell has handed me your letter of February 13 concerning the clearing house for race relations personnel which you are setting up. I have issued a memorandum to the Fellows of the SRC calling this clearing house to their attention. It may be that some of them will want to register with you.

We are also going through our personnel files where we have letters from a number of people who have inquired about positions in the field of race relations. We shall select the most promising prospects and write them about the clearing house.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Julius Rosenwald Fund

March 8, 1946

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Route 5
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I am glad to hear that you are up and around again after your operation, and I hope you are feeling fine.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I sent to Dr. Embree last week. It is a report on SRC activities and plans and a request for a renewal of the Rosenwald Fund's appropriation to the Council. I understand that the Fund is to have a Board meeting soon. I hope the Board will take favorable action on our request. If it does not, I don't know where we will be. I am sending the original of this letter together with a copy of my letter to Dr. Embree to your Chapel Hill address. A copy of my present letter is also going to you at Chicago. If you receive it there, I hope you will consult the letter which I wrote to Dr. Embree.

I think we need very much to get the Finance Committee together. Could you give us several dates in the near future so that we can find a clear date on our calendar for a meeting of the Committee in Atlanta. It would be fine if you could spend several days with us and go over the financial situation thoroughly with our staff.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon, and with all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 11, 1946

Dear Mrs. Tillison: Under separate cover I am sending you one copy of Thirteen Against the Odds. There is no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Hilde Reitzes

Librarian

Mrs. Inez B. Tillison
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 18, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

Thank you for your announcement concerning the Rosenwald fellowship program for 1947.

I have already brought the fellowships to the attention of several persons and I think I have been instrumental in lining up three very good candidates.

We had a very successful annual meeting of the Council last Wednesday. I wish you could have been with us. It was by far the best meeting that we have had. On Thursday and Friday we had a special conference of our Council Fellows. They are a splendid group of young Southerners, white and Negro, and they seemed to profit a great deal by this opportunity to come together and discuss their work. Later on we shall send you a report on this conference.

With highest regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
NOV 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 6, 1946

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am enclosing a statement of our 1947 fellowship program, which I hope you will post and otherwise call to the attention of persons who may be especially qualified for these grants. Our aim is to give special opportunities - study, travel, or work experience - for the development of individuals of unusual promise. We are interested not only in scholars but in persons who may exert leadership in various phases of American life; labor, religion, writing, public service - any field in which talent may enrich the nation.

The awards are offered to Negroes throughout the nation, and to white Southerners interested in problems distinctive to the region. We are not prepared to receive applications in the field of race relations unless candidates fall in either of these two categories.

We should like to have applications reach us at an early date. In any case they must be received not later than January 1, 1947. Detailed correspondence concerning candidates or other aspects of the fellowship program should be addressed to Mr. William C. Haygood, Director for Fellowships, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed list of the Fellows selected by our Committee for this year. We will appreciate your help in finding an outstanding group of candidates from which to make our 1947 selections.

Very truly yours,

ERE:rfl
encl.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Greetings Sir. I hope you can help us find talent, especially among liberal white Southerners
Embree

# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO 15

## FELLOWSHIPS

1947

The Julius Rosenwald Fund offers fellowships under two categories:

I. To Negroes.

II. To white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South.

The fellowships are intended to provide opportunities for special experience or advanced study to individuals who have already given evidence of exceptional ability and who wish to prepare themselves further. They are not restricted to any special subject or activity. They are open not only to scholars and scientists but to persons in the fine arts, creative writing or journalism, education, agriculture, business, or public service.

The fellowships are open to men and women. It is expected that candidates will be not younger than 24 years nor older than 35 years, though the Committee is willing to consider very exceptional cases on their merits. Candidates must have completed their general college course or their general professional course before making application, or give evidence of maturity and preparation which may be regarded as the equivalent of a general education of at least collegiate standard. Persons in law, medicine, library science, or the ministry can be considered only for advanced work beyond the initial professional degree; persons in nursing will be expected to have both a bachelor's degree and an R. N. certificate.

The term of the fellowships will normally be one year, and renewals will be considered only in exceptional cases. Grants will not be awarded for a term of less than six months.

The amount of the award will be determined in each case on the basis of the expected expenses involved and of all other factors which enter into the given application, including the length of time proposed. It is expected that the awards will average $1,500 for a full year's work.

The Committee on Fellowships will require from each candidate full information about his education and experience, and a definite statement of the proposed study or investigation.

Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1947. Blanks may be secured from Mr. William C. Haygood, Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

FEB 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

February 14, 1947

Dear Mr. Johnson: Thank you very much for your statement in support of John A. Griffin, and also for the memo in which you rate the "best three". We greatly appreciate your assistance in helping us to make decisions on these requests for fellowships.

Sincerely,

William C. Haygood

WCH*rfl

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

February 17, 1947

Dear Doctor Johnson: Your letter of February 13 has come while Doctor Alexander is out of the city. I suspect you missed him at Chapel Hill due to the fact that telegrams are held with the mail for pick-up and complicated by the fact that Doctor Will has no phone at the farm.

Since his mother-in-law's death, I am not sure where he will be on and around the 26th of February, but I shall be glad to relay your message to him.

Very truly yours,

Sumiko Oura

SO Secretary to Doctor Alexander

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. I just noticed a copy of your letter has gone to Chapel Hill, so I won't duplicate the effort.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

March 11, 1947

Dear Doctor Johnson: Doctor Will had to leave Chicago before he could get around to thanking you for sending on the clippings concerning the North Carolina matter. Herewith they are being returned to you with his thanks for passing them on.

Very truly yours,

Sumiko Aura

SO
Enc.

Secretary

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

March 19, 1947

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

Thank you for your letter of March 14, informing us that the Julius Rosenwald Fund has appropriate a sum of $25,000 toward our regular budget for tl year 1947 and the sum of $10,000 to cover certai special costs during the year.

Also, let me acknowledge with thanks our receipt of your check for $17,500 covering half of each of the above grants. We are deeply grateful for the continuing interest and generosity of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

March 14, 1947

Dear Mr. Johnson: I take pleasure in reporting that, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Julius Rosenwald Fund held March 6, 1946, the following resolutions were approved:

RESOLVED That the sum of Twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000) be and it is hereby appropriated to the Southern Regional Council toward its budget for the calendar year 1947.

RESOLVED That the sum of Ten thousand dollars ($10,000) be and it is hereby appropriated to the Southern Regional Council to complete payments for work with returning veterans and to meet overlapping costs in the change of the directorship, it being understood that any unused balance may be used toward the general budget of the Council.

Last week I mailed you our check for $17,500 covering half of each of the above grants. The balance of the $25,000 appropriation will be paid in two equal installments on July 1 and October 1. The balance of the special appropriation of $10,000 will be paid when statements of expenditures show that funds are needed.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:LCM

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 9, 1947

Miss Sumiko Oura
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Oura:

Many thanks for your note of April 7 about Dr. Will and Mrs. Tilly's meeting.

Mrs. Tilly's meeting has been definitely set for May 8 and 9, 1947. If we have failed to notify Dr. Alex, I am ~~sorry and~~ most sorry.

This is notice that the right date is May 8 and 9. I am sure Mrs. Tilly is very anxious for Dr. Alexander to be here for the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
APR 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 7, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Just a note to let you know that Doctor Will is planning to be in Atlanta to attend Mrs. Tilly's conference on Civil Rights over the 22nd and 23rd. He has to be there for the Board meetings at Atlanta and Morehouse and can combine these engagements during the same period of time.

Very truly yours,

Sumiko Oura

SO

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

April 11, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: I have your good letter of April 9 concerning the definite date of Mrs. Tilly's meeting. Before Doctor Will left we had set up plans up to the middle of May which will take him East on the days of May 8 and 9. This makes it appear doubtful that he can be in Atlanta at that time.

However, I shall be seeing him on Monday for a few days, and he has to be in Atlanta for three board meetings of the colleges there on the 18th, 19th and 21st, so you will also be seeing him.

Very truly yours,

Sumiko Ouka

SO Secretary

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
APR 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

May 30, 1947

Mr. William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Haygood:

We appreciate the stack of reprints from the Nashville Tennessean which Mr. Caldwell did.

I have mailed some of them out to people who could do something after reading them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
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Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships


May 22, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: I have on hand, and sending you by separate cover, a series of reprints from the Nashville Tennessean based on a study which Nat Caldwell did while on fellowship last year. I thought perhaps you might be able to find some use for them.

Sincerely yours,

WCH:en

William C. Haygood

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JUN 6, 1947

MEMORANDUM TO ROSENWALD FUND CONCERNING THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

FROM: R. L. Russell, State Director
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

We are herewith submitting an encouraging report of the activities of the Committee.

Meetings. The annual meeting was held in Macon during April, at Christ Episcopal Church, with afternoon and evening sessions. These meetings were well attended and at the evening meeting the large Sunday School room and the hall were filled and there was an overflow on the porch.

The program was centered around the problems of the gubernatorial election of 1948. A Wesleyan College senior and a Mercer University senior spoke from the standpoint of college students. Mr. Harry Strozier, attorney of Macon, gave a summary of the White Primary Bill as passed by the Legislature and vetoed by Gov. Thompson.

It was voted that Mr. Strozier prepare a leaflet for us on the white primary practices of the South. This will be widely distributed throughout the state.

At a recent executive meeting it was decided to put emphasis on two major projects:

(1) A religious and moral crusade against race being an issue in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign. Members of the various denominations have already agreed to present the attached statement or similar one to their state conferences which will be in session within the next few months. They have agreed to see that a copy is placed in the hands of every minister of their group.

(2) Emphasis to be on hospitalization for Negroes. This has been highlighted by the fact that a Clark University student on his way to a track meet in Nashville, injured in an automobile wreck, was denied hospitalization in two nearby towns, died as he finally reached a Negro hospital fifty miles away.

Mr. W. E. Mitchell, of the Georgia Power Company, has agreed to spearhead this project for us.

Local Groups and Meetings. We now have local groups in the following towns or counties:

| | |
|---|---|
| Atlanta | Gainesville |
| Athens | Macon |
| Augusta | Marietta |
| Columbus | Newnan |
| Cordele | Rome |
| Dekalb County | Savannah |
| Dublin | Thomaston |
| Griffin | Thomasville |

All of these have had a meeting in the last month except Cordele, Rome and Gainesville. The most enthusiastic meeting of all was held at Dublin, Sunday, June 1. The Dublin group paid $93.00 into the Committee's treasury.

The Committee has been extremely busy in many things. The State Director and Mrs. Tilly spent many hours during the last Legislature calling people from over the state to attend the Senate hearing on the white primary. Extra calls

Memo to
Rosenwald Fund

June 6, 1947

were made to the ministers of every town in which the members of the Senate Committee lived. The galleries were packed on the days of the hearing. Some very interesting reports have come to us of the resolutions, telegrams and long distance calls that were made to the Legislators. The bill for these long distance calls was $51.00, but it was money well spent.

When we found Gerald K.Smith was to speak in Georgia as a preface to the Talmadge gubernatorial campaign, we put in calls to Douglas and outlined some procedure to our leaders there. Attached you will find some newspaper reports of Gerald K. Smith's appearance in Georgia.

Time has been spent by members of the Committee in police courts and in hearings before the town Councils.

Workers. We have three part-time field workers. One half-time office secretary and have purchased some office equipment.

To date the Georgia Committee has collected $1,915.50 on its quota of $3,000. Some of our larger pledges will be due in July, however with the salaries and travel of field workers and the intensive campaign we are launching against the racial issue in political campaigns, we are finding ourselves now needing another quarter of our gift from the Rosenwald Fund.

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

October 1, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a statement of our 1948 fellowship program, which I hope you will call to the attention of persons who may be especially qualified for these grants, or let us have their names so we may write them directly. Our aim is to give special opportunities - study, travel, or work experience - for the development of individuals of unusual promise. We are interested not only in scholars but in persons who may exert leadership in various phases of American life: labor, religion, writing, public service - any field in which talent may enrich the nation.

The awards are offered to Negroes throughout the nation, and to white Southerners interested in problems distinctive to the region. Since the Fund is closing its work next June, this is the last year that Rosenwald Fellowships will be available.

We should like to have applications reach us as early as possible. In any case they must be received not later than January 1, 1948. Detailed correspondence concerning candidates or other aspects of the fellowship program should be addressed to Mrs. Hilde Reitzes, for the Committee on Fellowships, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed list of the Fellows selected by our Committee for this year. We will appreciate your help in finding an outstanding group of candidates from which to make our 1948 selections.

Very truly yours,

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 8, 1947

Mr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Embree:

That is a fine idea in your letter of October 7. I will be delighted to stay on in Nashville for the meetings.

It will be appreciated if someone will save me a room at the Hermitage, for the nights of Friday, November 7 and Saturday, November 8.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

Sat
Sun

October 7, 1947

Dear George: The Trustees of the Julius Rosenwald Fund are having their annual meeting this year in Nashville on November 8 and 9, immediately following the inauguration ceremonies for Charles Johnson. Some twenty officers of leading foundations and Government bureaus are meeting with us in order that we may use the experience of this Fund as laboratory material for analyzing policies and practices of American foundations generally. In addition to foundation officers we are inviting to participate the executive directors of four organizations which are carrying on major parts of programs in which the Fund has been interested: American Council on Race Relations; Bureau for Intercultural Education; Southern Regional Council and National Planning Association.

We hope very much that you can be with us. I trust that you will be attending the ceremonies on Thursday to Saturday. Our meetings will be held in the Fisk Library beginning at two o'clock Saturday afternoon, November 8 and continuing through sessions Saturday evening and Sunday morning.

Will you let us know if you can attend and whether you would like us to reserve a room for you at the Hermitage Hotel and for how many nights.

Fri. Nov. 7
Sat. Nov. 8.

Very truly yours,

Edwin R. Embree

ERE:NL

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

Julius Rosenwald Fund

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

October 31, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Some years ago Mr. J. Steele, Gow, the Director of the Falk Foundation, prepared a memorandum on "Policies and Practices of Foundations". His notes are so pertinent to the discussions to be held in Nashville that with his permission we are sending a copy of this memorandum to each of the participants in the forthcoming conference of foundation officers.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:RC
encl.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Julius Rosenwald Fund

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Charles S. Johnson
Joseph D. Lohman
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

November 17, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell: There is enclosed our check for $27.72 to reimburse you for your travel expenses to Nashville.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy A. Elvidge

DAE:lm
Enc.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

November 14, '47

Miss Dorothy Elvidge
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge,

The Fund was so generous in simply inviting me to the Nashville meeting, and in providing my lodging at the Hermitage, that I hesitate to bring up left-over items of expense. I would have gone to Nashville anyway, for the inauguration. I would gladly charge travel-fare to the Council, if that is what was expected to be the general plan.

| | |
|---|---|
| Atlanta-Nashville, | |
| Nov. 7 | 7.34 |
| Nash- Atl. Nov. 9 | 12.88 |
| airport buss and | |
| taxis | 1.65 |
| Travel total | 2 1.87 |
| At Nashville, Nov. 7 | |
| meals | 1.40 |
| tips | .45 |
| taxis and bus | 1.40 |
| At Nashville, Nov. 8 | |
| meals | 2.00 |
| taxi | .60 |
| Meals, etc., total | 5.85 |

If we were self-financing, other than lodging, this letter belongs in your waste-paper-basket; if otherwise, then as the Fund pleases.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

November 14, '47

Mr. E. E. Embree
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Embree,

My sincere thanks for inviting me to the meeting the Fund organized in Nashville. I learned a great deal.

Very truly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND FELLOWSHIP GRANTS

1947

NEGROES

WILLIAM ELLISWORTH ARTIS, Corona, Long Island, New York: to work with native Alabama clays in the creation of sculpture and ceramics, at Tuskegee Institute.

WALTER C. BAILEY, Indianapolis, Indiana: for graduate work in sociology, at the University of Chicago.

ARTHUR C. BANKS, JR., department of history and political science, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia: to make a study of the problems of small nations and their contributions to international law and world organizations, at Johns Hopkins University.

EDWARD WARNER BRICE, Rock Hill, South Carolina: for a study of the development and present status of the Negro junior college, at the University of Pennsylvania.

R. LOUISE BURGE, voice instructor, Howard University, Washington, D. C.: for graduate studies in voice, languages, and music education, at Columbia University.

LOUIS PHILLIP CLARK, head of vibration and flutter section, Naval Air Experimental Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: to study techniques employed in aeroelastic instability investigations in selected British aircraft research organizations.

JULIAN WALLACE DEMPSEY, fashion designer, Los Angeles, California: for special research and experiments in fashion design.

CLYDE RUFFIN DILLARD, research assistant in chemistry, University of Chicago: for research on boron hydrides, at the University of Chicago.

EDWIN RICHARDSON EDMONDS, San Antonio, Texas: to make a study of the status of Negro blind in three Southern states, at Boston University.

GRACE TOWNS HAMILTON, executive, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia: to study the techniques used in successful social-action programs to determine their applicability to Southern communities, at the New School for Social Research, New York.

FRANK HARRIOTT, free lance writer, New York City: to write a novel based on the life of a famous blues singer.

ROBERT E. HAYDEN, assistant professor of English, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee: for creative work in poetry.

BLYDEN JACKSON, assistant professor of English, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee: for advanced studies in literature, at the University of Michigan.

ULLMONT LENHARDT JAMES, assistant superintendent of education, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands: to make a critical study of the curriculum and educational practices of the Virgin Islands, at New York University.

BUTLER ALFONSO JONES, professor of social science, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama: for graduate study in American civilization and culture, at New York University.

ULYSSES SIMPSON KAY, New York City: for the composition of a string quartet and a concerto, and for musical studies, at Columbia University.

VIOLET HELEN KING, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana: for a critical evaluation of the teacher training programs of selected Negro Liberal Arts Colleges, at Northwestern University.

PAULINE EDNA PHELPS, Chicago, Illinois: for graduate studies in voice, at the Juilliard School of Music, New York.

JOHN WALTER RHODEN, New York City: for creative work in sculpture.

MARY ESTELLA ROBBS, Chattanooga, Tennessee: for studies in voice.

DANIEL THOMAS SKINNER, assistant professor of modern languages, Morgan State College, Baltimore: to make a study of the French Canadian Poet and Statesman, Louis Frechette, at Harvard University.

PAULINE BYRD TAYLOR, teacher, Lincoln School, Kalamazoo, Michigan: for a survey of most effective techniques for the improvement of race relations, at New York University.

ALONZO SMYTHE YERBY, interne, Coney Island Hospital, Brooklyn, New York: for graduate study in public health, at the University of Michigan.

WHITE SOUTHERNERS

BYRON LESLIE BURFORD, JR., Jackson, Mississippi: for a series of paintings based on Southern themes.

EDWARD FLUD BURROWS, Oswego, South Carolina: to study the role of interracial committees in the social history of the South, at the University of Wisconsin.

MARTIN LIONEL DIBNER, Winter Park, Florida: to write a novel about postwar Florida.

CHARLES DETYENS FARRIS, Jacksonville, Florida: to make an analysis of urban politics in a Southern city, at the University of Chicago.

JOHN ANSLEY GRIFFIN, associate professor of journalism, Emory University, Georgia: for graduate studies in journalism and sociology, at the University of Wisconsin.

MARGARET CALDWELL JAMES, research assistant, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: for a study of the communication media available to Negroes in a North Carolina community, at the University of North Carolina.

DAVID CALVIN KYTLE, Atlanta, Georgia: for a study of the political structure of Georgia.

LEWIS MARTIN KILLIAN, Macon, Georgia: for a study of the adjustment of Southern white migrants to life in a northern city, at the University of Chicago.

EDITH LEVY, New Orleans, Louisiana: for a photographic study of Negro life in New Orleans and for special studies at Tulane University.

JOHN WILLIAM LIPSCOMB, news editor, The Nashville Tennessean: for a study of the organized and unorganized resistance to the growth of the Southern Labor Movement.

THOMAS HAL PHILLIPS, Kossuth, Mississippi: for the writing of a novel.

JAMES WARREN PROTHRO, Alexandria, Louisiana: for a study of the role of religion in Southern politics, at Princeton University.

GEORGE CASHEL STONEY, writer-director, Southern Educational Film Production Service, Atlanta, Georgia: to study foreign documentary film techniques in England, France, and Scandinavia.

SOLOMON SUTKER, research assistant, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: for graduate studies in sociology, at the University of North Carolina.

JAMES ALLEN TOWER, associate professor of geography, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama: to write a geography of Alabama.

LLOYD PYRON WILLIAMS, Dallas, Texas: for graduate study in educational philosophy, at New York University.

THOMAS OSBURN ZUBER, free lance writer, Birmingham, Alabama: to write a book about the political life of the South.

Julius Rosenwald Fund

January 23, 1948

Mr. Edwin R. Embree, President
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Embree:

I should have made it clear that the memorandum about police administration was sent you simply so that you would know about it. We had no thought of asking the Fund for help on it.

I have an application with the John Bulow Campbell Fund for five thousand dollars a year for each of two years for the police thing. If we could get that, I think we would find it possible to get the additional sums needed from other sources.

I expect to be in Chicago February 10 and a day or two thereafter to see Louis Wirth. I hope you will happen to be in the city at that time, too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

January 20, 1948

Dear George: I have read with interest the memorandum signed by you, Charles S. Johnson and Paul Williams on the subject of improved police administration in the Southern States. I do not know whether you had in mind that the Fund might support this project. While it is of particular interest to us, I am afraid we will have to rest on our general appropriations to the Southern Regional Council. Our funds are so fully committed that it would be impossible for us to consider any special gifts at this time.

Very truly yours,

Edwin R. Embree

ERE:NL

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Julius Rosenwald Fund

# FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED FEB 13 1948 Southern Regional Council

February 11, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You have heard from Dr. Robert C. Weaver regarding the affair planned to mark the close of the Julius Rosenwald Fund after its years of usefulness to Negro education. In fact, you are one of the Sponsoring Committee for this event. A small and active Steering Committee in Chicago has suggested that it would be a gracious act of appreciation to present a token on this occasion to Dr. Embree around whom this program has revolved and has asked that I assume responsibility for reaching you on this matter. A watch and a scroll have been agreed upon.

This provides an opportunity for some of his friends to be direct participants. Accordingly, I am addressing this note to the members of the Sponsoring Committee. Ten dollars each will about cover the cost of the gift indicated. If you would like to share in this, your check can be sent to me at your early convenience. The watch will bear an engraved inscription.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:dd

10.00

Julius Rosenwald Fund

March 10, 1948

Dr. Will W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Here is some review of the position of the Council's work.

Our direct membership, paying dues to the Council, is now 2,537. This is an increase of about fifty percent over a year ago. The membership by states is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | 129 |
| Arkansas | 28 |
| Florida | 449 |
| Georgia | 503 |
| Kentucky | 117 |
| Louisiana | 86 |
| Mississippi | 170 |
| North Carolina | 267 |
| Oklahoma | 13 |
| South Carolina | 221 |
| Tennessee | 133 |
| Texas | 140 |
| Virginia | 245 |

When the Council was formed early in 1944, it offered the various State Interracial Committees the opportunity to become Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. Thus far, five states have taken advantage of that, so that we have Divisions in Kentucky, Florida, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. We are quite hopeful that one can be established in Tennessee next month. In Texas, North Carolina and Georgia the Interracial Committees have signed affiliation agreements with the Southern Regional Council and work in close cooperation with us. Virginia's interracial work is carried as a Department of the Virginia Council of Churches. The Department is not formally affiliated with the Council, but works along with us in pretty much the same way as the other Interracial Committees.

These affiliated Interracial Committees have substantial memberships of their own. North Carolina has one thousand and Georgia has two thousand. The Virginia membership is large. All in all, the Interracial Committees would add another three thousand nonmembers of the Council whose activity is serviced in part from this office. If we add in the subscribers to our monthly publication, New South, the total number of families thus closely related to the work of the Council would be at least six thousand. Three thousand of these regularly receive our little magazine.

The Council has had from the beginning a rather close relationship with a good many official church bodies in the South. We receive each year substantial support in money from the Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church and from the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. The Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church helps us additionally through some contributions from a number of its local Conferences. The Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States contributes a small amount annually. The Province containing all the Dioceses in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Southeastern States gives us a contribution each year and has, by formal resolution, endorsed the work of the Council. We also get help from several of the Dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Catholic Committee of the South has helped us each year lately. Our membership rolls contain very considerable numbers of ministers and lay leaders in all the leading religious bodies in the South.

Many church and religious groups regularly use the Council's literature. One of our two field secretaries, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, in addition to her part time work with us, is Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. The other field secretary is an active laywoman official in the Episcopal Church.

I hesitate to guess at numbers of people in religious bodies thus related to the Council's work, but it is many hundreds of thousands.

We have a great constituency in the educational institutions of the South. Many public school officials are among our members, and in almost every college faculty in the Southern States will be found persons who belong to the Council and use its literature in their teaching work.

We have from the beginning had the friendliest relationship with organized labor. Distinguished representatives of each of the major labor organizations are members of our Board of Directors, and our various Divisions and affiliated Committees do their work with a good deal of help from the organized labor movement.

The Council has still another constituency in the business world. We have a good sprinkling of bankers, lawyers and other professional and business people as members and as members of the Board of Directors. The Council's work has been conducted over the years in a way to hold the approval of thoughtful business people.

To all of these add our peculiar link with the newspaper editors in the South. We are on the friendliest terms with people who run the great newspapers in Richmond, Raleigh, Asheville, Columbia, Macon, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Little Rock and Louisville. We are in the best of standing with the editors of the leading Negro newspapers in the South, in Norfolk, Houston, Atlanta and in Birmingham. We have gained the friendly respect of the papers by living up to the Council's tradition of accuracy, fairness and responsibleness.

It has never been our practice to send out releases to the papers, hoping that they would find their way into newspapers rather than into the wastebasket. On the contrary, we have gone ourselves, or sent leading local members, to visit the editors. Usually we have asked the editors to tell us the conditions in their communities which need attention from our local people. With gratifying frequency it is possible for us to get voluntary help from the papers in getting across to the people of the South the enlightened point of view for which the Council stands.

A good instance of the Council's influence would be the whole matter of Negro police. A good many Southern organizations have worked at this for years, and the recent spurt of success is certainly not all the Council's doing. Nevertheless, the October issue of New South, carrying as it did the statistical table on the front page, brought a shower of newspaper comment in favor of the use of more Negro police in Southern towns and cities.

The Council and its network of Fellows of both races all over the South continually serve as a warning mechanism when trouble is about. Local Interracial Committee meetings afford a regular opportunity for heading off situations before they develop. The friendships made in them provide the basis for immediate action. We in Atlanta, and our officials out over the South, are called on several times a month to reach the sheriff in such and such a county and urge on him such and such a course of action; to make known to the Governor the views of this or that group; or to visit the Chief of Police and urge restraint where its absence has been shown or is feared. These are inconspicuous tasks in which the less said publicly, the more done. The years have proven that it is an indispensable part of what degree of peace the South contains.

Our State Divisions and the various State Interracial Committees elaborate programs of their own fitted to the needs of their own States. South Carolina in 1947 worked most at improving medical and hospital care, equalizing educational facilities, better penal institutions, and local recreation programs.

The new Division in Alabama met on March 9 to work out the exact programs which it will undertake in this year.

The Florida Division has done much work in getting better Negro schools, and in keeping voting in the primaries open to Negroes. It has also put on, in Jacksonville, an amazingly resultful example of the community self-survey.

The Georgia Interracial Committee has been involved in getting hundreds of churches over the State to adopt a resolution condemning introduction of race prejudice in political campaigns. It is presently putting its effort into preserving the right to vote.

The courageous energy of the Mississippi Division comes out clearly in the little pamphlet which I enclose. They put this out on their own six weeks or so ago--a Mississippi job for Mississippians.

The North Carolina Division and the Virginia Department keep full time men at work, concentrating the best thought of Negro and white leadership within their States on official bodies, the churches, the schools and the newspapers.

The Council's office here in Atlanta keeps this network supplied with ideas and facts. The monthly magazine, New South, gives a judgment on current issues.

We put out also a succession of pamphlets, giving the facts on the South's needs in industry, agriculture, health, education and housing.

As an instance of our kind of service, I cite our present project for issuing a manual for use in Southern newspaper offices on the handling of race in the news. A good many Southern papers now follow fairly enlightened policies in this regard, but they follow them irregularly and much depends on which particular reporter writes the story. We are collecting instances of the best practice and of prejudiced practices. We have a competent person sifting material of this kind in order to arrive at rules. We think that we can get the cooperation of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association in introducing a manual into newspaper offices all over the South. In a matter of months such a manual could bring about very sharp improvement in the handling of matters of race in the South.

Another project is to prepare a careful study of a representative number of cases of sex crimes across racial lines. We believe that, if we can get this done by medical people, we can get the resulting enlightened view on such crimes into the minds of the family physicians who advise citizens and judges and juries when crimes of this kind occur.

Another thing we are trying very hard to find the money for is a project for improved police training in the South. We know how to do it and we know most of what to do, but we have not thus far been able to find the thirty-odd thousand dollars it will take to do the job.

The Council's whole movement has been committed from the beginning to getting the unrestricted right to vote for all of the people of the South. We have hammered at that in each State and in every meeting, realizing that it is the master right from which a great many other gains will flow.

The Council accepted the challenge of the civil rights controversy. At the time of the issuance of the Report of the President's Committee in November, 1947, we planned a campaign to get the South informed as to the contents of the Report and the rising issue of civil rights. At the end of February we were able to draw together in Atlanta a meeting of over three hundred representative people from all over the South. The greater part of them came as delegates to Methodist and Presbyterian Church bodies in session in Atlanta at that time. We brought in also individuals from most of the other Protestant denominations in the South and good representation from Jewish and Catholic groups.

Among the officially cooperating sponsors of the meeting were the United Council of Church Women; the Georgia Council of Church Women; the American Veterans Committee, Southeastern Region; the American Federation of Labor; the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association; the Southeastern Inter-Council Office; the National Urban League; the Atlanta Urban League; the Southern Regional Association for Adult Education; the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith; and the Georgia Workers Education Service.

All in all, the Southern church people directly represented at the meeting numbered over 500,000.

The meeting was completely interracial. It was non-political in character and aimed at providing the leaders who were present with training in the subject matter of civil rights which would enable them on their return to their own communities to conduct local discussions on the subject. We are just now planning the follow-up local meetings which will use special pamphlet literature already issued by the Council for that purpose.

The February 27 meeting in Atlanta on human and civil rights produced a remarkable set of recommendations as to action in home communities for getting increased civil rights for the people of the South. I enclose a full set of the findings. It is notable that these Southern people, mostly Southern white people, in their own workshop discussions, came out with recommendations in favor of Federal legislation in the field of civil rights, and in favor of getting rid of segregation in professional and graduate colleges.

It is the Council's job to bring to focus the sober judgment of thinking people in the South on all of the major public questions which confront this region. It is not always the vocal opinion in the South which carries the day. Our aim has been not to make a noise, but to carry the day for the decent cause in this town and that and in this state and that from inside. The friendly good will of people of both races who know each other and customarily work together to this end is no small force. The South would be conspicuously worse off if this hope-making and constructive work ceased to be performed. Were it better supported, we should be better off as a region and as part of the Nation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

GSM:eb

Julius Rosenwald Fund

March 26, 1948

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
American Council on Race Relations
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Bob:

I will save May 28 to be at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. Your plans are wise and the occasion should be both exciting and gratifying all around.

It would be courteous if the persons on the attached list could receive invitations, although I am afraid few of them would have the funds to get up to the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: List

GSM:eb

SELECTED LIST OF OFFICERS OF STATE DIVISIONS
AND AFFILIATED INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Mr. William H. Gray
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Israel Kaplan
1467 Challen Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

The Reverend Mr. H. B. Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells
1116 Montgomery Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
R. F. D. #1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mrs. Marion Wilkinson
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Mr. A. D Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mr. Robert Durr
30 Twelfth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. R. L. Russell
Room 424
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. R. B. Atwood
State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. Forrester B. Washington
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
P. O. Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. C. C. Spaulding
Box 201
Durham, North Carolina

The Reverend Mr. Thomas C. Allen
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street, Room 215
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. J. M. Ellison
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Mr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View, Texas

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Henry Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. Harry L. Wright
Apartment 5-E
2171 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

# AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066
4901 S. ELLIS AVE. CHICAGO 15, ILL.

LOUIS WIRTH
President

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Chairman of Board
CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant
WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer
LEONARD M. RIESER
Secretary


RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

March 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We are glad to know that you will serve as a member of the sponsoring committee in connection with the Rosenwald Fund celebration, May 28. Since I first wrote you, progress has been made in the arrangements, and I am happy to report on tentative plans.

We have secured space in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, where all the meetings will be held. For the afternoon seminar (2:30-4:00) we have definite acceptances from Dr. Gunnar Myrdal and Dr. W.E.B. DuBois to discuss "Human Relations in the Twentieth Century". There will be an informal reception after the seminar.

Dinner will be at 7 o'clock in the Grand Ball Room, Mr. Ira DeA. Reid, toastmaster. Miss Lillian Smith, Mr. Sterling Brown, Mr. Langston Hughes, Miss Pauline Phelps have indicated their willingness to participate in the artistic program following the dinner. A short talk by Mr. Embree will bring the celebration to a close. There may be presentations by one or two additional Fellows who are distinguished in the field of music. The charge for the dinner will be $5.

If you approve this program, we shall go ahead with it inviting all Fellows, former officers and trustees, and other friends of the Fund. There may be persons whom you wish to invite and we would like to receive such a list from you.

Sincerely yours,

Bch.

Robert C. Weaver

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Julius Rosenwald Foundation

April 23, 1948

The Stevens Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Sirs:

Will you kindly reserve a room for me for the night of Friday, May 28.

I shall be in Chicago for the Julius Rosenwald Fund celebration.

I shall appreciate your letting me have confirmation of this reservation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

May 10, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell: In answer to your letter of May 7 to Mr. Weaver, I am enclosing herewith two tickets for the Seminar and Dinner honoring the Rosenwald Fund Trustees, for Professor and Mrs. Thomas C. McCormick.

Sincerely yours,

Hilde Reitz

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

J. R. Fund


# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller



RECEIVED
MAY 17 1948
Southern Regional Council


May 14, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell: Your letter of May 10 with enclosure from Mr. Brooks Hays has come during Dr. Alexander's absence from the city, to be away until about the twenty-fourth of May. Your letter is being held for Dr. Alexander's return.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Buchanan

Secretary to
Dr. Alexander

EB

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Persons invited to the celebration are limited to two tickets. Reservations must be received in Chicago on or before May 1, 1948.

The Sponsoring Committee has asked The Stevens Hotel to hold a block of rooms for out-of-town guests. *Individuals will have to make their own reservations by writing directly to the Hotel,* indicating that they will attend the Julius Rosenwald Fund celebration.

Please make checks payable to ROBERT C. WEAVER.

---

Please send me_____tickets(s) at $5.00 per cover for the Julius Rosenwald Fund Dinner to be held Friday, May 28, 1948 at The Stevens Hotel, Chicago.

My check for $_____is enclosed.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____

*My Guest:*_____

*Address*_____

_____

Julius Rosenwald
Foundation

You are cordially invited

to attend the celebration

in connection with the closing of the

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

THE STEVENS HOTEL

CHICAGO

Friday, May the Twenty-eighth

# PROGRAM

Normandie Lounge

2:30 P.M.—Human Relations in the Twentieth Century

W. E. B. DuBois
Gunnar Myrdal

Robert C. Weaver, Chairman

4:30 P.M.—Informal Reception to Visiting Fellows and Friends

# PROGRAM

Grand Ballroom

7:00 P.M.—Dinner

Sterling Brown

Langston Hughes

Pauline Phelps

Lillian Smith

Edwin R. Embree

Ira DeA. Reid, *Toastmaster*

# SPONSORING COMMITTEE

L. HOWARD BENNETT

HORACE M. BOND

RUFUS E. CLEMENT

PAUL CORNELY, M. D.

W. ALLISON DAVIS

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

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LESTER GRANGER

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL

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IRA DEA. REID

C. RUFUS ROREM

EDWARD C. SOLOMON

EDWARD J. SPARLING

ROBERT C. WEAVER, *Chairman*

WALTER WHITE

SIDNEY WILLIAMS

LOUIS WIRTH

Julius Rosenwald Fund

May 24, 1948

Miss Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Elvidge:

We are very happy, at long last, to be able to forward to you for your files a copy of our official 1947 audit. This audit is as complete as we, and the auditor, knew how to make it, reflecting every aspect of the Council's fiscal operations and its actual financial condition at the close of the year.

In regard to the question in your letter of April 14th about the extra $2,000 for the Veteran's Service Division, we are all greatly puzzled over this and have made a diligent search of our books and other records to see if we can clear it up. For whatever light they may throw, I am listing below all receipts from the Julius Rosenwald Fund for both the Southern Regional Council and the Veteran's Service Division as they appear in our daily cash book through May 1947.

Southern Regional Council:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| March 4, | $ 1,000 | (Special Fund-Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer) |
| March 10 | $17,500 | ($12,500 on regular $25,000 appropriation; $5,000 on special $10,000 appropriation) |
| April 7 | $ 1,000 | (Special Fund- Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer) |
| May 29 | $ 1,000 | (Special Fund-Josephine Wilkins, Treasurer) |

Veterans Service Division:

| | |
|---|---|
| January 27, | $ 2,000 |
| February 17 | $ 1,500 |

Since we can find no extra payemnt of $2,000 to the Veteran's Service Division in 1947, we are wondering whether the March 4th and April 7th payments of $1,000 each to the Special Fund, of which Josephine Wilkins was treasurer, may not be the ones you had in mind? This possibility would seem to be borne out by your letter of February 17th, 1947, addressed to Dr. Mitchell, in which you say: "The enclosed check for $1,500 represents final payment on our appropriation of $3,500 for work in connection with returning veterans."

Please let us hear from you further if the information I have given does not clear this matter up. We shall be glad to send you copies of correspondence, bank deposit slips, or anything else you may need, if they will help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

One of 5 original signed copies of Mr. Campbell's audit rept.

Julius Rosenwald

## SPONSORS

Gift to Edwin R. Embree
Presented at Rosenwald Dinner, May 29th, 1948

Horace Mann Bond, President
Lincoln University
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Paul Cornely
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Allison Davis
Department of Education
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

A. W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans 19, Louisiana

Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Committee on Research in
Medical Economics
1790 Broadway
New Yori 19, New York

H. H. Giles
Bureau for Intercultural Education
1697 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Lester Granger
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York, New York

Dr. Percy Juliun
Soya Products Division
Glidden Company
5165 W. Moffat Street
Chicago, Illinois

Mordecai Johnson, President
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P. L. Prattis
Pittsburgh Courier
P.O. Box 1828
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

C. Rufus Rorem
Hospital Council of Philadelphis
311 S. Juniper Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Gift to Edwin R. Embree
Presented at Rosenwald Dinner, May 29th, 1948

Edward J. Sparling, President
Roosevelt College
430 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Thomas Sancton
1020 West Beach Street
Pass Christian, Mississippi

Edward C. Solomon
Sarah Lawrence College
Bronxville, New York

Sara Southall
180 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Channing H. Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Rupert Vance
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Robert C. Weaver
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Louis Wirth
American Council on Race Relations
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Sidney Williams
Chicago Urban League
3032 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Walter White
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Thomas H. Wright
Mayor's Commission on Human Relations
54 W. Hubbard Street
Chicago, Illinois

18- Julius Rosenwald Fund

# Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Edwin R. Embree
President

Will W. Alexander
Vice President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

June 3, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell: I am enclosing with this a copy of the press release on the closing of the Fund which Julia Waxman asked me to send to you by airmail.

Very truly yours,

Nina Lackie

Secretary to Mr. Embree

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

18 - Julius Rosenwald Fund

June 17, 1948

Miss Julia Waxman
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Waxman:

Here are two editorials by Ralph McGill in the Atlanta Constitution of June 9 and June 10.

Not every word of them is just to my taste, but they are well meant and earnest praise of a great job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : Editorials

GSM:eb

# JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO 15

## FELLOWSHIPS

1948

The Julius Rosenwald Fund offers fellowships only under two categories:

I. To Negroes.

II. To white Southerners who wish to work on some problem distinctive to the South and who expect to make their careers in the South.

The fellowships are intended to provide opportunities for special experience or advanced study to individuals who have already given evidence of exceptional ability and who wish to prepare themselves further. They are not restricted to any special subject or activity. They are open not only to scholars and scientists but to persons in the fine arts, creative writing or journalism, education, agriculture, business, or public service.

The fellowships are open to men and women. It is expected that candidates will be not younger than 24 years nor older than 35 years, though the Committee is willing to consider very exceptional cases on their merits. Candidates must have completed their general college course or their general professional course before making application, or give evidence of maturity and preparation which may be regarded as the equivalent of a general education of at least collegiate standard. Persons in law, dentistry, library science, the ministry, and other professions, can be considered only for advanced work beyond the initial professional degree; persons in nursing will be expected to have both a bachelor's degree and an R. N. certificate.

The term of the fellowships will be one year, and grants will not be awarded for a term of less than six months.

The amount of the award will be determined in each case on the basis of the expected expenses involved and of all other factors which enter into the given application, including the length of time proposed. It is expected that the awards will average $2,000 for a full year's work.

The Committee on Fellowships will require from each candidate full information about his education and experience, and a definite statement of the proposed study or investigation.

Applications for fellowships with all required materials must be submitted in the prescribed form by January 1, 1948. Blanks may be secured from the Committee on Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Memo to DR. JOHNSON

From JTM

Josephine Wilkins said that she thought the correct title of the first organization was "American Association of Social Workers". If so, this organization has annual meetings at 11 Pryor Street, which is the Social Planning Council headquarters. Mr. Chester is no longer Executive Secretary, Miss Russell Brinson being the newly elected Executive Secretary. Miss Wilkins said it was a professional organization of social workers with very high standards. I never could catch Miss Brinson in her office to ask about the direct bearing of their work upon race relations. Dr. Reid said he thought it definitely should be listed.

The Southern Workers' Defense League is an organization to protect the civil rights of workers, along the lines of the Civil Liberties League or the F.E.P.C. Mr. Frank McCallister was formerly Executive Secretary. I never could catch Mr. McCallister either, but his secretary and Jo Wilkins said that whenever cases involving Negroes came up, they must have dealt with them as with others.

I could never catch Miss Lucy Mason (honestly, I did try to get these folks - they're just elusive!) Dr. Reid said the Southern Workers' Defense League had some Communist Party affiliations.

Miss Russell Brinson is with the State Department of Public Welfare and can be reached at Wa.8710.

McCallister's number is Wa. 4121.

**RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

February 10, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

For your information the attached letter and material have been sent to the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rev. William N. Tuttle | - | Florida Conference |
| Rev. J. Taylor Stanley | - | Convention of the South |
| Rev. Royal J. Gibson | - | Central South Convention |
| Rev. E. M. Butterfield | - | Southeast Convention |
| Supt. Wm. C. Scott | - | Southern Convention |

Sincerely yours,

Galen Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:g

C
O
P
Y

Dear Mr. Scott - et al:

Will you take a few moments of your valuable time to look over a proposed letter and memorandum (see enclosed) that Dr. Long and I thought we should send to a selected group of ministers of our churches, along with a copy of the Southern Regional Pamphlet (enclosed).

I am requesting you to mark up the list of -- Convention ministers, checking those you believe would benefit from reading this pamphlet and who <u>might</u> conceivably initiate or help initiate a small concerned group for discussion of the issues.

There may be further communications on similar public issues that we will want to send to a "live" mailing list. Your indications will save us from wasting time, money and materials.

With appreciation for your help,

Cordially,

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:g
enclosures

**RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

January 20, 1954

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

Dear Pastor:

Some of us think that the Supreme Court will probably render a decision about April or May 1954 that will make a real advance on "the separate but equal" theory of the Plessy v.s. Ferguson case that has stood since 1896. What the exact nature of the decision will be cannot, of course, be accurately predicted now but whatever it is will probably require far-reaching readjustments, psychologically and practically in the segregated public school system wherever that persists as it does in northern and southwestern communities as well as in the District of Columbia and in 17 states in the Southeastern United States.

Wouldn't it be a useful and appropriate contribution to good human relations for our local churches to take the lead - along with other groups - in preparing public opinion to accept and in good faith, to carry out a new pattern of relationships between God's children of both races? I hope you will answer 'yes', and that, in ways adapted to your special circumstances you will be able to do something towards a harmonious and constructive solution of this problem of creating new patterns of association.

I surmise that the enclosed pamphlets, written and published by native Southerners who have an intimate grasp of the situation, will prove to be a helpful tool. Additional copies can be ordered from the Southern Regional Council at 15 cents each. I feel sure that, within the limits of a meagre budget and the time of a small staff, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Fleming and Mrs. Tilly will be quite ready to advise and assist you with special problems about which you may want to write them.

Another 8-page pamphlet also prepared and published by the Southern Regional Council is entitled "A Check List for your Local Schools". It is a series of questions and a 'Schedule for individual schools' designed to guide a study of educational facilities for colored and white children in a local community. It would be very useful in case a group of concerned people wish to follow up discussion with remedial action based on accurate, factual material. I will gladly send you a free copy on your request.

The enclosed list of suggestions is intended to be helpful. I hope it may prove so. If there is any further assistance you believe we can render, please request it from us. We will do our best to extend that help.

I will greatly appreciate learning from you what you are able to do.

Fraternally yours,

Galen R. Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:g
enclosures

The program of Religion and Race is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A STUDY AND DISCUSSION GROUP
on
"The Public School Segregation Issue: Implications for Christian Parents and Christian Citizenship".

Our view is that local churches can initiate such a group and the following are meant to be helpful to the pastors and concerned members who want to assist in creating more democratic patterns of human relations:

1. The efficacy of a small group of concerned people, preferably of both races, meeting together in a temporate and constructive spirit cannot be overestimated.

2. The timing is important: Now rather than later, the effects are likely to be much greater and more useful. It would be unfortunate, even shameful, if in your community denouncers of obedience to lawful processes and deniers of equal opportunities for all people were the ones to "sound off" first. Positive and constructive forces should take the initiative and set the tone of community response. Dr. George Mitchell has written,"The first group of people in each community who have found the facts and made up their minds will be influential in setting local opinion."

3. Probably there are several persons in your church and community, White and Negro, who have the respect and confidence of a great part of the people of your area and who could quietly call together a concerned group. The strategy of "public relations" can be decided upon by the group itself. The best way might be for individuals each to act in his own sphere. Or the group might use the press and radio and other means of spreading an attitude and point of view. Perhaps a panel of several persons can be constituted and after careful preparation, make themselves available individually or as a group, to present the matter bebore luncheon clubs, women's associations, school assemblies, church organizations, etc.

4. The school authorities, including the superintendent and the board members, principals and supervisors, may be under pressure from adverse elements. Unless positive support is forthcoming at an early stage their job will be correspondingly more difficult. Many superintendents, being dedicated to high social and educational principles,are themselves ready for a change-over to non-segragation but are dubious of public opinion and support they will get from school boards. This means that there is an opportunity to hold up their hands by letting them know that influential citizens will back them up when they make constructive moves.

5. Numerous subterfuges will be tried in certain communities. The court decisions will apply of course only to the five school systems directly involved. It is to be hoped that colored Americans will not be required to go to the great expense of instituting a case in your local school district even though the outcome can be predicted with certainty. The matter of re-districting will need to be closely watched to see that geographical and not racial criteria are used.

6. The pamphlet enclosed will be immensely useful to such a group as we have in mind, especially if each member has a copy and all can discuss the data in it. Additional copies may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council at 15 cents each.

7. The following might be suggested as a breakdown of the larger subjects into three sub-topics for study and discussions:

   A. The facts that we need to know (summed up in the S.R.C. pamphlet)

   B. Our own response to the Supreme Court decision which may be one of the following:

      1) Equal educational opportunities open forthwith to all children (without ruling against separate facilities)

      2) Equal educational opportunities for all children with a strictly limited period in which to make them so in fact (without ruling against separate facilities)

      3) That "equal educational opportunity" means "identical opportunity", that is, that segregation itself is unconstitutional when based on the accidental factor of racial origin.

   C. What we can do to help - as individuals and as a group - including questions of public relations.

#######

*answering*
*your questions*
*about*

# JEWS *and* JUDAISM

*by*

*Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner*

*reprinted from*

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN JOURNAL *Advance*

OCTOBER 19, 1955

IN THE interest of promoting better understanding between Jew and Christian, I recently sent out a questionnaire to Christians in all walks of life, ranging from college presidents, editors, ministers and students to just plain people asking what they thought Christians would like to know about Jews and Judaism. The response was heartening and overwhelming. Here are my answers to some of the most frequently asked questions:

1. *Where do Jews get their religious authority?*

In Judaism there is no pope, no bishop nor even a Sanhedrin. There are rabbis in America who resemble Protestant ministers more than they do Catholic priests. The rabbi has no sacramental functions and he does not act as an intermediary between the individual and God. "Rabbi" is a Hebrew word meaning "my teacher." The rabbi is distinguished from the layman by his superior scholarship in Jewish law and lore. The liberal rabbi is ordained to preach and to teach Judaism. The Orthodox rabbi is also authorized to interpret the Rabbinic Law, to grant religious divorces and to decide on ritual matters. Traditional Judaism, being a way of life, has its authority in its books rather than in any person. These books constitute the Torah — the divinely inspired Bible, the Talmud, the Codes — in a word, the *Halacha* or Rabbinic Law.

The authority for liberal Judaism is also in the Bible and in its literature but with this difference—liberal Judaism emphasizes the prophetic and the spiritual aspects rather than the law and the ritual. In liberal Judaism every congregation is autonomous and every rabbi is independent. They are, however, guided by their respective conferences of rabbis and by their congregational union much the same as are liberal Christians.

2. *Who, then, speaks for the Jewish people?* The answer is that no single individual or group is vested with authority to speak for all the Jewish people. There are literally hundreds of Jewish organizations — religious, cultural, philanthropic, social, fraternal, Zionistic, and so on, all of which are autonomous and made up of men and women who have voluntarily banded themselves together and who speak only on behalf of their members for their respective causes.

To unify them there is in each community an over-all organization known as a federation or community council. It includes most of the organizations. Its principal function is to raise funds for local, national and overseas causes and to ascertain the consensus on issues that are of common interest to the Jewish community. These local community councils are, in turn, banded together into a national Council of Federations and Welfare Funds.

You see that Jewish life is independent, democratic, not too highly organized and reflects the individual Jew for whom nobody can speak except himself. It has been aptly said about Jews that, given two Jews, you will get three opinions and the only thing upon which two Jews can agree is on how much the third Jew should give to charity.

3. *How do Jews regard the New Testament?*

The answer is that Jews do not believe the New Testament possesses the same divine sanctity (*Shekinah*) as the Torah, the laws of Moses. Jews have this same attitude toward their own apocryphal writings. Though these were included in the Catholic Bible they were excluded from the Jewish Bible.

Secondly, since Jews did not accept Jesus as the Messiah they could not accept as gospel the book that records his life, death and resurrection.

In the third place, the New Testament does not contain for Jews any new spiritual dimension not already envisioned in the Old Testament. The New Testament's conception of love was already included in the Old in the injunction: "Love thy neighbor as

thyself." The New Testament's accent on brotherhood is an echo of the Old Testament prophets' cry: "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why, then, do we deal treacherously brother against brother?"

### Differing Viewpoints

Jesus and the New Testament speak of peace. Is this not to be found in the Old Testament as well when Isaiah thunders about turning swords into ploughshares, spears into pruning hooks and nations not learning war any more?

Jews for centuries have also associated their persecution with the gospel which charges them with having crucified Jesus. These are some of the reasons why the traditional Jewish attitude toward the New Testament is as it is.

The attitude of liberal Jews is different. They recognize the lofty spiritual and ethical dimension embraced in the personality of Jesus. They see great beauty in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Beatitudes and find them jewels culled from the Jewish jewel box. For how could it have been otherwise? Was not Jesus a Jew?

It was in the twelfth century that the Jewish philosopher, Maimonides, pointed out that it was Christianity that gave universal acceptance to the basic moral truths of Judaism and laid the foundation for the Judeo-Christian heritage.

4. *Do Jews teach the New Testament?*

The answer is that Orthodox Jews do not and that Reform Jews do. Courses in the New Testament are offered in rabbinical seminaries because the New Testament throws light on this critical period of history when Christianity emerged from Judaism. In the Reform religious schools, the older pupils are taken on visits to Christian churches where Catholic and Protestant ministers explain to them the tenets and symbols of their faith.

To inculcate brotherhood and build that better America we are all trying to build, the right to differ religiously entails the obligation to understand the other man's faith as well as one's own. We must pierce the silken veil of misunderstanding which separates church and synagogue; we must reveal ourselves one to the other. Then we will find that the areas in which we agree are infinitely more important than those in which we disagree.

5. *Does Judaism seek converts and do Jewish congregations have a missionary program?*

The answer is no. Judaism does not seek converts nor conduct any propaganda to proselytize others but it does welcome into the faith those who come of their own free will.

### Recent Converts

A study recently made reveals that about 2,000 converts are being brought into the Jewish fold by Reform, Conservative and Orthodox rabbis yearly; that they are composed principally of women who wish to marry Jews because they believe that a happy home must be a religiously united home.

There was a time in Jewish history when Jews did evangelize. The Bible and the Talmud abound with passages concerning the "proselyte and the stranger in our midst." The Biblical books of *Ruth* and *Jonah* attest to this. The Talmud has a whole section dealing with *Gerim* — proselytes. They were always accorded the full privileges of a Jew. Even the New Testament (see *Matthew* 23:15) refers to the Pharisees as "people who compass the sea and land to make one proselyte."

The historian, Josephus, tells of the success Jewish missionaries achieved in winning many Roman dignitaries to Judaism. Proselytism continued until the year 325 at which time the Roman Empire, which had persecuted the Christians, made Christianity its religion. Then the Jews were forbidden on penalty of death to convert anyone and rabbis were counseled to discourage non-Jews from joining the persecuted race. All of this has held up to modern times and explains why Jews have no missionary program.

Now that we live in a free world, there is no reason why Judaism, which regards itself as a great faith of universal significance, should not share this faith with others — particularly those who are unaffiliated with any church. And yet it does not do so because Judaism is primarily an ethical religion, a way of life and not a way of salvation by faith. In other words, it

is a "this worldly" religion rather than an "other worldly" religion. It seeks to bring a little heaven down to earth rather than to assure man a place in heaven after death. From this viewpoint, then, there is no such thing as the "best" religion. Any religion that makes you the best kind of person is for you the best religion.

### Different Paths

All true religions are but different paths up the same mountain to God. The important thing is for people to be in the ascent—God-seeking, ethical and to translate their religion into decency and kindliness. What matters is not how many beads you count or prayers you say or rituals you observe but how you behave as a decent human being. (For those who are unhappy in their faith or who have no faith and seek in Judaism peace of mind and soul, the doors stand open.) The thing that will enhance religion most is for its adherents to practice brotherhood and mutual respect, one for the other. Let us have a parliament of religions, a UN of all the churches, the synagogues, the mosques — but not with one church over all. This is the view of Judaism.

6. *Is Passover the Jewish Easter?*

No, it is not. Passover commemorates the exodus of the Jews from Egyptian bondage, and Easter, the resurrection of Jesus and his triumph over death. Aside from the historical interpretation, they both originate in early nature festivals marking the spring season of the year with its emphasis on renewed life, hope and faith.

As we shall see, Easter was originally the Jewish Passover or Pesach. Passover was one of the three pilgrimage festivals when Jewish pilgrims came from all over to bring their offerings to the temple in Jerusalem. It was this that brought Jesus and his disciples to Jerusalem. They came to celebrate the Passover.

The last meal at which Jesus gathered with his disciples—and the wine and the matzoh — unleavened bread to which he referred as "This is my blood and my body"—this meal was the Seder. The Seder is the traditional Jewish family meal commemorating the exodus of the Jews from Egyptian bondage and how the Angel of Death passed over the Jewish homes and spared their first-born. In the Christian church this Seder is referred to as the Last Supper and the sharing of the wine and the matzoh (wafers) has become the communion service.

7. *Why did not the Jews accept Jesus as their Messiah and do they believe that the Messiah is yet to come?*

The answer is that Jews did not accept Jesus as their Messiah but not because they did not believe in a Messiah. They most certainly did. Their plight under Pontius Pilate at that time was so tragic and hopeless that they looked for a miracle, for a Messiah to come and deliver them from the Roman oppression. Every pregnant mother hoped that she could be carrying this Messiah. And the reason they did not accept Jesus as *Mosheach* (which is the Hebrew for Messiah and means the Anointed One, the Redeemer) is that his coming did not fulfill the conditions they believed the coming of the Messiah would bring to pass.

### God of Mankind

You see, they conceived the Messiah to be a great warrior—one who would bring about the defeat of the Roman enemies of Israel; that he would restore the independence of the Jewish State; that he would be the moral and spiritual regenerator of the world; that his coming would spell the end of war, poverty and misery; that brotherhood and peace would abound everywhere; and that Jehovah would be the God of all mankind. In other words, the Messiah would herald a new world, a Utopia. It is clear that the advent of Jesus failed, so far as they were concerned, on every count; in fact, their plight worsened. And with the exception of his disciples and a few others, the people did not regard him as the Messiah.

8. *Why did not the Jews accept the prediction of the coming of Jesus as is prophesied by the Old Testament prophets?*

The reason is two-fold. The various passages in the prophetic writings which speak of such a person and which Christians interpret as a prediction of the coming of Jesus (notably such passages as those in *Isaiah* 7:14, 9:5, 11:9 and 51), have always been interpreted by Jews to refer to contemporaneous persons and events

rather than to the hope of a personal redeemer in the remote future.

In the second place, Jews did not regard the prophets as predictors of the future. The prophets were not soothsayers, foretellers; they were great moral preachers, social reformers with an intuitive understanding of the political, moral and spiritual ills of their time. It was for social justice and righteousness that they thundered in God's name. The Jewish mind, deeply influenced by the prophets, never conceived of them as people supernaturally endowed to foresee and announce the person who would be the Messiah seven centuries beyond their time.

**The Messianic Age**

9. *Do Jews still believe in the Messiah?*

The answer is yes, they do. This mystic belief, which underwent much revision and reinterpretation during the ages, is still deeply ingrained in Jewish theology and in the Jewish consciousness. The more they suffered, the more they believed it. But, unlike Christians, for whom the Messiah has already come in the person of Jesus, Orthodox Jews believe that the Messiah is still to come—*"B'achrees hayomim,"* at the time of universal judgment.

Reform Judaism, however, has discarded the belief in a personal Messiah and interpreted the ancient hope as referring to a Messianic age, to a period of peace and human regeneration that will be brought about through human effort and with God's help. When men will be thinking their highest, feeling their deepest and doing their best—in a word, when religion will fill the world and God will be in every heart—then that great day, the Messianic age, will dawn upon the world.

10. *Do Jews believe in life after death?*

Like all great religions, Judaism, the mother religion, believes that death is not the end and harbors the conviction that, in some mysterious and indefinable way, life goes on beyond the grave. It is, of course, quite clear that man is more than a machine and that when he dies the portrait of the departed hangs on in the sacred halls of our recollection, affording us both comfort and inspiration.

Is it not profoundly true that, in a sense, only the dead live? They cannot die. They live on not only in memory and in love but in the physical heritage which they transmit to their offspring. As Spinoza, the great Jewish philosopher, once put it—every life, whether good or bad, is like a stone thrown into a lake, setting up ripples that go on and on.

Some lives are like Moses and Jesus, Shakespeare, Beethoven and Goethe. They are boulders whose ripples in the lake of life are endless. Therefore, we must say that death is never the end of life; it is rather the doorway into a mansion, a world beyond human ken.

The Jewish Bible has little to say about life after death. Its primary concern is with life in this world and in making it over into a better and happier place to live. Only Job cries in his anguish: "Though I perish, I believe that my Redeemer liveth." He is convinced that, even though he dies, he will live on in God. For how else can we conceive of life except as an emanation from God who is the life of all life, the mind of all mind and who breathed his life into us? Since God is eternal, that which comes from him into us must be eternal and deathless. And so, when we die, it is only the dust that returneth unto the dust and the spirit unto God who gave it.

**Life-Giving Principle**

Judaism, under the Persian influence around the third century, took on the belief in a heaven and a hell and in the resurrection of the dead.

Reform Judaism has given up these folkloristic beliefs. Heaven and hell are no longer believed to be places but rather states of mind. By living in accordance with the prophetic teachings, by helping to build a better world, we bring a little of heaven down to earth; and hell is the life of sin and evil. One doesn't have to wait to die to get either to heaven or to hell.

As for the belief in resurrection, Reform Judaism has sublimated it into the belief in life eternal, in the indestructibility of the human spirit. It believes that mind, personality, soul, spirit, whatever we call that mysterious and indefinable something which we know to be the animating, life-giving principle, the spark in the body

that generates love and tenderness, beauty and faith—it believes that all of those higher qualities that give meaning and value to life are not of the body but in the body. When the shell that held the pearl breaks, the pearl remains.

Because all lives are not of the same quality, there is a difference between eternal life and immortal life. Eternal life goes on because life by its very nature is indestructible but immortal life has that plus quality of a life lived significantly, meaningfully, which contributes to making other lives beautiful and fine and happy.

11. *How do Jews feel about intermarriage?*

The answer is that Jews feel about intermarriage much the same as do people of other religions (for people are people and parents are parents). All parents prefer that their children marry among their own kind, the reasons being obvious. All parents love their children and want to see them happily married. With good cause they feel that couples brought up in different faiths run greater risks of being unhappy than do those brought up in the same faith. Recent studies show: "The chances for divorce and separation are two and a half times greater in an interfaith marriage than in a marriage of partners of the same faith; and even in the marriages which do not break up, disagreement on religious matters is a definite cause for unhappiness." ("The Truth about Mixed Marriages," by the Rev. Dr. David R. Mace in *The Woman's Home Companion,* July, 1951.)

**Problems of Intermarriage**

Secondly, many people feel keenly about preserving their religion and know that intermarriage has a tendency to water it down. Jews, because they are in a minority, see in intermarriage great danger for their survival.

A distinction needs to be drawn between mixed marriage and intermarriage. A mixed marriage is one in which each agrees to hold on to his own religion and continues to go to his own church. An intermarriage is one in which the couple agrees to have one religion between them and to make a home which will be religiously united because such a home is the best to rear children in. For this reason, we Jews counsel that the non-Jewish party should be converted to Judaism. This they must do of their own free will and agree to rear their children as Jews. It is an evasion to say, "Let the child choose his religion when he becomes mature."

12. *Do Jews believe in divorce?*

I suppose this question was asked me because there are churches in Christendom that do not countenance divorce. Jews do. Under Jewish Rabbinical Law, divorce could be obtained with ease. Incompatibility and mutual consent are among the many recognized grounds. Orthodox Jews, however, believe that a civil divorce is not enough. To make it binding, there must also be a religious divorce, a *Get,* granted by a rabbinic, that is, an ecclesiastical court. Otherwise both parties are ineligible to remarry.

Reform Judaism recognizes civil divorce as both adequate and valid and does not require a *Get* for the remarriage of divorced persons. It holds that in such matters the law of the land is the law.

**Modification of Law**

Among Orthodox Jews it often happens that the husband, who alone has the power to grant his wife a *Get,* refuses for many base reasons to do so. To circumvent this hardship on the woman, conservative rabbis who follow the Rabbinic Law have recently modified it. They have agreed that every marriage at which they officiate must contain a stipulation incorporated in the *Ketuba,* the marriage contract, that in the event of marital difficulties the couple go first to the rabbi in order to be reconciled. Failing this, the rabbinic court, by this new stipulation, is authorized to give the legally divorced wife a *Get.* The couple is then religiously eligible to remarry.

13. *Do Jews believe they are the "Chosen People"?*

Despite popular belief, I can assure you that Jews never claimed to be superior to other people or chosen by God for world domination or any special privilege except it be for suffering. For what people has suffered more than Israel? Zangwill once declared: "The people of Christ have become the Christ among the peoples."

Modern Jews do not believe that Jews are the chosen people. It would

be a contradiction of terms to hold such a belief since Jews were the first to proclaim that God is the Father of all mankind and in his sight all God's children are equal.

What, then, is meant by the "Chosen People"? It originated in the Bible. The term is a free rendition of two difficult Biblical terms, *Am Segula* (treasure people) and *Am Nachlah* (heritage people). According to Jewish tradition, when God gave the moral law to the world he offered it to all the nations. The people whc accepted it would be regarded as "chosen." Only the Jews accepted saying, "We will do and we will hearken." The rest rejected it. Then the Lord said: "Ye are my witnesses and the servants whom I have chosen." In other words, the Jews chose to be chosen, a privilege open to all.

It is well to observe that the early church held that only those who accepted Jesus as the son of God were the chosen people. There are churches today that believe they are the bearers of the only true revelation. The Greeks of old called all non-Greeks "barbarians." The Germans only yesterday spoke of themselves as the "master race." The Russians proclaim that they are the saviors of mankind while under communism their own masses languish under dictatorship.

But today the concept of the chosen people must take on a new meaning. If we want to save ourselves, we must renounce the way of life that leads to war and woe and choose, as once did Israel, to follow the moral law. We must suffuse our science with a good dose of religious faith or the devilish devices of the human mind will destroy us. Having given up the fear of the Lord a new fear is paralyzing our hearts—mass suicide.

**Good or Evil**

No one is more sensitive to this than the scientists who are devising the very hydrogen bombs and jet planes for the next war. It is these scientists who have turned moralist. Do you remember the old Greek legend about Prometheus who stole heavenly fire and as a punishment was chained forever to a rock by the god, Zeus? We are the modern Prometheus. The heavenly fire we have stolen is atomic fission. Unless we chain ourselves to a rock, the Rock of Ages, the Ten Commandments, and inscribe their words upon the tablets of our hearts, we will go down.

God is calling to us as he did to Israel and the nations in the wilderness saying: "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, death and evil. Choose ye the good; choose ye life." Notice, God does not say: "Here, Mankind, I give you"; he says, "Choose." The responsibility to be or not to be is ours. This time it will not do for only one nation to choose the good. It's all or none. All the nations must become the "covenant people," the "chosen people," to save mankind. This is the new version of the doctrine of the chosen people. Let us pray that God will give us the wisdom and courage to choose life.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue • New York 16, N.Y.

October 1956

RECEIVED FEB 23 1956

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND THE

# ANNUAL WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY WORKERS' EDUCATION CONFERENCE

To be held at the
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 West 12 Street, New York City

Week-end
February 25 - 26
1956

under the auspices of the
AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE

This general conference is conducted by the American Labor Education Service, with the cooperation of the Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers

## CONFERENCE PLANS

SATURDAY
MORNING

9:30 REGISTRATION

10:30 OPENING SESSION

Chairman: Joseph Mire, Executive Secretary, Inter-University Labor Education Committee

THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THE UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT

Speaker: David L. Cole, Impartial Umpire under AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement; Former Director, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

EVENING
6:45 ANNUAL DINNER MEETING of the AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE

Lucile Kohn, Chairman of Board of Directors, ALES

Jacob Clayman, International Representative, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Member, Board of Directors, ALES

THE CHANGING ROLE OF LABOR IN MODERN SOCIETY

Speaker: William H. Davis, Attorney and Former Chairman of War Labor Board

SATURDAY
AFTERNOON
2:15 DISCUSSION GROUPS

I. EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES ARISING OUT OF THE LABOR PROGRAM ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Chairman: Chester A. Graham, Field Associate, ALES

II. UNION FIELD TRIPS AND STUDY TOURS - METHODS AND RESULTS

Chairman: Orlie Pell, President, Local 189, American Federation of Teachers; Publication and Research Associate, ALES

III. USE OF WORKERS EDUCATION TO DEVELOP GREATER INTEREST AND UNDERSTANDING IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Chairman: Theresa Wolfson, Professor of Economics, Brooklyn College

SUNDAY MORNING — DISCUSSION GROUPS

10:00 to 1:00

I. WORKERS EDUCATION AFTER THE MERGER

Chairman: Lawrence Rogin, Education Director, Textile Workers Union of America

II. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PUBLIC POLICIES OF THE AFL-CIO

Chairman: William L. Rafsky, Housing Coordinator, City of Philadelphia

III. ROLE OF EDUCATION IN INTERPRETING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MERGED LABOR MOVEMENT

Chairman: Jack Barbash, Director of Education and Information, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

AFTERNOON

1:00 COFFEE HOUR

2:00 CLOSING SESSION

Chairman: Eleanor G. Coit, Director, American Labor Education Service

- - - - - -

Invited Group Resources: (Partial List)

Abe Belsky, Secretary, Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board; Hyman Bookbinder, Department of Legislation, AFL-CIO; Theodore Brown, Research and Education Director, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; John M. Brumm, Education Director, International Association of Machinists; Jacob Clayman, International Representative, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Alice Hanson Cook, Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University; John W. Edelman, Legislative Representative, Textile Workers Union of America; Arthur A. Elder, Director, Training Institute, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Rudolph Faupl, Grand Lodge Representative, International Association of Machinists; William Kemsley, Representative of ICFTU to UN; Irvine L. H. Kerrison, Chairman, Labor Program, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University; Joseph Mire, Executive Secretary, Inter-University Labor Education Committee; Emanuel Muravchik, Field Director, Jewish Labor Committee; Leon B. Schachter, President, Joint Council of Philadelphia and Vicinity, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N.A.; Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic; Emil Starr, Education Director, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Mark Starr, Educational Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Stephen C. Vladeck, Labor Lawyer; Goodwin Watson, Professor of Education, Teachers College.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF LOCAL 189

The Annual Meeting of the Workers Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, will be held Friday Evening, February 24, at 8 o'clock at the Headquarters of the ILGWU, second floor, 1710 Broadway at 54 Street.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Tear off - fill in - send to

AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE, INC.
1776 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.
Eleanor G. Coit, Director

REGISTRATION

I shall attend the CONFERENCE (including Saturday dinner) and enclose payment to cover entire cost of registration and dinner ... ($10.00) ☐

I shall attend the CONFERENCE and enclose payment of registration fee without dinner ..... ($ 6.00) ☐

I plan to attend the CONFERENCE and will pay at the door ..... ☐
Reserve _____ place (s) for Saturday DINNER ($4.00 per person)..... ☐

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ORGANIZATION _____ POSITION _____

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

September 19, 1956

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

An invitation from Mr. Porter of Tallahassee, Florida, to be on a panel at Hot Springs September 29 and 30 indicates you are scheduled to be on the same panel. Fred Darragh and the staff here would like to know about your travel plans on your visit to Arkansas. We definitely need now and probably will need then to go over with you our situation and prospects, financially speaking.

Unfortunately, I am scheduled to be in Fayetteville the night of Saturday the 29th and have been unable to work out a plan to be in both places. We thought it might be possible to have a conference with you on your way over. We hope so.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

Atlanta University

Atlanta, Georgia

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: John Hope
Fred Routh
C. H. Parish

FROM: Mozell C. Hill

SUBJECT: S. R. C. Consultant Program

DATE: September 25, 1956

The Conference on Human Relations, scheduled for Friday and Saturday, September 28-29 by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, is all set. We are planning a dinner meeting on Thursday night for the consultants, staff, and workshop chairmen. This dinner meeting will be held at the Southern Educational Foundation Building, 811 Cypress Street, N. E., directly behind the Biltmore Hotel. We would like very much for you to be present, as we will need your experience and knowledge for helping us to reach consensus concerning our specific goals and conference emphases for Friday and Saturday. I hope you can be present.

MCH

MCH:rav

# MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

RECEIVED NOV 1 1956

JEWS AND JUDAISM

By Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner

Frequently we are asked for a short piece that will provide for non-Jews some basic ideas concerning the Jewish group. There are inevitable questions which intelligent but uninformed non-Jews are inclined to ask. The reply should not be apologetic and should deal with basic facts about the Jew and his religion.

Such an article is now available. It appeared in the Congregational Christian Journal Advance and has been reprinted as an 8-page pamphlet. Written in popular style, it presents the subject in a way that is highly acceptable to both Jews and Christians.

Additional copies of "Jews and Judaism" are available at $3.95 per hundred.

J. Libby Rosen
Community Affairs Department

JLR/pc
October 24, 1956
Encl.
CSKE

153-7-56
261

9 East 38th Street, Room 801
New York 16, N. Y.
Murray Hill 5-1606

RECEIVED NOV 16 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

November 14, 1956

To: Participants in November 20th Meeting

From: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Enclosed are reports of the Subcommittees on Mass Media and Community Chests in preparation for the meeting on November 20th. Reports of other Subcommittees, including those on Local Community Organization, Fact-Finding, Inter-religious Activities, and Structure will be presented at the meeting.

The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. in the Tower Room of the Park-Sheraton Hotel. Please try to be prompt.

AA:RB

# REPORT OF MASS MEDIA SUB-COMMITTEE

The committee was charged by the Sept. 18th conference in Washington with formulating recommendations and procedures which would facilitate cooperative planning and action in the exchange, preparation and dissemination of audio-visual materials, and to formulate concrete proposals regarding program and structure in regard to the mass media, to be submitted in writing prior to the November meeting.

One of the great needs made evident by the participants at the Sept. 18th meeting in Washington was the need to inform each group of materials relating to desegregation already available and materials being planned -- in the fields of the daily and weekly press, magazines, books, pamphlets, radio, television and films.

While we recognize that it might at some time be desirable to set up a full-time paid public relations staff to coordinate and expand activity relating to desegregation in the mass media, this report confines itself to the current possibilities, based on voluntary cooperation among the agencies involved.

We recommend that there be a continuing committee on mass media, based in New York, the nerve center of the mass media, but to include representation from other sections of the country, particularly from the South, on the committee. The committee should meet at least once a month, and on call when emergencies occur. Committee members should be empowered to send alternates when unable to attend meetings themselves. The committee should

have a chairman and secretary.

The committee should serve primarily as a clearing house. Its function should not be to carry on program but to make program recommendations, and, insofar as possible, utilize on-going programs and personnel of the cooperating agencies. The committee is not intended to supplant existing lines of inter-agency communication and cooperation. In fact, we hope that such relationships will increase.

We propose that a list be prepared of names, addresses and phone numbers of each cooperating agency, together with the names of the person in each agency responsible for work with the mass media. This list should be sent to each agency. Copies or notices of materials and programs already available, or planned by any agency, should be sent by that agency to the persons responsible for work with mass media in all the cooperating agencies.

In sending such materials or notices, the agency should also indicate how the materials can best be used. Any agency securing information about upcoming items not prepared by one of the cooperating agencies (a TV show or magazine article, for instance) should also notify the mass media list about such matters.

The committee should attempt to arrange for a bibliography to be prepared of materials and programs currently available, review media experiences of the groups, attempt to crystallize common media strategy lines, suggest what materials are needed and invite particular agencies to develop them, arrange to transmit our needs to the media and reflect their needs to our agencies.

Submitted by:

Chairman, Alfred Bernheim, American Jewish Committee; Henry Lee Moon, NAACP; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; Maury Glaubman, Anti-Defamation League; Arnold Aronson, NCRAC; Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service.

11/12/56

# CURRENT PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

## Introduction

Attacks on social agencies have occurred since the May 17, 1954 Decision of the United States Supreme Court desegregating schools. They are attempts by the pro-segregationists to destroy organizations which are considered to be working for the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision.

The effects of efforts against social agencies differ from those faced by churches, for with the social agency financing is the most vulnerable point of attack and is a phase of the development of the integration process.

Scores of Community Chests and United Funds have felt the brunt of unwarranted attacks in recent years. In the main, they are attempts to have the Urban League removed from campaign participation on the charge that it seeks to foster integration of the races in its work. Other agencies in several cities have also been targets. Some of them are: Red Cross, YWCA, Girl Scouts, Council of Social Agencies, YMCA, Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls.

It is incumbent upon the social work agencies, as well as the groups supporting these efforts, to take cognizance of and engage in programs to protect the interest of organizations established for the purpose of providing health and welfare services to communities.

The method employed has been one of intimidation, the most common of which has been the flooding of cities with pamphlets at the beginning of a Chest drive with the threat that the campaign will be boycotted unless the offending agency (in their eyesight) is removed. This action has resulted in the changed status of Urban League branches in New Orleans, La., Jacksonville, Fla., and Richmond, Va. In some cities where there is no branch of the Urban League, but financing of the National Organization endorsed by the National Budget Committee, blackmailing tactics have been used against campaigns in those cities, although the amounts are small.

## Action Suggested

1. All organizations cooperating should send copies of material attacking social agencies to:

   Nelson C. Jackson
   National Urban League
   14 East 48th Street
   New York 17, New York

   Information will be shared with other national organizations to be used with their branches.

2. The problem of intergroup relations in social welfare is of primary consideration because it deals with the relationships between people and their environment. This should not be lost sight of. In this vein, national social welfare agencies might establish a policy to guide their locals. These include, in addition to the social agencies mentioned above, United Community Funds and Councils of America.

3. Recognizing the fact that voluntary social work is dependent upon the support of strong national and local groups such as National Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, and Labor, it is suggested that these and other groups which have not done so, be approached for a policy statement for the purpose of undergirding the practice of social work, nationally and locally.

   Local organizations not having a specific social welfare interest are urged to use their prestige with local board members of Community Chests and Councils to have them stand firm against the current attacks facing social agencies.

4. Labor, nationally, has issued a policy statement in this area. Regional and local labor groups are urged to implement this in communities with as many unions as is possible.

5. Communication lines between racial groups have been damaged in many communities. It is urged that local groups, participants of this conference, seek to meet and work out plans to approach their community problems. Indicate to the parent body what has been accomplished.

COMMITTEE:

Nelson C. Jackson, Chairman

George Rabinoff
Julius Rothman
Mildred Savacool
Arnold Aronson, ex-officio

November 13, 1956

~~Stat. Proj~~ Consultant Serv.

MEMORANDUM

January 22, 1957

TO : Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

FROM : Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

SUBJ.: Reimbursement of general funds

1. Attached hereto is an accounting of the expenditure of monies for consultative purposes which have been paid out of general funds.

2. General funds should be reimbursed for the total of $2,455.32, in accordance with the decision reached by senior professional staff members on January 21, 1957.

3. Please take care of the transfer of funds.

FBR:mm

**Funds Spent on Consultant Service Program**

**From General Funds**

January 22, 1957

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Dr. C. H. Parrish (figures include travel and fees):** | | |
| 1. American Teachers Association - National Meeting | | |
| Little Rock, Arkansas, September 26-27 | $151.80 | |
| 2. Daytona Beach-area Council | | |
| Daytona Beach, Florida, December | 109.01 | |
| 3. Salisbury, N. C., Workshop | | |
| Salisbury, N. C., December 13th | 82.73 | |
| | $343.54 | |
| | | $343.54 |
| **John Hope II (figures include travel and fees):** | | |
| 1. Annual meeting, Williamsburg, Va., November | $98.96 | 98.96 |
| **Frederick B. Routh** | | |
| 1. Fisk Conference, Nashville, Tennessee, July 11 | $ 44.27 | |
| 2. N.A.I.R.O. Conference, Philadelphia, November 29-30 (to interpret reorientation of SRC program and Consultant Service Program availability to other organizations) | 268.55 | |
| 3. 1/5 time spent directly on Consultant Program | 1,500.00 | |
| | $1,812.82 | |
| | | 1,812.82 |
| **Balance due on overhead charges of 10%** | | |
| ($1,500 transferred previously) | $200.00 | |
| | | 200.00 |
| | | $2,455.32 |

FBR

write Mrs. Ed Welch Robertson Memorial Church

Conf of Agncs

Agenda

Conference of Agencies Working in the South

Atlanta University

January 23-24, 1957

John Hope #138

Wednesday, January 23rd

12:30 Noon - Luncheon - A. U. Dining Hall

(Informal, get acquainted.)

2:00 P.M. - Opening Session of Conference

I - Double purpose of meeting

A. Background of interest of Consultative Conference on Desegregation (C.C.D.)

B. Brief resumé of Tuskegee Meeting (October 24-25, 1956)

1. Progress reports on selected communities

(a) Miami - Seymour Samet

(b) Nashville - A. C. Miller and John Hope Will Campbell. Thea

(c) North Carolina City - Tartt Bell

(d) Charlottesville, Va. - Fred Routh Sara Patton Boyle -

John Morgan - WCC Pres rel'g -

2. Other follow-up ★.3 - Panel discussions - Legal - Relgch. Educ - Religious - Buses - Jd Hoffman

II - Next Steps: How to activate the passive "liberals" and "moderates" in the South.

A. What can be done through:

1. Religious channels?

2. Economic channels?

3. Educational channels?

4. Labor channels?

5. Governmental channels?

under C - pg 2

6. Organizations and voluntary associations?

7. The press and other media?

5:30 P.M. - Recess

Dinner - A. U. Dining Hall

Evening free for informal discussions.

Thursday, January 24th

9:00 A.M. - Second Session of Conference

Brief resumé of previous day's agreements.

II - Next Steps: (continued)

B. What can we do to combat private and official attacks on basic rights of groups and individuals favoring desegregation?

C. What other strategies are most promising in the present situation?

D. What kind of coordinated planning and activities by national agencies can most assist their southern field representatives?

E. What, if any, should be the continuing functions of the group here assembled?

12:30 Noon - Adjournment

FBR:mm

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1218, Comer building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

January 29, 1957

MEMORANDUM NO. 11

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RE: SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors has set the date for the semi-annual meeting of the full Board to coincide with the Annual Membership meeting.

Whereas last year the Board met briefly just before the membership meeting convened, it was felt that more time was needed this year to delve deeper into an evaluation of the work of the organization in the past and to consider recommendations for the coming year in the light of our overall state situation. Special planning is necessary for a new completely autonomous organization when the Southern Regional Council severs ties with all of its state affiliates next September 30.

Therefore, the meeting has been called for Friday evening Feb. 8, at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa. Dinner will be served at 6:00 P.M. and the business session will convene at 7:30 P.M. Overnight accommodations will be arranged by members of the Tuscaloosa Council on Human Relations. Members are encouraged to plan to remain for the Annual Meeting which opens the next morning, Feb. 9, at 10:00 A.M. running through 3:00 P.M. Travel and hospitality costs will be covered by the organization.

* Members are asked to notify the State Office in Birmingham by Monday, Feb. 4, as to whether or not you will be able to attend (1) the Board meeting, (2) if you expect to arrive in time for the Board dinner, (3) and if you desire for us to provide overnight accommodations.

only
Mrs. Geo
American photo
release from
prison. The 37-year-o
native of Milwaukee, was
by her Communist captors aft
she pleaded guilty to illegally entering the country.

# Human Relations Group To Gather

The first annual meeting to be held here of the Alabama Council On Human Relations is scheduled for Feb. 9 at Stillman College.

New officers will be elected in a business session, to be followed by a speaker whose name has not been announced.

After the session, five groups will discuss the roles of parents, government officials, clergymen, editors, students and all school officials in developing better human relations and civic behavior in Alabama.

Reports from the five groups will be heard and discussed in an afternoon session.

The Rev. Duncan Hunter of Alexander City is president of the state council. Dr. Albert C. Winn, Stillman College faculty member, heads the Tuscaloosa chapter of the state council, which attempts to bring white and Negro leaders together for discussion and possible solution of human relation problems.

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# Human Relations Council Meets Here Saturday

Dr. D. C. Whitsett will deliver the keynote address at the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations next Saturday from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. at Stillman College. Members and friends of the organization will hear this Methodist minister speak on the subject, "Darkness Before the Dawn."

Dr. Whitsett has served as pastor of the First Methodist Church in Sylacauga for the past 10 years. Throughout this period he has advocated the application of the principles of Christian brotherhood specifically to the field of race relations in local, state and national church and lay circles.

The annual meeting program will also be marked by discussion groups which will be led by personalities in the fields of government, business and labor, youth counseling, the church, and higher education.

Other highlights are the annual fellowship luncheon and the election of officers, board members and consideration of business for the coming year.

News 2/9/57

# 125 Whites, Negroes Attend Local Meet

More than 125 white and Negro persons attended this morning's annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations at Stillman College here.

The meeting is designed to promote understanding, knowledge and action leading to better relations between the Negro and white races.

Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, minister of the First Methodist Church in Sylacauga, and the Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church in Tuskegee, addressed the group this morning.

A five-group discussion period led by persons representing various occupations and professions preceded a report by each panel to the entire group for discussion.

Discussion leaders were J. E. Pierce of Alabama State College, Dr. Jay Murphy, professor of law at the University of Alabama School of Law; the Rev. Albert S. Foley of Spring Hill College in Mobile; Mrs. O. D. Thomas, of the Methodist Student Movement in Tuscaloosa; the Rev. Powers McLeod of Andalusia, the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile, Emory O. Jackson and Leroy Lindsey, both of Birmingham; Al Thomas, University of Alabama student; and Roberta Reid and Clarence Edmondson, students of Talledega College.

# ALABAMA COUNCIL

on

# HUMAN RELATIONS

Annual Meeting

Saturday, February 9, 1957

General Theme

"Developing Better Human Relations
in Alabama"

Stillman College

Tuscaloosa Alabama

9:00-12:00 noon ---- Registration

10:00-10:30 A. M. ---- Annual Business Session

Dr. Duncan Hunter, Chairman, Presiding

1. Reports of Officials
2. Election of Officers for 1957-58

10:30-11:00 A. M. --- General Educational Session

1. "The Nature of Good Human Relations in a Democratic Society"--
   Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, Minister
   First Methodist Church, Sylacauga

2. "The Social Philosophy and Civic Behavior of a Responsible Citizen in a Democratic Society"--
   Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, Minister
   Greenwood Baptist Church, Tuskegee

11:00 A. M. -- 1:00 P. M. ---- Group Meetings

Group I

"The Role (Responsibility and Work) of Government Officials and Democratic-Minded Citizens in Developing Better Human Relations and Civic Behavior in Alabama"

Discussion Leaders: Mr. J. E. Pierce, Alabama State College, Montgomery, and
Dr. Jay Murphy, School of Law
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa

## Group II

"The Role (Responsibility and Work) of Parents and Teachers (elementary, secondary, and collegiate) in Developing Better Human Relations and Civic Behavior in Alabama"

Discussion Leaders: Father Albert S. Foley, Spring Hill College, Mobile and Mrs. O. D. Thomas, Methodist Student Movement, Tuscaloosa

## Group III

"The Role (Responsibility and Work) of Editors, Clergymen, and Lay Church Leaders in Developing Better Human Relations and Civic Behavior in Alabama"

Discussion Leaders: Rev. Powers McLeod, Minister, First Methodist Church, Andalusia, Rev. J. E. Lowery, Minister, Warren Street Methodist Church, Mobile

## Group IV

"The Role (Responsibility and Work) of Business Men, Industrialists, Labor Union Officials and Members in Developing Better Human Relations and Civic Behavior in Alabama"

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Emory O. Jackson, Editor, The Birmingham World, and Mr. Leroy Lindsey, Secretary-Treasurer Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Birmingham

Group V

"The Role (Responsibility and Work) of College Students and Faculty Advisers to Student Organizations in Developing Better Human Relations and Civic Behavior in Alabama"

Discussion Leaders: Mr. Al Thomas,
University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa,
Miss Roberta Reid and
Mr. Clarence Edmondson,
Talladega College, Talladega

---

1:00-2:00 P. M. ------ Lunch

2:00-3:00 P. M. ------ Reports from Groups

Groups I -- V

3:00-3:30 P. M. -- Chairman's Response and Message

Dr. Duncan Hunter, Minister
First Methodist Church
Alexander City

News 2/10/57


# News

**Emergency Numbers**
Fire (fire only) . . . . PL 4-4747
Police . . . . . PL 8-3366
Sheriff . . . . . PL 8-3230

957 Five Cents Daily—Fifteen Cents Sundays


# Farm Aid Program Cut $200 Million

## Dairy Products Rate Continues

By OVID A. MARTIN

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 (AP)—Secretary of Agriculture Benson today slashed about 200 million dollars out of government price support commitments under farm aid programs.

Benson announced lower price supports this year for cotton, oats, rye, barley, sorghum grain, soy beans, flaxseed and cottonseed. However, he continued the present rates for dairy products.

Rates are yet to be set for corn, dry beans, and a few minor products. All of these are expected to be lower, too.

The reduction in cotton was nearly $6 a bale or a total of about 72 million dollars on an average size crop. The government's price support obligations would be reduced roughly these amounts on other average size crops: oats 70 million dollars; rye 2½ million; barley 21 million; sorghum grains 11 million; soy beans 15 million; flaxseed $4,600,000, and cottonseed 10 million.

This does not necessarily mean that grower returns from these crops will be reduced accordingly. It is possible that market prices themselves will average above the support rates—as they do now.

Of the supports announced by Benson so far, only those for dairy products, wheat, wool and mohair have not been lowered from last year.

The reductions are in line with the administration policy that price floors should be reduced in times of surpluses to discourage overproduction and increased in

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

GEORGIANS ATTACK CIVIL RIGHTS — Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook (left) talks with Charles J. Bloch, Macon attorney, before testifying in Washington at a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing on civil rights legislation. In his testimony, Cook said enactment of civil rights proposals would result in the creation of "the federal Gestapo" and upset social patterns which the South is determined to maintain. The attacks by Cook and other Southerners evoked protests from members of the subcommittee. — (AP Wirephoto).

## New Testimony Due Against Rights Bills

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 (AP)—Rep. McCormack of Mass., House Democratic leader, said today that "all probabilities" point to passage of civil rights bills

act "just as soon" as a bill is voted out of the Judiciary Committee and cleared to the floor by the Rules Committee.

Program

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# New Testimony Due Against Rights Bills

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 (AP)—Rep. McCormack of Mass., House Democratic leader, said today that "all probabilities" point to passage of civil rights legislation by the present Congress.

But more Southern witnesses opposing the program are scheduled to testify when the House judiciary committee resumes hearings Wednesday.

"There is also a good probability I would say, that both the House and Senate will pass some legislation at this session along the lines recommended by President Eisenhower," he told a reporter.

McCormack's prediction underlined quiet behind - the - scenes efforts by leaders of both parties to bring to a decision this year the civil rights battle that has waged so long in Congress.

Democratic leaders particularly were represented as feeling this is the year to get the troublesome issue behind them once and for all and relieve the tensions that have split their party in the past.

With Republicans almost solidly behind Eisenhower's civil rights program, only the Southerners are waging a delaying action against the efforts of Northerners in both parties to pass some kind of a bill.

Hearings already are well under way before a House judiciary subcommittee but leaders have refrained from setting a target date for House consideration so as to keep down a possible rise of congressional tempers.

McCormack said the House will act "just as soon" as a bill is voted out of the Judiciary Committee and cleared to the floor by the Rules Committee.

(Continued on Page 2, Col 4)

# st Program By Zhukov

"We are sure this antipeoples Eisenhower policy will be rejected by the Arabian peoples and that the Arabian peoples will find what policy corresponds to their interests and who are their real friends and who their masked enemies."

Before Zhukov got on that theme he declared the Soviet Union is the only nation seeking real disarmament and "certain circles in certain countries" are preventing disarmament. He said nuclear weapons are not a war deterrent, but create conditions for war.

Asked about Indian military forces, whose installations he has been visiting, he declared they were "the best—a reliable defense fore." As to whether he had told Indian officials of noting any "weaknesses or requirements or possible improvements," Zhukov said:

"I am not an inspector. That is not my duty. I am an Indian government guest."

Zhukov, in India for 17 days, put on the cocktail party for Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian officials. Most Indians shun alcoholic beverages in favor of fruit juices.

# U.S. Reds Urge Ike To Enforce Racial Decision

NEW YORK, Feb. 9 (AP) — The first American Communist party convention in seven years called on President Eisenhower today to issue "a new Eisenhower doctrine for enforcement of Supreme Court desegregation decisions."

The opening session, closed to the press, sent a telegram to the President before taking up its differences as to whether the party will continue to follow the Moscow line or an independent course.

The telegram, which a spokesman said was adopted overwhelmingly, was sent to the President at Thomasville, Ga., where he is vacationing. It said in part:

"Your rejection of a request of outstanding southern Negro leaders that you speak in the South against the immorality of racist violence has shocked millions of Americans, Negro and white. . . .

"We, over 350 delegates to the 16th national convention of the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

# Two Preachers See Patience, Discipline As Solution To South's Racial Problem

By BILL GIBB
News Staff Writer

Two ministers, one white and the other a Negro, predicted here yesterday a solution to the South's racial problem will be realized through patience and discipline.

Addressing more than 400 persons attending the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Dr. Dan C. Whitsett looked to "the dawning of a new day of brotherhood" despite the "darkness of the hour."

Pastor of the First Methodist Church at Sylacauga, Dr. Whitsett asked for patience, a responsible press, and reliance upon Providence, citing the need for progress by "working together for mutual understanding, fair play and Christian brotherhood."

Dr. Whitsett noted that although homes have been bombed, and the will of God frustrated, the bombs "are but the death march of an old order. . .the burning crosses of hate will be replaced by the lighting of the cross of love."

Patience is easy for "those of us in a favored position of society," Dr. Whitsett said, "but what about the man who has been denied the right to vote? who has been forced to ride in the rear of the bus?

"Can he be persuaded to be patient? How long is the night to be?" he asked.

There are areas in which movement should be made now, and others where gradualism is the only way of permanent progress, he said. Action and progress can be rightfully demanded now, but not immediate perfection, he said.

Newspaper editors and reporters have an ethical and moral obligation to report fairly and to create goodwill in public opinion, Whitsett said, instead of "inflammatory slanting of the news."

Much of the reporting of the Autherine Lucy case was "sensational and magnified out of all propriety," he said.

Progress is being made in the South, and Christians were re-examing their teachings on the Fatherhood of God long before the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

# te Fund Trim

tertainment for the long period of hospitalization required for TB patients.

**Another Advantage**

The "skin - wall" construction shifts weight from the exterior walls to the framework, making possible the use of huge glass areas to let in healing sunlight.

Outside balconies on the floors lend not only beauty to the building, but serve the more important purpose of giving patients a chance to escape their confines of six-to nine-month periods of hospitalization.

The very location of the building near Druid City Hospital is an unseen advantage for the new sanatorium. Dr. Jordan said this will make possible the formation of an associate staff between the two hospitals, easy consultation and more convenient surgical procedure.

Two to three cases of surgery a week are predicted from among

(Continued to Page 11, Col. 2)

## WEATHER

# Summertime To Continue

Summertime is due to linger in Alabama, according to the weatherman's prediction.

Considerable cloudiness and warm weather is forecast for today and tonight. Widely scattered showers or thundershowers are predicted for this afternoon. Southwesterly winds of 12 to 15 miles per hour also are in sight.

Mercury zoomed up to 78 yesterday, however it is due for even higher mark. The weatherman says temperature will rise to 80 today.

The receding Warrior River was last measured at the 38.5 - foot mark.

FOR A BETTER SOCIETY — Two speakers who appeared at yesterday's annual meeting of the Alabama Council On Human Relations are shown with two of the group's officers. They are (left to right) Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, First Methodist Church pastor at Sylacauga; Dr. Duncan Hunter, minister of the First Methodist Church in Alexander City, who was re-named Council president; the Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, minister of the Greenwood Baptist Church in Tuskegee, who spoke on the program with Dr. Whitsett, and Dr. C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, who was re-elected vice-president of the Council.

## TWO

(Continued from Page 1)

Supreme Court acted in 1954, he said.

**Patience, discipline**

The Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, Negro pastor of Greenwood Baptist Church at Tuskegee, who spoke following Dr. Whitsett, said that "out of great tension can come fine harmony."

He called for patience, discipline "not to strike back when angry," and said that peace of mind does not mean that there will not be confusion.

The Rev. Harvey spoke of "how to resolve what is welling up in us" in reference to the Negro's reaction to the current racial problem.

He asked his audience to take their example from the Bible, describing how David was told by God that his suffering might last unto death.

The Rev. Harvey then asked his audience to show faith in God and in the ultimate solution of human problems.

**Officers Elected**

About two-thirds of the audience were Negroes.

Dr. Duncan Hunter, minister of the First Methodist Church at Alexander City, was re-elected chairman of the state council, which endorsed an $11,000 budget for 1957-58 subject to approval by the council's executive board.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, was re-named vice chairman; William Irby of Sylacauga was chosen to be secretary and J. T. Brooks of Alabama State College in Montgomery was re-elected treasurer.

**Discussion Groups**

After the speeches, the audience divided itself into five discussion groups to talk on the role of people in various walks of life in developing better human relations and civic behavior in Alabama.

The council is a continuation of the former Alabama Inter-Racial Commission which began in the early 1920s, and seeke to effect understanding of racial problems and other community difficulties through discussion and action on local levels, according to Dr. Hunter, who presided at yesterday's meeting.

Membership is expected to number 550 persons and groups during the coming year, and a fund campaign has been set for a minimum goal of $6,000 during the next 90 days, Dr. Hunter said yesterday.

LET ME SHOW YOU HOW YOU CAN ADD $1,000.00 or more to the value of your home.

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## U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

you to issue in the South a new Eisenhower doctrine for enforcement of the Supreme Court desegregation decisions and against the racist advocates and practitioners of force and violence."

The telegram was presented to the convention by Carl Winter, of Detroit, the Michigan Communist chairman.

The convention, for the first time in history, admitted nonparty observers. The observers have been identified with non-Commu-

Grants KNOWN for VALUES

MONDAY SPECIALS

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The telegram was presented to the convention by Carl Winter, of Detroit, the Michigan Communist chairman.

The convention, for the first time in history, admitted nonparty observers. The observers have been identified with non-Communist liberal and civil rights causes.

The four-day convention is being held in the Chateau Gardens, a red and white stone structure which formerly was a Protestant church. Located about a block from the Bowery on the lower East Side, it is now used largely as a hall for wedding receptions and other social and club affairs. More than 60 other places had refused to house the convention.

The singing of the Star Spangled Banner opened the convention, the spokesman said. He told reporters, who were admitted to a small press room but not to the meeting hall itself, that an American flag hung over the podium. He said there was no other flag. Nor were there any photographs of Communist leaders.

Platinum was used for personal adornment by South American Indians long before Columbus discovered America.


Grants KNOWN for VALUES

MONDAY SPECIALS

Special One-Time-Buy of Regular 2.98

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Ala-

**Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.**

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

1218 Comer Bldg.
B'ham 3, Ala.
Feb. 14, '57

Mr. Harold Fleming, Mr. Fred Routh
SRC

Dear Harold and Fred:

Here's a brief report on our Bd. mtg. and annual mtg. held last week-end in Tuscaloosa to augment Fred's report plus a couple of incidental items.

Bd. of Dir. Mtg. - Dinner followed by business session on Friday evening, Feb. 8. Eighteen board members present, all districts represented but one which is our best attendence to date. Business concerned primarily with finances. $11,121 minimal budget adopted for Feb. '57 - Feb. '58. This doesn't include estimates of N.S. subscriptions, dues kickbacks to districts or literature purchases. No significant changes otherwise. SRC aide during this period is $5,000 (salaries for staff between now and Sept. 30) and the Board felt that out of some debt to me the organization

should be able to tell me by May 30th whether or not I can expect employment after Sept. 30th. Hence a three month drive to raise $6,000, probably with the assistance of a professional fund raiser (as long as he doesn't "violate" our principles), was adopted which is the balance of the budget beyond your $5,000. A strong finance committee is being shaped up, but it is yet to be a reality and seeing is believing.

Annual Meeting - 219 registered, as yet unestimated additional number in attendence. Quality-wise program by far best since I've been with G.C.H.R. thanks to C.D. Dornillion of Tuskegee. See enclosed folder for program outline. Spirit of meeting throughout was excelent - we didn't have Greenleaf to throw us offbase at the beginning as last year. The Tuscaloosa News (Buford Boone, pub.) gave us excelent coverage on p. 1 for Sat. + Sun. which clips find enclosed and to be returned. Two car loads of Klansmen, some armed, lurked around the entrance to auditorium taking pictures but were chased off. No crosses or processions through campus to date so you get my bottom dollar, Fred. (when I run out I'll let you know)

The B'ham news picked up the Tuscaloosa News Sunday story briefly on Monday as did WABI-TV here. Stillman College vetoed the idea of ~~any~~ inviting any northern press representatives in.

Incidentals - the B'ham group want some word on the possible alternatives of the church position on race project. I don't believe I've seen the results of Jim Pierce's voter registration project, he says he's turned all materials over to you folks and has lost his own copy. I wonder if (1) I could see that which relates to Ala. and (2) could I put a county by county breakdown report in our next Newsletter before the figures get stale. If the latter is permissible ~~I~~ are SRC credits necessary or can the ACHR show something definite to justify its existence!

Thanks for your trouble in making the meeting, Fred, and your rush to get us the literature, Harold. Keep up the good work fellas and good luck on those finances.

- BJ

# American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

617 West Market St. Greensboro, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 4-7671

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*


February 26, 1957

Mr. J. A. Sutton, Jr.
Bryson City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sutton:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday in which I stated that the Southern Regional Council has received offers to serve as consultants from Dr. M. C. Turpen, Superintendent Fayette County schools, Kentucky and Professor A. Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky and editor of the Journal of Rural Sociology. Dr. Turpen is superintendent of a school system that has gone through an experience of desegregation and is recommended by reliable sources in Kentucky as one of the leading school administrators in that state. Professor Coleman is intimately acquainted with southern rural life particularly in the Appalachian region.

Dr. Turpen's Board in giving him permission to render this service specifically asked that it be a private off-the-record matter between him as a consultant and your board. They requested specifically that no publicity be given the visit, which of course means that they would not wish there to be any representatives of the press at any of the consultation periods. This I understand to be quite in accord with your wishes in the matter as well.

These gentlemen were ready to be able to make the trip for your March board meeting but in order that there be full understanding of the arrangements on all sides they will postpone their coming to the first possible date agreeable to all beginning the week following your next regular board meeting. Perhaps the week of March 18 would be far enough in advance to allow coordination of schedules. It would be appreciated if you would send me a wire with suggested dates immediately following your March 6th meeting so I can pass the information on.

They have already checked travelling time from Lexington, Kentucky and find that they can arrive in Bryson City in the late afternoon, which would allow ample time for an evening session with your board. They could be available in town for any meetings or interview sessions you would care for them to have the following morning until approximately noon.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Alexander, Director
School Program

JWA:pr

Fred Routh
John Hope
Tartt Bell
Barbara Moffett

Charlottsvl

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . RUTH ALEXANDER . . . .

March 1, 1957

Dear Fred:

Tartt Bell called long distance this morning to say that he will not be able to attend the meeting in Charlottesville, Monday, March 4, but John Alexander will be there to represent AFSC.

We had our first reply from the GSM Tribute Fund today--a $10 check from L. H. Foster at Tuskegee Institute.

Sincerely,

Ruth

Lost of Mechanics

for Neal Tangles

Quickly!

Bryson City, Consultan Services

# American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

~~617 West Market St.~~ ~~Greensboro~~

1818 South Main St. High Point

TELEPHONE 4-7671

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

REGIONAL OFFICE
Algie I. Newlin, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

March 1, 1957

Mr. J. A. Sutton, Jr.
Chairman, Board of Education
Bryson City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sutton:

I have just received a letterxx from Kentucky that the two consultants can get to Bryson City any two days the week of March 18, or on March 25 and 26.

It would be convenient for me to be there Wednesday and Thursday, March 20 and 21. In order to at least have two firm dates to work on, how would those dates be for your Board? The two gentlemen would arrive in Bryson City by mid-afternoon of the first day.

Just to give you a further sense of the spirit in which these men are coming I believe you would find of interest the following sentence from the letter I just received from Mr. Coleman: "It is our understanding that this consultation would be on a no-publicity basis and that we would be in the role of technical consultants rather than "advocates".

I look forward to hearing from you. Just so as not to damage the reputation of any secretary I have had in the past or will have in the future, please note that I had to do this letter myself because we have just lost our secretary.

Sincerely yours,

JWA

John W. Alexander
Director, School Program

cc: Lee Coleman
John Hope
Fred Routh

FBR.
Personal

TO SUCCEED WE MUST HAVE YOUR POWER OF ATTORNEY

2847 Biddle Avenue
Wyandotte, Michigan
March 13, 1957

STOCKHOLDERS of ALL METAL PRODUCTS CO.

A meeting of 30 stockholders of All Metal Products Company was held on March 6, 1957, to discuss the possibilities of making efforts to salvage some value from the present stock in the company. The company is now undergoing a Chapter XI proceeding under the Bankruptcy Act. Present management of the Company report, pursuant to an audit, that the company has lost approximately $2,215,000.00 in the calendar year 1956.

In an effort to salvage the company from its present position, Mr. Charles Brethen, formerly Secretary--Treasurer and General Manager of the company, in its profitable years, reported the results of an investigation by him of the plant, and the financial statements, and recommended all possible efforts to reinstate the financial position of the company and its standing in the industry.

Unanimous consent of those present appointed an executive committee consisting of seven present members to (1) secure additional stock representation, (2) negotiate for and propose a plan for presentation to the Court on Wednesday of next week, March 20, 1957, and (3) retain such professional advice for the committee as necessary.

The stockholders present further agreed to contribute, if necessary, up to not more than $.05 per share of stock for payment of expenses of your committee. Presently the committee requests that your power of attorney be accompanied by a preliminary contribution to defray current expenses in the amount of $5.00 if the stockholder owns less than 1000 shares, and $10.00 if the ownership is 1000 or more shares. Total costs will be pro-rated in proportion to stockholders and any amounts not used for expenses will be returned to the contributing stockholders.

A MEETING OF ALL INTERESTED STOCKHOLDERS WILL BE HELD MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1957, AT 8:00 P.M. IN THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL, 1515 FIFTEENTH STREET (CORNER OF ALKALI) WYANDOTTE, MICHIGAN. IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT THOSE STOCKHOLDERS SIGNING POWERS OF ATTORNEY OR WHO DESIRE TO KNOW MORE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUR COMMITTEE ATTEND THIS MEETING.

Very truly yours,

STOCKHOLDERS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
(At present representing 89,000 shares)

Harry Rouse
Lawrence LaCourse
Carl Genthe
Cyril Readhead
N. Jay Brantley
Eugene Albers, Jr.,
Roy W. Neil

P.S. Enclosed herewith are blank copies of a power of attorney the committee has been advised to secure. If you approve of the proposed action please sign a power of attorney before a notary with a seal, and return to the above address.

RETURN YOUR POWER OF ATTORNEY BY MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1957. TO SUCCEED WE MUST HAVE YOUR POWER OF ATTORNEY

AJC

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To Greater Miami Chapter Members

Date March 18, 1957

From Deymour Samet, Southeast Area Director

Subject WHAT TO DO WHEN THE RABBLE ROUSER COMES TO TOWN

In the past few weeks Dade County has been the target and base of operations for several bigots. There appears to have been considerable concern regarding the appropriate means of dealing with this problem.

## What Does The Rabble Rouser Want?

A. Publicity — plenty of it. Newspaper stories, radio and television reports - good or bad - make him a big shot.

B. He loves picketing, boycotts, parades, motorcades, cross burnings — the more dramatic the better. These things bring him sure-fire publicity.

C. He thrives on large crowds. When he gets publicity they think he has something on the ball.

## What You Can Do About The Rabble Rouser

1. No more free publicity — if he wants to advertise make him pay for it with his own money.

2. Expose him to the newspapers, radio and television, and leaders of public opinion — make them realize the dangers of free publicity.

3. Show your friends that the more they shout in public against the rabble rouser, the more they inflate him.

4. Counter-acting bigots is a year-round educational job. Don't wait until the last minute to organize against them.

Troublemakers, like the one described in the attached reprint from Commentary magazine, will continue to come to Miami. Be sure to inform this office of all such activities of which you may be aware. It is also important that you send to me copies of all hate literature which may come to your attention, as soon as possible after you have obtained them.

Finally, if you, and other organizations to which you may belong, desire information regarding the background of some of these individuals we will supply this information to you immediately upon your request.

SS:sm
enc: 1

116-1-86

Future Spkr
Eva

# AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

March 25, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

Although we have not yet had the pleasure of meeting, I do want you to know how much I look forward to meeting with you on May 7th at the Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. Of course, we shall be happy to pay your expenses.

With every good wish and looking forward to seeing you then,

Sincerely,

Justine Wise Polier

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:mo

NATIONAL OFFICERS

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, President
JUSTINE WISE POLIER, Chairman, Executive Comm.
MAX A. KOPSTEIN, Chairman, Administrative Comm.
HAROLD B. COHEN, Secretary
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I. H. PRINZMETAL, Los Angeles
THELMA RICHMAN, Philadelphia

303

ACLU

1957 Legislative Action Edition. Pages 2 and 3.

The Open Forum

Published by The American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California Branch

Make your donation today to the branch Legislative Fund.

VOL. XXXIV LOS ANGELES, CALIF., MARCH, 1957 NO. 3

# Deputy Sheriffs Close 'Pink Door'

"The Pink Door," a painting of two nudes by Paul Paree, was closed to public view last month by Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs who ordered the painting removed from the show window of Gales' Interiors, 8919 Sunset Blvd.

Taking their cue from Beverly Hills police who recently ordered several nude statues removed from an importer's shop window, Sheriffs deputies told Lester V. and Harriet Gale, proprietors of the Sunset Strip shop, that the painting could be displayed inside the shop but not in the front window exposed to public view.

Southern California ACLU will challenge the order in a suit to be filed this month in behalf of the artist and the Gales. The suit will contest the validity of the county's obscenity statute which prohibits the public display of "lewd, indecent and obscene" pictures.

In the Beverly Hills statue case, the Appellate Department of Superior Court granted a temporary injunction to restrain police from interfering with the display of seven classic nude statues.

The Beverly Hills City attorney has filed notice that the ruling will be appealed. The case has not yet been set for trial.

The appellate court did not rule on the constitutionality of the Beverly Hills ordinance, but, in effect, held that the nude statues were not "obscene."

# Union Scores Conviction of Dixie Rebel

A federal injunction issued against John Kaspar and 16 other pro-segregationists who blocked efforts to integrate the Clinton, Tenn. high school last fall, violated, in part, free speech and association, the national ACLU stated last week.

The conviction of Kaspar and others for defying a 1956 court order to integrate the high school was too broad in its scope to be constitutionally valid, the ACLU said.

"To the extent that it enjoins overt acts of hindering and obstructing the enforcement of the integration order, it is valid. To the extent that it enjoins speech in opposition to the order, or advocates peaceful picketing for these purposes, it is invalid," the ACLU's legal analysis pointed out.

**Contempt Issue**

While the Union found no civil liberties issue in the contempt conviction of Kaspar, it suggested that the contempt trial be postponed until the courts decide the injunction's constitutionality.

The Union's position found strong support in the Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch, a weekly newspaper.

"History records not a single incident in which a Negro demanding his rights has ever encroached upon, or denied another individual his or her rights," the Herald-Dispatch said in an editorial on Feb. 28.

"In view of our past record for justice, we Negroes should, therefore, as sincere advocates of freedom of speech, agree with and support the ACLU in its contention that equality before the law is a vital part of our civil liberties strength, and these constitutional guarantees must be fully observed," the editorial said.

# Branch Protests Deportation of Mexican Citizen

Deportation proceedings against Tobias Naverette will be challenged by the Southern California ACLU in a friend-of-the-court brief to be filed this month before the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D. C.

Atty. Ruth Jacobs, ACLU volunteer lawyer, said Naverette has denied membership in the Communist Party, the major charge against him. The government's case is based upon the testimony of two witnesses who were themselves deported but were permitted to return to the U. S. on the condition they would testify against others charged with violation of the immigration and naturalization laws.

# Socialists File Suit Against Election Law

A second court suit to open up the California ballot to minority political parties will be filed this month in behalf of the Socialist Party, with the Southern California ACLU supporting the case with a friend-of-the-court brief.

The court action will be prepared by ACLU counsel A. L. Wirin and will test the validity of present election laws which make it virtually impossible for minority parties to comply with the same regulations required of the major political organizations.

An earlier suit also was filed by the Christian Nationalist Party, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, which charged that the group was wrongfully denied a place on the 1956 ballot because of failure to comply with election laws.

ACLU also filed an amicus curiae brief in the Christian Nationalist case.

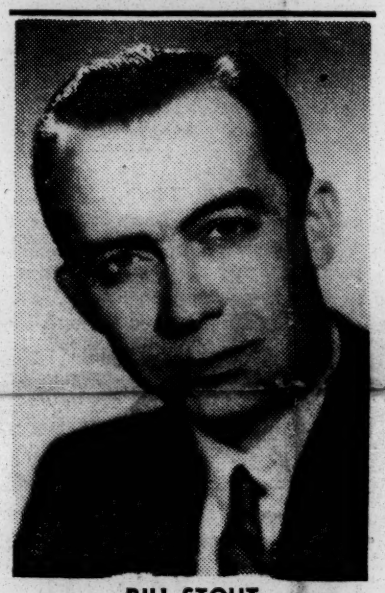
Superior Judge Leon David last week sustained a demurrer in the case, which will be appealed.

# *Special Fund Looks Good on First Ballot*

**ACLU members have responded "magnificently" to this month's special appeal for funds to finance the 1957 legislative action program, Dr. Eason Monroe, branch executive director, announced this week.**

**So far nearly $1700 has been subscribed toward the goal of $4000 — the absolute minimum necessary to carry out an intensive lobbying and educational program. Donations have ranged from $1 to $25.**

**Dr. Monroe said the branch office would not divert its activities to individually acknowledge each contribution, but expressed "deep gratitude" for the generous donations received to date.**



BILL STOUT

# Police Don't See Eye-to-eye with TV Commentator

Ever since Eve, the world's villains have been the most newsworthy but it would be difficult to convince local police officials and certain television executives of it.

It seems that a new television program, called "Eye to Eye", was launched on Feb. 13 with newscaster Bill Stout interviewing ex-convict Mickey Cohen.

Police Chief William Parker and Capt. James Hamilton of the police intelligence squad expressed "extreme displeasure" at the choice of subject. Stout received a number of anonymous phone calls, advising him to cancel the program.

During the show Cohen let loose a barrage of unfriendly remarks directed at the L. A. police department.

The next day police officials protested, vehemently, that the show had made Cohen look "too good" and had tended to glorify a criminal.

Pressure to have both Stout and the program bounced from the air have not been successfut. But the second program was preceded by an apology for the Cohen interview by KNXT Manager Clark George.

"TV seems to lack the spine for shouldering its role as a communications system," Mirror-News columnist Hal Humphrey said in reporting the incident.

# Crime Comic Book Censorship Fails

A bill that would have prohibited the sale of crime comic books to minors was defeated 8-6 Monday night by the Assembly Judiciary committee.

The censorship measure, AB 64, sponsored by Assemblyman Frank G. Bonelli of Huntington Park, was opposed by the Southern California ACLU on grounds that censorship of juvenile reading material can lead to broader limitations on adult books and magazines.

Prospects that the 1957 State Legislature may enact some of the most liberal legislation of the past decade also looked optimistic as the ACLU mobilized this week for action on more than 40 civil liberties and civil rights measures.

A principal target of ACLU support, and most likely to succeed, is A.B. 2000 and A.B. 2001, the Fair Employment Practices Act prohibiting discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, color, or national origin.

Bolstered by intensive public support, the FEP bills have excellent chances of passing the Assembly, and a much improved possibility of passing the Senate, Gifford Phillips, branch Legislation Committee chairman, stated.

**Forward Step**

A marked change in the attitude of the Legislature is apparent in the comparatively few number of repressive legislative bills introduced in this session, Phillips said.

Of these, ACLU is concentrating its organizational fire against the Levering bill to deny tax exemptions to organizations allowing their facilities to be used by members of organizations listed as "subversive" by the U. S. Attorney General.

ACLU also is strongly opposing a measure to extend the retroactive date of the Luckel Act.

Other priorities for immediate action are listed on page two.

The branch legislative program has been augmented by reports and interviews with key legislators by the ACLU lobbyist in Sacramento.

**Local Level**

Major responsibility for spurring local letter-writing campaigns and talks with Southern California legislators has been assumed by branch chapters and area groups working in conjunction with the Legislation Committee.

Phillips urged every ACLU member to execute the tasks outlined on the following pages, and to stand by for immediate action assignments as measures reach crucial stages in the legislative process.

# Court Rules Censorship Law Invalid

Los Angeles' film censorship law was declared unconstitutional last month by three judges of the Appellate Department of Superior Court.

Judges Edward T. Bishop, Frank G. Swain and Kurtz Kauffman held that the law and the charge against Jack Thomas, a film distributor, are "so sweeping that they embrace matters that may not be prohibited."

"The phrase, 'in such a manner as to offend public morals' is too lacking in definiteness to satisfy the requirements of due process," the court said.

Thomas was convicted last April 25 of responsibility for showing "Monika," a Swedish film which contains a nude swimming scene.

# Foe of Communism Held 'Mentally Ill'

Comitment to a mental hospital of a 68-year-old man who allegedly believes "everyone is a Communist excepting himself," was challenged this week before a Superior Court jury in San Luis Obispo.

A. R. Fitzpatrick, of Atascadero, was committed to a San Luis Obispo mental hospital on January 7 on grounds that he had written letters on numerous occasions "that would indicate an unbalanced mind."

Atty. Paul Posner, representing Fitzpatrick, argued that the commitment order was illegal and that Fitzpatrick was being committed for his political and social beliefs and expressions.

The charge that Fitzpatrick believes everyone is a Communist, a statement he denies, is "hardly sufficient to invite a reasonable belief that Fitzpatrick is mentally ill, let alone dangerous," Posner said.

"Such beliefs are held by numerous people today, including well-known members of the United States Senate," Posner noted.

Many of Fitzpatrick's opinions have been formulated by such publications as "A Hundred Thing You Should Know About Communism," a phamphlet prepared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"We have not reached the point in the United States where Communists are sent to jail and their overzealous pursuers and investigators are sent to mental institutions," Posner said.

Southern California ACLU has aided Fitzpatrick in securing legal counsel and is considering legal intervention at the appellate level if he loses his plea for release in the trial court.

# The Voice of the Peo

## Why an FEP Law for Californians?

Most ACLU members are familiar with the compelling reasons for enacting a Fair Employment Practices law in California.

The 14th Amendment—and its guarantee of "equal protection of the laws"—is the foundation of the concept of equal opportunity to secure employment.

The need for an FEP law is pointed out by the Friends Committee on Legislation which found that discrimination still does exist in: the majority of private employment agencies; some major California newspapers which accept discriminatory Help Wanted ads; a large percentage of business and industrial firms in sales, clerical, customer-contact, personnel, professional and managerial jobs, and in some school districts.

Will an FEP law work? The Friends study noted that eleven states and 36 major cities now have enforceable FEP laws. Their success is indicated by the fact that out of 10,000 complaints only a handful have required court action. The overwhelming majority of cases are settled by negotiation and conciliation. About 80 percent of employers can be expected to comply with an FEP law.

The great mass of employers, the Friends study revealed, realize they should employ on merit but are waiting for the law and a declared statement of policy against discrimination in employment to take them over the hump.

"This law will not eliminate

prejudice, nor will it give preferred treatment to any person. It will help men and women find work for which they are qualified, and work we can respect increases the dignity of each of us," the Friends committee stated.

## Whisper or Roar? Depends on Letter Lobby

**The objective of legislative action is to impress every legislator with the number of people who support or oppose particular measures and the persuasiveness of their views.**

**Here are some suggestions for conducting the most effective Do-It-Yourself Letter Lobby in California's legislative history:**

**1. Study the measures listed on the following page. Select two or three which you regard as the most important.**

**2. Address your letters to the Assemblyman and State Senator from your district.**

**3. Also, put yourself on record with the committee responsible for hearing the particular measure. If your Assemblyman or Senator is a member of the committee, write to him. If he is not, write to the chairman of the committee. (See directories on this page.)**

**4. Letters should be concise, individual, tactful and limited to one or two persuasive points.**

**5. Address all communications to legislators at State Capitol Building, Sacramento, Calif.**

**6. Stand by for additional communications from representatives of the branch Leglative Committee for letters and telegrams necessary at crucial stages of enactment.**

**7. Send copies of your letters to legislators, or original letters, to your weekly community and metropolitan daily newspaper editors.**

**8. Ask your friends to do the same.**

## Tax Oath Repeal Takes Offensive

A major target of ACLU's legislative offensive this year is repeal of the California tax oath, the 1953 law which requires all churches, non-profit organizations and veterans, to sign a declaration or "loyalty oath" that, as a condition of tax exemption, they do not advocate overthrow of the government by force, violence, other unlawful means, or the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities.

ACLU favors repeal of the tax oath requirement for these explicit reasons:

1. The tax oath, in proscribing mere advocacy, violates the First and 14th Amendments of the Federal Constitution by abridging freedom of speech without a showing of a clear and present danger.

2. The tax oath violates the First Amendment by making a law respecting an establishment of religion and prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Freedom of religion and separation of church and state are both seriously endangered by this oath requirement.

3. The tax oath, like all so-called loyalty oaths, places a premium upon submissive conformity and discourages open criticism of government so essential to a democratic society.

## Hearings on Bills Set by Committees

The following listing includes the chairmen and Southern California members of legislative committees concerned with civil liberties and civil rights measures.

### Senate

**EDUCATION**

Hugh P. Donnelly, chairman; Nelson S. Dilworth, Jess R. Dorsey, John A. Murdy, Jr.

**GOVERNMENTAL EFFICIENCY**

Earl D. Desmond, chairman; James E. Cunningham, James J. McBride.

**JUDICIARY**

Edwin J. Regan, chairman; John William Beard, Jess R. Dorsey, Richard Richards.

**LABOR**

Robert I. Montgomery, chairman; John A. Murdy, Jr.

**REVENUE AND TAXATION**

Arthur H. Breed, chairman; Nelson S. Dilworth, Fred H. Kraft, James J. McBride.

**SOCIAL WELFARE**

Jess R. Dorsey, chairman; John A. Murdy, Jr.

### Assembly

**CIVIL SERVICE & STATE PERSONNEL**

Samuel R. Geddes, chairman; Montivel Burke, William Marsh, Howard Thelin, Vincent Thomas.

**CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**

Eugene Nisbet, chairman; Bruce Sumner, Charles Chapel, Charles Conrad, Edward Elliott, Vernon Kilpatrick, Vincent Thomas.

**EDUCATION**

Donald D. Doyle, chairman; Dorothy Donohoe, John Collier, George Crawford, Walter Dahl, Edward Elliott, Ernest R. Geddes, Richard Hanna, Sheridan Hegland, Leverette House, H. W. Kelly, Vernon Kilpatrick, Carley Porter, Thomas Rees, Joseph Shell.

**GOVERNMENTAL EFFICIENCY & ECONOMY**

Ralph Brown, chairman; Frank Bonelli, Rex Cunningham, Edward Elliott, Ernest R. Geddes, James Holmes, Harold Levering, Frank Luckel, Lester McMillan, A. I. Stewart.

**INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS**

Lester McMillan, chairman; James Holmes, Don A. Allen, L. M. Backstrand, Edward Elliott, Patrick McGee, Joseph Shell.

**JUDICIARY**

Bruce F. Allen, chairman; Patrick McGee, George Crawford, Richard Hanna, Lester McMillan, Allen Miller, Bruce Sumner, Howard Thelin.

**REVENUE AND TAXATION**

Glenn E. Coolidge, chairman; Frank G. Bonelli, Charles Chapel, John L. E. Collier, George G. Crawford, Vincent Thomas, Thomas J. Doyle, Augustus Hawkins, Leverette D. House, Herbert R. Klocksiem, Frank Lanterman, William F. Marsh, Vincent Thomas.

**RULES**

Allen Miller, chairman; Jack A. Beaver, Augustus F. Hawkins, Jack Schrade.

## These Vital Bills Rated Top Priority

The Southern California ACLU board of directors urges that all members and committees give primary attention to the following legislative measures:

**Support for:**

1. AB 2000 and AB 2001 — enactment of Fair Employment Practices Legislation.

2. Support for AB 2214 — repeal of the tax oath requirement as a condition for tax exemption of churches, non-profit organizations and veterans.

**Opposition to:**

1. AB 1526 — Denial of tax exemption to organizations permitting their facilities to be used by members of organizations listed as "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General.

2. AB 229 — Extension of the Luckel Act.

**Give Today**

**to the**

**Legislative Fund**

**Send Contributions To:**

**American Civil Liberties Union**
**Southern California Branch**
**2863 West Ninth Street**
**Los Angeles 6, California**

## Southern California Legislators

### State Senators

| Name | Party | County |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Richards | D | Los Angeles |
| A. A. Erhart | R | San Luis Obispo |
| J. J. Hollister | D | Santa Barbara |
| James J. McBride | D | Ventura |
| Jess R. Dorsey | R | Kern |
| John A. Murdy, Jr. | R | Orange |
| James E. Cunningham | R | San Bernardino |
| Nelson S. Dilworth | R | Riverside |
| John William Beard | D | Imperial |
| Fred H. Kraft | R | San Diego |

### State Assemblymen

| Name | Party | District |
|---|---|---|
| Edward Elliott | D | East Los Angeles |
| Allen Miller | D | San Fernando |
| William Marsh | D | North Hollywood |
| Howard Thelin | R | Glendale |
| Herbert Klocksiem | R | Long Beach |
| Thomas J. Doyle | D | El Sereno-Monterey Pk |
| Charles R. Chapel | R | Inglewood |
| Albert Stewart | R | Pasadena |
| Frank Lanterman | R | La Canada |
| William Munnell | D | Montebello |
| Frank Bonelli | D | Huntington Park |
| Montivel Burke | R | Alhambra |
| John Collier | R | Eagle Rk.-Highland Pk. |
| Vernon Kilpatrick | D | Lynwood |
| Seth Johnson | R | Hollywood-Silverlake |
| Charles Conrad | R | Sherman Oaks |
| Joseph Shell | R | Wilshire |
| Thomas Rees | D | Beverly Hills |
| Harold Levering | R | Santa Monica |
| Lester McMillan | D | Culver City |
| Augustus Hawkins | D | South Los Angeles |
| Don Allen, Sr. | D | South Los Angeles |
| Jesse Unruh | D | South Los Angeles |
| Charles H. Wilson | D | South Los Angeles |
| Patrick McGee | R | Encino |
| Clayton Dills | D | Gardena |
| Vincent Thomas | D | San Pedro |
| Carley V. Porter | D | Compton |
| W. S. Grant | R | Long Beach |
| L. M. Backstrand | R | Riverside |
| Eugene Nisbet | D | Upland |
| Jack Beaver | R | Redlands |
| Bruce Sumner | R | Santa Ana |
| Richard Hanna | D | Midway City |
| Leverette House | D | Brawley |
| Sheridan Hegland | D | La Mesa |
| Frank Luckel | R | San Diego |
| George Crawford | R | San Diego |
| Jack Schrade | R | El Cajon |
| Ernest Geddes | R | Claremont |
| Thomas Erwin | R | Puente |
| James Holmes | R | Santa Barbara |
| Rex Cunningham | D | Ventura |
| Dorothy Donohoe | D | Bakersfield |
| H. W. Kelly | R | Shafter |

*** Districts listed here are the approximate geographical areas represented by Southern California assemblymen.**

# ple Shall be Heard . . .

# We Support

## Equal Rights

### Employment

AB 2000: Hawkins, et al. Governmental Efficiency Committee.

To prevent and remedy discrimination in employment because of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry. A Fair Employment Practices Commission would investigate complaints of discrimination, educate toward voluntary compliance with the act, and correct or prevent discrimination. A violation is punishable by fine or imprisonment. AB 2001 is the companion appropriation bill. Senate Bill 2353 by Richards is the Senate companion bill, referred to Senate Labor Committee.

AB 3350: Donahoe, et al. Committee on Industrial Relations. Requires the same rate of pay for women as received by men for work of "comparable quantity and quality."

AB 3372: S. Geddes. Committee on State Service and Personnel.

Prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or marital status in making state Civil Service appointments.

AB 464: Unruh, et al. Committee on Industrial Relations.

Prohibits job discrimination because of age.

### Housing

AB 1685: Rumford. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Makes illegal, discrimination in publicly assisted housing, on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin.

AB 3979: Hawkins. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Creates a State Commission on Discrimination in Housing to prevent and eliminate discrimination in publicly assisted housing.

AB 367: Elliott. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Declares a policy against discrimination in housing redevelopment projects.

### Teaching

AB 1150: Rumford. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Suspends credentials and fines any school district employee who refuses to hire teachers because of race, color or creed.

AB 1151: Rumford. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Declares a policy against refusal to hire school teachers because of age or marital status.

AB 2939: Burton. Committee on Elections.

Provides that no questions except as otherwise provided in the Education Code, relating to "political party, registration, religious opinions, beliefs or affiliations, race, color or marital status," shall be asked of any teacher applicant.

SB 1738: Miller. Committee on Education.

Provides that no school district may require a photograph of an applicant for a teaching position as a condition of employment.

SB 1746: Miller. Committee on Education.

Provides that the Attorney General shall inspect to see that the policy of the state against teacher discrimination is being carried out.

SB 2566: Richards. Committee on Education.

The State Board of Education may upon the recommendation of the Director of Education, establish a commission to assist and advise local school districts in problems relating to racial, religious or other discrimination in teacher employment.

### College Organizations

AB 758: Elliott. Committee on Education.

Outlaws fraternities or sororities from state-owned campuses which restrict membership because of race, color or creed.

### Studies and Policy

AB 1920: Hawkins. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Directs the Department of Employment to study and make recommendations to reduce unemployment caused by racial or religious discrimination.

AB 2690: Beaver. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Creates a State Civil Rights Commission to foster civil rights and liberties and study the need for legislation.

AB 3687: Don Allen. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Creates a Human Relations Commission to minimize prejudice and promote constitutional rights.

AB 3933: Burton. Committee on Governmental Efficiency.

Encourages communities to establish human relations agencies to eliminate discrimination, and to train police in reducing inter-group conflicts.

### Insurance

AB 3468: O'Connell. Committee on Finance and Insurance.

Provides that it shall be an unfair practice of the insurance business to make or permit any "unfair discrimination between individuals of the same class and equal expectation of life" in the rates charged for any life insurance or annuity.

### Old Age Pensions and State Aid

AB 239: Elliott. Committee on Social Welfare.

Makes non-citizens, who meet all other requirements, eligible for old-age pensions.

AB 1165: B. Allen. Committee on Judiciary.

Provides aid to non-citizens who otherwise qualify.

SB 993: Richards. Committee on Social Welfare.

Provides that aliens may receive state aid if they have lived in the U.S. for 25 continuous years, providing that they can otherwise qualify and have not committed a felony since entering the U.S.

## Repeal of Loyalty Oaths

AB 2214: O'Connell. Committee on Revenue and Taxation.

Repeals the oath which is a condition for property tax exemption.

AB 2215: O'Connell. Committee on Education.

Repeals the oath which is a condition for the use of school property for meetings.

AB 2346: Lindsay. Committee on Revenue and Taxation.

Repeals the property tax oath insofar as it applies to any religious organization which claims the church exemption or the welfare exemption.

## Key to Bills

**AB—Assembly Bill**

**SB—Senate Bill**

**ACA—Assembly Constitutional Amendment**

**The bills listed on this page include the bill number, the author of the measure, and the committee responsible for action.**

ACA 37: O'Connell, Burton and Elliott. Committee on Constitutional Amendments.

Repeals the Levering oath for public office.

AB 1531: Elliott. A "spot" bill which could contain a suitable repealer of certain sections of the Dilworth Act.

## Right of Privacy

### Wiretapping

AB 2941: Burton. Committee on Judiciary.

Makes the intentional overhearing of any communication, without the consent of all parties, by means of any electronic or other device, a felony.

SB 176: Farr. Committee on Judiciary.

Makes it a felony to eavesdrop by means of any electronic or other device upon any conversation between a person in the custody of a law officer and his attorney, religious adviser or physician.

## McCarran-Walter Act Revision

House Resolution 58: Memorializes Congress to revise the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

# We Oppose

## Loyalty Oath Extensions

AB 1526: Levering, et al. Committee on Revenue and Taxation. Would deny tax exemption to non-profit organizations which knowingly allow their property to be used by "subversives" —as defined by membership in any organization on the U.S. Attorney General's list. The list would be included with the loyalty oath now required as a condition for property tax exemption.

AB 229: Luckel. Committee on Judiciary.

Changes the retroactive date of the Luckel Act from Sept. 10, 1948, to Oct. 3, 1945. (The Luckel Act prohibits the employment of Communists and any public employees who refuse to answer questions of superiors or legislative committees concerning their personal political advocacy and associations.)

SB 766: Williams. Committee on Revenue and Taxation.

Provides that corporations which claim the tax exemption must file a non-disloyalty oath within five months after the close of the tax year for which exemption is sought.

## Voice of Authority

**Rep. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Immigration subcommittee, has said he doubted Congress would act on any of the President's proposals to revise the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act — or on any other revision of the act this year.**

## Censorship

AB 64: Bonelli. Committee on Judiciary.

Makes it a misdemeanor to circulate for any commercial purpose any crime comic book to a minor.

**Defeated in committee.**

SB 1839: Donnelly. Committee on Education.

Directs school boards to set up procedures for review of all texts, library books and other material in school libraries. Prohibits those books which contain ideas at variance with "morality, truth, justice, patriotism . . . and the principles of a free government . . . "

## Invasion of Privacy

SB 1334: Coombs. Committee on Judiciary.

Would reverse the California Supreme Court decision of 1955 in People v. Cahan, which prohibited the use of evidence obtained by illegal means, such as wiretapping, trespassing, etc. This bill states: "In any criminal action, all evidence which is otherwise competent, relevant and material, is admissible, irrespective of the manner in which it was obtained."

### Search and Seizure

AB 1857: McGee. Committee on Judiciary.

Would make extensive and far-reaching changes in the present law of arrest. Many of the provisions would endanger traditional guarantees of the 4th Amendment against unreasonable search and seizure.

(Note: A number of bills have been introduced pertaining to the law of arrest, search and seizure and the conduct of police. These bills are still under study by ACLU attorneys. Our position in support of or opposition to these measures will be analyzed in the next issue of Open Forum.)

### Restrictions on Teachers

AB 3938: Crawford. Committee on Education.

Provides that the governing board of any school district may designate an employee of the district as a "patriotic instructor for the schools of the district and authorize him to assist or advise the teachers on appropriate duties."

AB 3939: Crawford. Committee on Education.

Provides that each "certification document issued by the State Board of Education shall . . . include a statement of military service of the applicant.

AB 3940: Crawford. Committee on Education.

Provides that no material of any kind that is intended to, or may be reasonably expected to, cause eligible young men to refuse to serve in the armed forces of the U.S. or to refuse to respond to a draft call, or to register for the draft, shall be permitted on any public property."

## A Chance to Halt the Wiretappers

Acting on the recommendation of the legal action committee, the Branch executive committee on Monday evening voted to support only one of the major wiretap prohibition bills in the current legislature.

The bill which received the approval of the ACLU is AB 2941, introduced by freshman Assemblyman Philip Burton of San Francisco, and co-sponsored by five other members of the Assembly, including Thomas Rees, Edward Elliott, and Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles County.

The Burton bill seeks to prohibit all forms of wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping and recording, and provides heavy penalties for such prohibited acts.

AB 2941 is one of several bills introduced in this session of the Legislature, and reflects the growing concern in the law-making body over the widespread practices of wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping.

**The Open Forum** of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Southern California Branch

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# Re: Bills for Bulls

Assemblymen report that they have received more correspondence this session in support of a bill to outlaw bull-dodging (bloodless bull-fighting) than on any other issue before the legislature.

This will be heartening news indeed—for bulls and their well-organized lobby.

We disparage the rights of no living creature. It is gratifying to know that many literate Californians are leaping to their pens and typewriters in defense of the life, liberty, and the normal pursuits of the male bovines of the state.

People can look after their own rights, it may be argued, but who will defend the rights of bulls, if these enlightened citizens do not?

Were we more opportunistically inclined we'd get aboard this bull band-wagon for a comfortable ride to popular glorious success.

But, committed as we are to such relatively uninspired issues as civil liberties and **human** rights—affecting only the welfare of people—we must hazard the prospect of failure to impress the Legislature because our constituents do not get around to writing.

We envy the bull his power to move his admirers to compassionate action. We wish we knew as well how to urge ACLU members and friends to heap a mountain of messages on the desks of the Legislature for FEP, against loyalty oaths and wiretapping—for a restoration and enlargement of the rights, liberties, and freedoms of all California's **people.**

**—Eason Monroe**

## Chapter Meeting and Workshop Scheduled

A Chapter Council conference and legislative workshop will be held Saturday, March 23, at the Mayfair Hotel, 1256 W. 7th St.

The quarterly chapter conference will be held from 10 a.m. to noon for the purpose of discussing chapter development, area problems and activities.

The workshop will be held from 1 to 4 p.m. Chapter delegates and members of the Legislative Committee are urged to attend both sessions.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH
2863 W. Ninth St.
Los Angeles 6, Calif.

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Membership includes the Open Forum from Los Angeles, Civil Liberties, national monthly publication, the Union's annual report, and single copies of some thirty ACLU pamphlets. Associate Members at $2 receive Open Forum, Civil Liberties and the annual report. The national office will send its weekly bulletin, on request, to members contributing $10 or more.

**The ACLU works to defend, maintain and extend the civil liberties and rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. It needs and welcomes the support of all those—and only those—whose devotion to civil liberties is unqualified by approval of totalitarian practices.**

NAME _____
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OF COUNSEL

# Emancipated Southerner Defies Texas Traditions

Probably the most unlikely candidate for favorite son of the Lone Star state is Robert S. Morris, Jr., who was born in Dallas, Texas, and is not at all proud of it. Morris not only has none of the braggodocio for which Texans are supposed to be famed, but defies the Texas code by possessing an abundance of modesty. In fact, to hear him tell it, there is nothing of public interest to relate about him — a tall Texas tale if there ever was one.

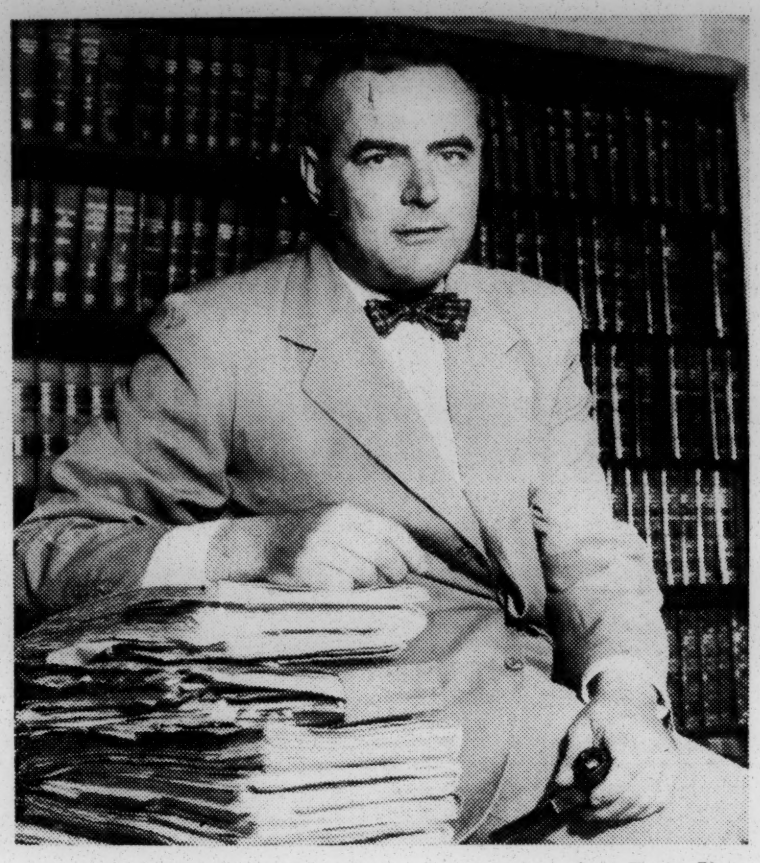
This paradox notwithstanding, Morris has made many unique contributions to the cause of civil liberties and to the Southern California ACLU as both a volunteer lawyer and a member of the board of directors.

Morris' family settled in Southern California in 1928, first in San Diego and later in La Jolla. His father was a national bank receiver in those days when banks went broke. Because his father should have been a lawyer but wasn't, he urged his son to study law. He did, graduating from Dartmouth and the University of California's Boalt Law School at Berkeley.

**Typical Pattern**

Young Morris started his legal career in a characteristic fashion. He offered his services to a committee of the Bar association which assigned volunteer lawyers to persons unable to secure or afford legal counsel. He served in this capacity from 1939 to 1941, becoming what was practically a public defender in the federal courts.

In 1941 Morris' major professional ambition was fulfilled — he went to work for the law firm headed by Robert W. Kenny, and the next year, when Kenny was elected State Attorney General, Morris served a brief stint in the Los Angeles office as a deputy.



—Open Forum Photo

**ATTY. ROBERT S. MORRIS . . . vice-president of details**

Morris entered military service in 1943 as a private, rising to a first lieutenancy in the military police and later was attached to military intelligence in Washington, D. C., and the European theatre.

**The Klan Stopped**

After returning to civilian life, he resumed his post in the Attorney General's office, and in 1946 he played a prominent role in quashing an incipient Klu Klux Klan movement at Big Bear. Acting swiftly on reports from a newspaper editor in the mountain resort area, Morris was dispatched to investigate evidence of cross-burning and intimidation against Negroes and Jews.

The investigation resulted in a suit brought by the Attorney General to revoke the corporate charter of the KKK, and in effect outlawed the Klan in California.

Morris has been associated with Kenny continuously for the past decade and has been a full partner in the firm since 1948.

He disclaims any credit for the many vital civil liberties cases handled by the firm, including the kick-off of the witch-hunt, the Hollywood Ten case, and numerous other immigration and naturalization, loyalty oath, free speech, police brutality and racial discrimination cases. However, Morris' role as investigator, administrator, and first vice president in charge of intricate details, is comparable to that of a downfield blocker — without him the team would be stalled permanently at mid-field.

**Across the Board**

Morris' wide range of public interests, as well as his reticence, complicate the job of pinpointing him into any neat and convenient format. He has served as president of the Junior Barristers, an elite group of exceptional young Los Angeles lawyers, and as president of the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. He was a member of the Democratic Country Central Committee from 1948 to 1955, resigning to make way for "younger men." Morris will be all of 42 this May.

A member of the branch board of directors since 1942, he has served as chairman of the interim committee, chairman of the immigration committee, and a member of the legal action committee.

As a stickler for principle, a persuasive debater and an able political strategist, Morris, who is described by one colleague as an "emancipated Southerner", has in turn emancipated many of the organizations he has supported from attitudes of conformity and apathy.

Since 1939 Morris and his wife, Clarice (better known as "Weecie,") have resided in Pasadena with their three sons, Mike, 14, William, one-year-old this month, and David, 12, whom his father fears is likely to become a prosecuting attorney.

## Five Chapters Slate Meetings During March

ACLU chapters and area groups meeting this month include:

**CULVER CITY-INGLEWOOD**

A representative of the Friends Committee on Legislation will discuss civil liberties measures pending in the State Legislature. Friday, March 15, p.m. The home of Jim Campbell, 2231 S. Spaulding Ave.

**SOUTH-CENTRAL L.A.**

Atty. Marshall Ross, a member of the board of directors, will discuss "Police Methods, Chief Parker and the 4th Amendment." He also will analyze recent ACLU legal action in the field of search and seizure. Wednesday, March 20, 8:15 p.m. St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, 5100 Coliseum.

**NORTHEAST L.A.**

Marvin Schacter of the Friends Committee on Legislation will discuss civil liberties measures. Ben Held, representing the Committee for Better Schools, also will speak. Friday, March 22, 8 p.m. The home of Elizabeth Wood, 1777 Campus Road.

**EAST LOS ANGELES**

ACLU counsel A. L. Wirin will speak on the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act and proposed changes being considered by Congress. Friday, March 29, 7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, 2526½ Brooklyn Ave.

**COPY DEADLINE**

**Copy deadline for the next issue of Open Forum will be April 11.**

American Civil Liberties Union
Southern California Branch
2863 West Ninth St.
Los Angeles 6, Calif.

Frederick B. Routh
c/o SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn - NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Future Spk
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AIR MAIL SPECIAL

April 9, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

I have received your letter of April 4 with further information about my participation in the May 7 meeting of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. I have received several communiques from various members of the Women's Division, and believe I now have a sufficient grasp of what is expected of me at this session.

You asked if there is anything further you can do to assist me with hotel reservations and the like. I wrote you on March 29 and said I would appreciate it if you could make a reservation for a single room with shower at the Shoreham Hotel or another one close by if the Shoreham reservations were all gone for the night of May 7. I use an air travel card, and will arrange my own transportation and AJC can reimburse SRC at a later date. I want to thank you for your generosity in assuming the burden of my travel expenses.

Mrs. Polier called on Friday and asked for a biography and a glossy print for publicity purposes. I got those off Air Mail Special Delivery Friday morning. I note that you ask in the last paragraph of your letter of April 4 for several biographies and glossy prints. I will get these off to you this afternoon or, better yet, will enclose them with this letter.

I look forward to being with you on May 7th. Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosures

Biographical Information - Frederick B. Routh

Reared and educated, Coral Gables, Florida.

A.B., M.A., University of Miami.
Ph.D. work completed, N.Y.U.

Taught at University of Miami (three years).

Taught during summers at New York University, University of Michigan, Sorbonne, Heidelburg, and University of London.

Lieutenant (jg) U.S. Naval Air Intelligence, World War II.

Past President, U.N. Association of South Florida.

Board Member and Chairman of Commission on Education, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

# AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N.Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500


April 4, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

You will have to excuse our additional correspondence in connection with the National Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress which will be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C.

We are anxious to make certain that you have all the necessary information, facts and details in connection with your role in the plenary session on Tuesday evening, May 7th.

The subject for discussion that evening is "A Woman's Place Is In The World of Education" and the specific theme for your session is "Crisis in the Classroom." The other participants are Dr. Theron Johnson, Director of the Division of Intergroup Relations, New York State Department of Education, who will discuss problems of integration in the North; and Mr. Leo Pfeffer, Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress who will discuss religion in the public schools.

I understand that Mrs. Richman, President of the Women's Decision in a previous letter had written to you and had asked you to discuss problems of integration in the South and to focus attention on the role of public education in a democracy - the need to preserve academic freedom and the responsibility of our government to provide adequate facilities for all of our children without discrimination. You have done so much to give responsible and creative leadership in this field that it is our hope that you will come to the Convention and participate as a major speaker in this important session. We should particularly like you to discuss the challenge of integration as it affects the education of our children. We think you could do much to further our understanding and help us to arouse the conscience of the American public to their responsibilities as parents and citizens in a democracy.


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I would also like to call your attention to the fact that we are having an earlier dinner meeting for the honored guests and it will take place at 6:30 P.M. just immediately before the business session. I do hope that you will be available.

Please let me know as soon as possible about any other requirements concerning travel, hotel and anything else that you may feel is necessary.

Will you be good enough to send us several biographies, glossy pictures and mats of yourself which we will need for our publicity services.

Thanks. With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

JS:bl

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*Membership Secretary*

May 1, 1957

Dear Mr. Routh:

LIBERTY IS ALWAYS UNFINISHED BUSINESS, the Union's 36th Annual Report, has brought you up to date on the past year's developments in civil liberties and the part the ACLU has played. It has showed you what your dollars have helped to achieve.

The major challenge facing the Union -- and the entire country -- in 1957 is racial discrimination. With other groups largely immobilized by local pressures, the ACLU remains in some areas the one national organization that can wage this battle for freedom. In March, the Executive Director and the Staff Counsel launched the Union's program with a month's fact-finding and strategy-making trip through nine southern states. It was our members' past generosities which made possible this beginning. It is their continued support which will keep it going.

The year for which you signed is about over. We hope that as you renew you will give as generously as your spirit dictates and your purse permits.

Sincerely yours,

B. W. Huebsch

B. W. Huebsch
Treasurer



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**AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**
*National Office*
170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

*Please return this Renewal Reminder with your check*

Date 5/1/57

*Your membership contribution for the year ending* May 1958 *is now due.*

Last year you contributed $ 5.00 We hope, if possible, you will invest more this year in the Union's expanding and increasingly vital program.
You also gave $10.00 to Spec. Funds in 1/57.

***IF YOU LIVE IN ONE OF*** the following state or city areas, your local *ACLU* branch will share in your dues: *Southern California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington (state), or Wisconsin* or in *Greater New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, Buffalo, or Miami.* The larger your contribution, the more your chapter will receive. (Similar arrangements are being worked out with all *NEW* affiliates.)

Frederick B. Routh
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn-NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

**SEE OVER** for membership services, etc.

*Here is another way you can help the ACLU defend the Bill of Rights: See Below*

**PLEASE** change if name or address is incorrect.

---

One of the simplest and most effective things you can do to help combat the ever-increasing challenges to civil liberties is to persuade a friend to join the ACLU.

To help the Union enroll one of the thousands of new members we need this year, just fill in the form on the back of this slip and return it with your renewal. We'll forward it together with appropriate material.

Be sure to PRINT CLEARLY the name and address. The Post Office will have to read this part through a window envelope. Don't forget to sign it and, if you wish, add a personal greeting.

*Additional Copies of this Invitation Form Available on Request* ☐

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SUPPORTING MEMBER • • • • $10

SUSTAINING MEMBER • • • • $25

CONTRIBUTING MEMBER • • • $ 5

Members listed above receive the Union's monthly paper *Civil Liberties* and its annual report on U. S. liberties. They are also entitled to single copies, on request, of some 25 ACLU pamphlets — without charge. Members contributing $10 or more may also receive, on request, the Union's weekly Feature Press Service, whose main content is largely duplicated by the monthly paper. (Fifty cents of each membership is for a one-year subscription to *Civil Liberties*.)

Your dues are shared by any existing active local ACLU organization in your area (except in Northern California where the branch maintains its local membership separately — however the national ACLU also welcomes support from Northern Californians). The larger your contribution, the more your local will receive.

Associate Members, at $2, receive *Civil Liberties* and the annual report.

*All members are entitled to vote in the annual election of the Union's National Committee.*

## USE BLANK BELOW TO INVITE A FRIEND TO JOIN THE ACLU

*See over for instructions*

Dear_____

I belong to the American Civil Liberties Union, and I have asked its national office to send you the enclosed material describing the Union and its defense of the Bill of Rights. I hope you will join me in supporting the vital work of this organization.

Signed_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

1

PLEASE PRINT NAME AND ADDRESS: THE POST OFFICE WILL HAVE TO READ IT.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

7 May 1957

TO: All State Organizations

FROM: Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant

We are attempting to prepare a memorandum on effective fund raising ideas for the state groups, to be circulated at the meeting on May 21st. Would you please compile a list of those techniques or methods which you have found to be especially effective and which, in your opinion, might be used to some advantage by other states. If you will send us your suggestions at once we will be able to have at the conference a list of those methods which should be of some value to each of the states.

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

5 June 1957

To: Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander

Mr. Whitney Young, Dean of the School of Social Work, Atlanta Univ. called me this morning.

He is a member of SRC's Consultant team. He did attend the Consultant Conference, May 24-25. Consultant fee for this conference is fifty dollars.

Please issue a check to Mr. Young for $50.00 for attending the Conference — on the Consultant Service Program account.

Frederick B. Routh

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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MRS. E. D. GALLOWAY
JOHN GAMMON, JR.
MRS. VIVIAN HEGWOOD
MRS. J. RUSSELL HENDERSON
MRS. D. D. JAMES
H. CHARLES JOHNSTON
GEORGE MOUTON
MRS. GUERDON NICHOLS
MRS. JAMES H. RICE, SR.
MISS EMMA SCOTT
DR. STEPHEN STEPHAN
ED STONE
PERRY A. TAYLOR
WILLIAM H. THOMPSON
CLARENCE R. THORNBROUGH
WALTER TRULOCK, III
MRS. JAMES R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
M. W. (Mike) WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*

June 12, 1957

Dear Fred:-

A phone conversation from Dr Jones of A. M. & N College, Pine Bluff indicates three application forms for Encouragement for Citizenship are being mailed.

Student: Marian Watson
Dana Horn
Maynard Welch.

You will be getting copies of the applications. I hasten to get this to you in case you need it immediately. The department of Counselling and Guidance has done the screening of these students and assured me they measure up.

Sincerely

Nat.

AGRICULTURAL, MECHANICAL AND NORMAL COLLEGE
PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

STUDENT PERSONNEL OFFICE

June 14, 1957

Mr Fred Roth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Find enclosed copies of applications for Encampment on the part of:

Miss Dana L Horn
1911 Rice Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Miss Marion A Watson
Box 86, A M and N College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mr Maynard O Welch
1698 Breard Street
Monroe, Louisiana

Each has been chosen on the basis of the qualities as set forth in the communication addressed to the Admissions Committee of the Encampment in co-operation with the Little Rock Chapter of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

These students desire to be considered for scholarship aid by your Council, for without aid participation in these valuable experiences will not be possible.

Please be assured that we have attempted to select participants who would comprehend the purposes and values of such experiences and try to profit thereby.

These persons are submitted to you for your consideration. It is our sincere desire that your Council may find it possible to invest in these youths.

Yours truly,

J B Jones

J B Jones, Director
Student Personnel and Guidance
and
Coordinator of Student Life

JBJ/rmm

June 14, 1957

Admissions Committee
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N Y

Dear Sirs:

Attached hereto is an application for admissions to the Twelfth Annual Session of Encampment for Citizenship on behalf of Mr Maynard O Welch.

The applicant hopes to be the recipient of a scholarship granted by the Southern Regional Council through cooperation with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Mr Welch has completed two years of college work in the Department of Physical Education with average grades. He has demonstrated a unique personality which enables him to get along well with his peers. He does not possess great verbal fluency in the area of contemporary problems but he has a depth of human understanding and a willingness to accept individuals for their worth and human dignity.

Welch is destined for a teaching career in one of the south's most controversial areas. Any insight, skills, and techniques which can be acquired in dealing with varied personalities will be beneficial. He will be able to assume leadership role in camp life in areas of recreation and sports, but will look forward to receiving in the areas which enhances informed citizenship.

Welch is highly cooperative. He is neat in appearance and has excellent self discipline. His community will lend his acceptance.

Very truly,

J B Jones, Director
Student Personnel and Guidance
and
Coordinator of Student Life

JBJ/rmm
cc:Mr Fred Roth
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr Nat R Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Rights
Little Rock, Arkansas

Application Form
(See Instructions, Page 4)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION

Name (Print) WELCH (Last) Maynard Orlando (First)

Permanent Address 1698 Bread St (Street) Monroe (City) Louisiana (State)

Date and Place of Birth November 21, 1935 Monroe Louisiana

Present Occupation Student Address A M and N College

FATHER's Name _____ Occupation _____

Mother's Name E S Welch Occupation Store Manager

I. EDUCATION

High School attending / attended [X] Little Flower High School Address Monroe, Louisiana

College attending / attended [X] A M and N College Address Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Circle number of years completed at the close of this school year

High School 1 2 3 4

College 1 2 3 4

Subject Phys Ed

II. WORK EXPERIENCE

List most recent work experiences (exclusive of Armed Services)

A. Employer James Gilbert Address French Lick Sheraton Hotel French Lick, Indiana

Kind of work Waiter

B. Employer Dr J B Jones Address A M and N College, Pine Bluff

Kind of work Chauffeur

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

## III

**A. Describe briefly the major study or work in which you are engaged at present.**

At present, I am engaged in learning the fundamentals and techniques of different sports. Have just completed my sophomore year of college.

**B. What are your future educational and vocational plans? Why have you chosen this (these) field(s)?**

I would like to go to graduate school and get a Master's Degree.

My vocational plans are to teach. After taking placement tests I discovered that I was more interested in training and guiding children.

## IV

**A. In what extra-curricular activities have you participated? Were you an officer or an active member?**

I participated in play night at the college. I also assist in instructing dancing as an extra-curricula activity.

**B. What experience have you had in labor, farm, co-op, community, etc groups? What offices and responsibilities have you held in each?**

In labor, I have had experience in construction work.

In the community, I help to organize various recreational groups.

## V

A. Is there any current issue in the local, national or international situation about which you feel very strongly?

I feel very strongly toward national affairs.

B. If you have participated in activities revolving around a public issue, problem or incident (i.e., housing, discrimination, etc), describe briefly how you organized or what you did.

None

## VI

A. What newspapers, magazines, and periodicals do you read? Indicate whether regularly or occasionally. Which do you find most useful and why?

Pine Bluff Commercial, Monroe Morning World, I read regularly. Times, Life, Sports Illustrated, I read regularly.

I find that Sports Illustrated is most useful to me because in it I can read more about different sports.

B. What are your hobbies? To what extent do you engage in each?

Dancing, tennis, basketball, baseball, and softball. I put about five hours to dancing, two hours to tennis, and during basketball season I put about three in.

C. Have you traveled outside your state or in other countries? Give details.

Yes. Chicago for vacation. To French Lick, Indiana to work. Pine Bluff, Arkansas where I am attending college.

A Name the person and /or organization from whom you heard of the Encampment Dr J B Jones

Name your sponsoring organization, If any _____

B. In view of your present educational and vocational plans, why do you want to come to the Encampment? What do you want to get from it and what do you think you can contribute to it? I feel confident that the Encampment will have a very strong recreational program and from it I will be enriched for future vocational work. The association with others in similar situations will also be of benefit. Inter-changing of ideas with others concerning my major field, and the experience that I have had in the past in the area of sports might be of some assistance to the Encampment.

List two references (not relatives) who know you well. At least one should be a teacher, employer, or supervisor:

A. Name Dr J B Jones Title or Position Director, Student Personnel and Guidance & Coordinator of Student Life

Business or Organization A M and N College Address Pine Bluff, Arkansas

B. Name Dr J E Marshall Title or Position Director, Freshman Studies

Business or Organization A M and N College Address Pine Bluff, Arkansas

INSTRUCTIONS

4. Encampment fees will be paid by

b) sponsoring organization Southern Regional Foundation

7. In applying for admission, I hereby agree to abide by all the rules and regulations of the Encampment

Date June 10, 1957

Signature Maynard Welch

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

My name is Maynard Orlando Welch, born November 21, 1935, in Monroe, Louisiana. I stay with my mother, Mrs E S Welch and grandmother Mrs Pansy Grayson.

I spent my elementary school days at Little Flower Catholic School. I was active in the junior choirs and played on the junior-high basketball teams. My high school days were continued at Little Flower High School. During high school, I played basketball two years on the varsity team. The school was in financial debt so they were unable to pay a person to coach. The first years as student-coach, I was very successful with the help of God. We brought back ten (10) trophies, six (6) of these were first place winners and the rest were runner-up trophies. The following year was completed with six (6) trophies.

I graduated eighth in a class of thirty-one. During the summer preceding my graduation, I worked in Sturgionbay, Wis. In September, I enrolled at A M & N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. My freshman year, I ranked in the upper half of my class. After completing the freshman year, I worked at French Lick Sheraton Hotel, French Lick, Indiana as a waiter. I returned to A M and N College and completed my sophomore year. My intentions are to return to college in September.

June 14, 1957

Admissions Committee
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N Y

Dear Sirs:

Attached hereto is an application for admissions to the Twelfth Annual Session of Encampment for Citizenship on behalf of Miss DANA L HORN.

The applicant hopes to be the recipient of a scholarship granted by the Southern Regional Council through cooperation with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Miss Horn is the daughter of a public school teacher who has sought to expose her to the best experiences available in our environment. She is socially aggressive with good total adjustment as measured by the Bell Adjustment Inventory. Her literary attainment earned for her membership in the honor societies during high school. She has kept pace with the group in College and has experienced no failures.

The applicant has a pronounced interest in music and the Social services areas as measured by the Kuder Preference Record. Teaching is likely to be her future vocation.

She has experienced camp life as we have it in Arkansas. She is concerned about problems and progress both individual and group. She disciplines self for the realization of worthwhile goals and pursues assigned tasks to completion.

The acceptance of this applicant would represent investment in a number of personalities for her life definitely touches and influences a large segment of our population. She can contribute and benefit.

Yours truly,

J B Jones, Director
Student Personnel and Guidance
and
Coordinator of Student Life

JBJ/rmm
cc: Mr Fred Roth
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr Nat R Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Rights

Application Form
(See Instructions, Page 4)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION

Name (Print) HORN (Last) Dana (First)

Permanent Address 1911 Rice St (Street) Little Rock (City) Arkansas (State)

Date and Place of Birth 1 (Month) 2 (Day) '39 (Year) Little Rock, Arkansas (Place)

Present Occupation Student Address A M and N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

FATHER's Name C L Horn Occupation Teacher

Mother's Name Mrs Z L Horn Occupation Alterator in Department Store

---

I. EDUCATION

High School attended [ ] attending [x] Dunbar High School Address Little Rock, Arkansas

College attended [x] attending [ ] A M and N College Address Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Circle number of years completed at the close of this school year

High School 1 2 3 4

College 1 2 3 4

---

II. WORK EXPERIENCE None, besides baby-sitting, and odd jobs.

List most recent work experiences (exclusive of Armed Services)

A. Employer _____ Address _____

Kind of work _____

B. Employer _____

Kind of work _____

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

## III

A. Describe briefly the major study or work in which you are engaged at present.

I have just completed my sophomore year at Arkansas A M and N College. I am majoring in Music Education, with emphasis on piano and minoring in Education.

B. What are your future educational and vocational plans?
Why have you chosen this (these) field(s)?

After completing my senior year, I am planning to enroll at Northwestern University for graduate study in music. I choose music because it has been my ambition to someday be an artist.

## IV

A. In what extra-curricular activities have you participated? Were you an officer or an active member?

During my two years in college, I have been a member of the choir. This year, I became a member of the Delta Eta Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. Recently, I have been elected to serve on the Student Governing Board for next school year.

B. What experience have you had in labor, farm, co-op, community, etc groups? What offices and responsibilities have you held in each?

In my community work, I have served as Vice President of the Jr Council of NCNW, a member of the Jr Council of NAACP. I participated in church organizations, and also Y-teen clubs.

## V

A. Is there any current issue in the local, national or international situation about which you feel very strongly?

I am, as the majority of the Southern citizens, still disturbed about the desegregation of schools, and also the job opportunities after desegregation.

B. If you have participated in activities revolving around a public issue, problem or incident (i.e., housing, discrimination, etc), describe briefly how you organized or what you did.

## VI

A. What newspapers, magazines, and periodicals do you read? Indicate whether regularly or occasionally. Which do you find most useful and why?

I read three local papers regularly from Little Rock; Arkansas Gazette, Arkansas Democrat, and State Press. I occasionally read the Chicago Defender, and the Pittsburgh Courier.

I subscribe to Life and Times Magazines.

B. What are your hobbies? To what extent do you engage in each?

My favorite hobby is playing the piano. I am now majoring in piano. I also like to dance, sing and play outdoor games.

C. Have you traveled outside your state or in other countries? Give details.

Before entering college, I motored to Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Tennessee and Louisiana visiting relatives. After becoming a member of the College Choir, I have traveled through Tennessee, and Mississippi

VII

A Name the person and /or organization from whom you heard of the Encampment Dr J B Jones

Name your sponsoring organization, If any Southern Regional Foundation

B. In view of your present educational and vocational plans, why do you want to come to the Encampment? What do you want to get from it and what do you think you can contribute to it?

I want to come to the Encampment because I feel it will be a rare experience for me, and I can also develop my leadership traits.

List two references (not relatives) who know you well. At least one should be a teacher, employer, or supervisor:

A. Name Mr Ariel M Lovelace Title or Position Head of Dept of Music Education and Director of College Choir

Business or Organization _____ Address A M and N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

B. Name Dr F T Guy Title or Position Pastor

Business or Organization Mt Zion Baptist Church Address 904 Cross Street or 1900 Ringo Street Little Rock, Arkansas

INSTRUCTIONS

4. Encampment fees will be paid by

b) sponsoring organization Southern Regional Foundation

7. In applying for admission, I hereby agree to abide by all the rules and regulations of the Encampment.

Date June 10, '57 Signature Dana LaJoyce Horn

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Dana La Joyce Horn was born January 2, 1939 to Mr and Mrs C L Horn of Little Rock, Arkansas.

At the age of 5½, I entered Gibbs Elementary School in Little Rock. That same year, I also began taking piano lessons. At the age of 11½, I entered Dunbar High School, in Little Rock. At the age of 16 years old, I graduated 4th ranking student in a class of 180.

In the fall of 1955, I entered Arkansas A M and N College, where I am presently enrolled.

June 14, 1957

Admissions Committee
Encampment for Citizenshio
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N Y

Dear Sirs:

Attached hereto is an application for admissions to the Twelfth Annual Session of Encampment for Citizenshio on behalf of Miss MARION ANDERSON WATSON.

The applicant hopes to be the recipient of a scholarship granted by the Southern Regional Council through cooperation with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Miss Watson is endorsed by the College community in her efforts to participate in such experiences: She represents one of our finest families with respect to moral character and culture. She is slightly above average in scholarship. She has not been elected to leadership positions at this period of her College life, but she is definitely a leader in her group.

Personal adjustment, intelligence, and personality of the applicant render her acceptable to groups. There are no physical traits or habits of character which would render her presence undesirable.

We recommend her to the committee enthusiastically.

Yours truly,

J B Jones, Director
Student Personnel and Guidance
and
Coordinator of Student Life

JBJ/rmm
cc: Mr Fred Roth
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr Nat R Griswold
Ark Council on Human Rights
Little Rock, Arkansas

Application Form
(See Instructions, Page 4)

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP
SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION

Name (Print) WATSON (Last) Marian (First) Anderson

Permanent Address #86, A M and N College (Street) Pine Bluff, Arkansas (City) (State)

Date and Place of Birth April 21, 1939 Atlanta, Georgia

Present Occupation College student Address A M and N College Pine Bluff, Arkansas

(Deceased) FATHER's Name Dr J B Watson Occupation Former College President A M and N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mother's Name Mrs H R Watson Occupation Asst Librarian & Cataloger

I. EDUCATION

High School attended [x] attending Merrill High School Address West Pullen St Pine Bluff, Arkansas

College attended [x] attending A M and N College Address A M and N College Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Circle number of years completed at the close of this school year

High School 1 2 3 4

College 1 2 3 4

II. WORK EXPERIENCE

List most recent work experiences (exclusive of Armed Services)

Not any outside the home. I kept house for my mother two summers while not in school. I have typed term papers for students during school term.

A. Employer _____ Address _____

Kind of work _____

B. Employer _____

Kind of work _____

DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

## III

A. Describe briefly the major study or work in which you are engaged at present.

I have just finished my freshman year at A M and N College which consisted mainly of general education. Humanities, orientation, physical and biological sciences, English, Mathematics, etc., were in the curriculum.

B. What are your future educational and vocational plans?
Why have you chosen this (these) field(s)?

I plan to complete my college education with a major in music education. I plan to do graduate study at a music conservatory, then go abroad. I have chosen this vocation because I feel that God has given me the talento sing and I would like to use it and make my contribution to humanity through this channel.

## IV

A. In what extra-curricular activities have you participated? Were you an officer or an active member?

In all the extra-curricular activities, I participated in, I held an office. They are as follows:

| High School | College |
|---|---|
| Librarian of Band (Played Flute) | Section leader in College Choir |
| Secretary of choir (Sang solo soprano) | Secretary of Pine Bluff Club |
| President of French Club | Member of the City Women's Council |
| President of Dramatic Club | Reporter for Arkansawyer (School paper) |
| Reporter of New Homemakers of America | |
| Asst Secretary of Student Council | |
| Asst to Office Secretary | |

B. What experience have you had in labor, farm, co-op, community, etc groups? What offices and responsibilities have you held in each?

I have had experience in the church and Sunday School in my community. I am a member of the church choir, and hold the office of Secretary of Sunday School.

I am a member of the local chapter of Jack and Jill Club of America, Inc

## V

A. Is there any current issue in the local, national or international situation about which you feel very strongly?

Desegregation of the schools, racial situations and housing for Negroes.

B. If you have participated in activities revolving around a public issue, problem or incident (i.e., housing, discrimination, etc), describe briefly how you organized or what you did.

No, I have not participated in any of the above items.

## VI

A. What newspapers, magazines, and periodicals do you read? Indicate whether regularly or occasionally. Which do you find most useful and why?

Pine Bluff Commercial - regularly

Arkansas Gazette - regularly

(I like the Gazette best and find it more useful because it is less bias and the news items are more liberal and national.)

Arkansas Democrat - occasionally

Arkansas State Press - occasionally; a Negro newspaper
Time - when looking for school material

B. What are your hobbies? To what extent do you engage in each?

My hobbies are: swimming, tennis, dancing, drawing and sewing. I engage in swimming and tennis during the summer, and the others at intervals during the year.

C. Have you traveled outside your state or in other countries? Give details.

I have been to seven states. They are as follows:

Mississippi - on a choir trip

Tennessee - on a visit and a choir trip

Georgia - went to school in the 9th grade when my mother was attending Atlanta U; also on a visit

Texas - visit

Illinois - visit

Alabama - visited Tuskegee Institute.

Kentucky - to Kentucky Lake for a day, picnic and visit

VII

A Name the person and /or organization from whom you heard of the Encampment Dr J B Jones

Name your sponsoring organization, If any Southern Regional Foundation

B. In view of your present educational and vocational plans, why do you want to come to the Encampment? What do you want to get from it and what do you think you can contribute to it?

Because of the opportunity to visit New York and to see the many interesting sights which the city affords.

Because of the opportunity to fellowship and associate with some people from other parts of the country and abroad.

List two references (not relatives) who know you well. At least one should be a teacher, employer, or supervisor:

A. Name Dr Ida R Bellegarde Title or Position Professor of The Social Sciences

Business or Organization A M and N College Address Pine Bluff, Arkansas

B. Name Mr M D Jordan Title or Position Principal

Business or Organization Merrill High School Address 1208 West Pullen Street Pine Bluff, Arkansas

INSTRUCTIONS

4. Encampment fees will be paid by

b) sponsoring organization Southern Regional Foundation

7. In applying for admission, I hereby agree to abide by all the rules and regulations of the Encampment.

Date June 10, 1957

Signature Marian A Watson

BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I am Marian Anderson Watson, the 18 year old daughter of the Late Dr John Brown Watson and Mrs H R Watson. My birthplace is Atlanta, Georgia.

My schooling began at the age of 2½ years old when I was enrolled in the A M and N College Nursery School, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. At the age of five I entered the A M and N Elementary Demonstration School. There I finished the eighth grade in a class of 15.

Beginning my high schools days, I did my first year at Booker T Washington High School in Atlanta, Georgia, where my mother was in graduate school in Atlanta University. My last three years in high school were done here in Pine Bluff at Merrill High School. I finished with a graduating class of 115. I was number 14, with a grade point average of 85, requiring only 32. The fall of 1956, I entered the freshman class of A M and N College where there were close to 300 students in the class.

The other major points that could be put in my autobiography have been distributed under various questions in the application blank.

Ark

An Introduction

to

# The Arkansas Council On Human Relations

Incorporated

July, 1955

NON-DENOMINATIONAL

NON-POLITICAL

EDUCATIONAL

BI-RACIAL

211 South Izard

Little Rock

Arkansas

FRanklin 4-4521

# ACHR

**associates Arkansawyers of both races and of all creeds who seek "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all people" in Arkansas. It uses and advocates the workshop and conference table before tensions tighten between the races rather than after they develop. It believes that the opportunities guaranteed in our Constitution can be made real for all citizens by majority leaders of local communities working together in mutual respect and in good faith with minority leaders. Working thus, any community can with integrity and without rancor remove inequalities based on race. This is the effective way for a community to "get ahead" and to speed progress in Arkansas. ACHR acts in the faith of all high religions, faith in men as children of God and brothers of one another.**

The unmistakable trend in the United States, notably during the last twenty-five years, is toward increasing the opportunities and the obligations of members of its minority groups. This gradual elimination of segregation on the basis of race here is a part of the world-wide movement of colored people toward freedom and full citizenship. It is clear that movement will not be turned back. It is based on democratic principles and religious ideals. To support it becomes the moral imperative for all citizens sensitive to these ideals.

Crucial in modern stable industry is efficient manpower. A priority for building Arkansas' industrial future is to increase and to equalize educational opportunities for workers. Here is the State's richest resource, quality manpower. Education on the basis of capability *alone* can utilize this resource and move Arkansas ahead. To deny educational opportunity to some because of race retards progress for all.

Equally crucial in international relations is America's failure or success in realizing fuller democracy *at home*. This is a *national* problem and concern. But for the world it is dramatized peculiarly in the *Southern region*. To fail *here* or falter long in fulfilling promised opportunities to Negroes means America loses more friends among democratic peoples of the world. Here we have an unparalleled chance to serve our country and the world.

◀ ***it is here***

◀ ***it is crucial***

***it can be smooth*** ▶

***we can do it*** ▶

***ACHR can help*** ▶

## the land of opportunity

**toward which ACHR mo
be his ability, not his ra
to their skill and achiev
and equality before th
housing, health, educa
be recognized as a crue
longer be imposed; whe
dignity and self-respect**

Transition to a fuller democracy can be smooth. Experiences in large places and small prove this, since the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation. This need no longer be a matter of theoretical debate. It has been done.

In this smooth transition the most successful communities are those where community leaders *of both races* and many organizations energetically cooperate. A pound of interracial experience is worth a ton of talk. Prejudice *shrinks* from committees of *friends* working on common concerns. To be done *right* it must be done *together*. Here, too, the slogan should be: "*We* can do it."

ACHR offers help to communities. Its individual members work with local groups where they live. They channel the services of the staff and state office to the local community—to churches, clubs, libraries, schools, newspapers, radios, unions, civic and professional groups.

The staff and state office is a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research, suggestive of action for local groups; a source of counselors for officials and school administrators, speakers and consultants for conferences and commissions; a center for ideas and information; an agency for correlation of efforts of individuals and organizations now working for better human relations in Arkansas.

---

**ves is an Arkansas "where the measure of a man will ce; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion ement; where all can feel confident of personal safety e law; where their will exist no double standard in ion, or other public services; where segregation will and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no re, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of , in recognition of his creation in the image of God."**

---

*what they say about*

## SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

### with which ACHR is associated:

**"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."**

—*Asheville Citizen*

**"A voice from the informed and moderate South."**

—*Christian Science Monitor*

**"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."**

—*Chattanooga Times*

**"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."**

—*Current Events*

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## ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

☐ An individual member ..... ($3.00)

☐ Husband and wife ..... ($4.00)

☐ College or High School Student ..... ($2.00)

☐ Contributor ..... $_____

(Membership includes $2.00 subscription to NEW SOUTH.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

Send_____copies of this folder to me.


## OFFICERS

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Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, Vice-Chairman ..... Pine Bluff
Mrs. E. M. Sparling, Vice-Chairman ..... Hot Springs
Mrs. Jesse B. Woods, Secretary ..... Little Rock
The Rev. Charles C. Walker, Treasurer ..... Little Rock

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Clarence R. Thornbrough ..... Little Rock
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The Rev. E. B. Williams ..... North Little Rock
M. W. (Mike) Willis ..... Little Rock
Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre ..... Conway

## STAFF

Nat. R. Griswold, Executive Director
Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., Associate Director
Mrs. Velma Powell, Secretary

ALL METAL SHAREHOLDERS COMMITTEE

POWER OF ATTORNEY

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS: THAT I (we) _____

_____,of _____

_____, of _____

County of _____, State of _____

hereby make, constitute and apoint Lawrence LaCourse and Harry Rouse or either of them, of Wyandotte, Michigan, my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my name, place and stead, to examine the books and records of the ALL METAL PRODUCTS COMPANY, a a Delaware Corporation, or it's subsidiary corporations, and all the by-laws and minutes therof; to vote my shares of stock, at any meeting of the shareholders of said Corporation, and otherwise to act in my behalf in the obtaining of information or in the conduct of said Corporation, either in any corporate activity, or in any court wherein the affairs of said Corporation might be involved, including the court of bankruptcy, as I might do if personally present.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have set my hand and affixed my seal this _____ day of March, A. D., 1957.

Signed _____ (Seal)

Signed _____ (Seal)

STATE OF )
) SS
COUNTY OF )

On this _____ day of March, A.D., 1957, before me a Notary Public in and for said County, personally appeared _____

_____ and _____

to me known to be the person or persons described in and who executed the foregoing instrument and acknowledged that ___he___ executed the same as his free act and deed.

_____
NOTARY PUBLIC, WAYNE COUNTY, MICH,
My Commission expires _____

To: All State Affiliates
From: Fred Routh

FUND ANNOUNCES $10,000 PRIZE

AMERICAN TRADITIONS PROJECT

Establishment of an American Traditions Project, which will award $10,000 for true stories of Americans whose actions "have advanced the cause of freedom and justice in their communities" was announced today by Robert M. Hutchins, President of The Fund for the Republic.

First, second, and third prizes of $2,500, $1,000, and $500 will be given for the best letter which bring to light recent incidents illustrating how groups or individuals have "successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience in the face of considerations of 'expediency'." Ten prizes of $100 each will also be awarded.

In each case an amount equal to the prize will be donated in the prize-winner's name to any tax-exempt charitable, philanthropic, educational or religious organization which he designates.

The American Traditions prize-winners will be selected by a panel which includes:

James Carey, President, International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO

General William F. Dean

Mildred McAfee Horton, former President, Wellesley College

Mr. Henry L. Nunn, former President, Nunn-Bush Company

The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church

Judge Samuel I. Rosenman

Most Rev. John J. Wright, Catholic Bishop of Worcester, Mass.

Mr. Hutchins said that the purpose of the American Traditions Project is to call attention to some of the "countless ways in which Americans are strengthening the tradition of fair play in their daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines."

Letters should be restricted to 1,000 words in length, should deal with events having taken place within the past 5 years, and should be postmarked before midnight, November 14, 1956

The writers may supply supporting documents, newspaper clippings, photostats, etc. These will become the property of the American Traditions Project, which shall have the right to make such use of them, including publication, as it may wish. Letters should be addressed to the American Traditions Project, Box 1803, Grand Central Station, New York 17, New York.

Mr. Hutchins asked the following questions which might be helpful to prospective letter-writers:

Is there a reporter, a lawyer, an editor, a judge in your town who saw to it that a man charged with a crime, and subjected to public pressure or prejudice, got a fair chance and a fair trial?

Do you know of a minister, a priest, a rabbi, who came to the defense of someone of another faith in a community where bigotry was on the rise?

Do you know of someone who prevented Communists from taking over an organization by un-American tactics and techniques?

Do you know of a school teacher, or principal, or Board of Turstees who refused to let outside groups interfere with free thought and free discussion in education?

Do you know of a businessman who refused to take advantage of false or malicious rumors about a competitor?

Do you know of a candidate for office who defended his opponent against lies, calumny, an unjustified smear campaign?

Do you know of a union man who defended an employer or foreman unjustly accused or condemned? Or of a businessman who defended a union organizer's rights?

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BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR ACTION ON DISCRIMINATION

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The most difficult problem in American life today remains -- the problem of securing for the Negro his rightful status as a first-class citizen. Segregation, the badge of inferiority which America imposes upon the Negro, still is with us. It is the most widespread of all discriminations against the Negro. It does not deny the Negro his rights -- it simply limits what it permits. But it is not the only form of discrimination; for, in parts of the United States today the Negro can still be denied altogether the right to work, to eat, to sleep, even to be buried. This inferior status imposed by the white man upon the Negro, has left deep, festering sores on the character and social order of the whole American people. It has irreparably damaged our chances for creative leadership in world affairs. Progress has been made toward ending racial discrimination in America, particularly in winning court reversal of many of the legal bulwarks of segregation. But the end of discrimination is nowhere accomplished. The inequalities bred by discrimination and segregation remain so widespread, so deeply a part of our culture, that years of enlightenment and litigation will be needed to surmount them. Exacting though the job may be, there is no alternative to our common goal of equality and justice for each American.

To provide WILPF members with background information that will assist them in formulating action programs to spur progress in the fight for racial equality, the Washington office has undertaken to compile a general review of current Negro-white relations in the United States, with emphasis on the progress and lack of progress, in the last decade. A brief historical setting for the issue is offered in the belief that race relations in the United States cannot be understood nor can they ever be permanently bettered, except as those who work for this betterment know the very deep roots of the racial discord. Those who would win equality for the Negro must first understand why he has been denied it and why this denial has persisted for so long.

## BACKGROUND

The Negro arrived in America before the Mayflower. He began arriving as a slave, imported and paid for by the white man, in 1619. But Negroes, probably of Moorish ancestry, had arrived as early as a century before with Spanish explorers Cortez, Menendez and DeSoto. One Negro, Estevanico, had himself led a party of exploration in the territory now forming New Mexico and Arizona. A Negro is even said to have been the pilot of the Nina, one of Columbus' ships. But it was as a slave for the white man that the Negro first came in large numbers to America. He was a slave for two centuries. Practically all Negroes in the United States have backgrounds of 100 to 300 years of American ancestry, far more than the average American can claim. Though further importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress in 1807, illegal importations continued on a large scale. The Negro population had reached 2,300,000 in 1830 and was 4,441,000 by 1860. Then followed emancipation.

It should be remembered that all parts of the country shared in the responsibility for slavery, either as importers, sellers or buyers, and that no section has a right to lay all the blame on the other. Rhode Island, for example, built 103 slave ships in 10 years and in 1770 that state alone had 150 ships engaged in the slave trade. Slavery in the Northeast was done away with by acts of gradual abolition by the states themselves. In the Northwest it never took root. In the South alone slavery flourished and spread. The area was primarily agricultural and slave labor proved most profitable in plantation production. In the year 1850, for instance, the South's profits from slave labor on tobacco, cotton, rice and sugar production, it has been estimated, were $136 million.

Margaret McCulloch, in a pamphlet on "Segregation", written for the Race Relations Department of Fisk University, pointed out that the most important thing the slavery system did, as far as segregation is concerned, was to establish a white-master, Negro-slave pattern. Not all Negroes were slaves and only about one white man in five in the

Southern states, and much fewer elsewhere, was a master. But the pattern was never reversed. The whole motive and drive for segregation is the continuation of the white-master, Negro-servant pattern, in Miss McCulloch's view.

Still more important perhaps in perpetuating segregation, and other discriminations, is the cultural and social disintegration which the removal from Africa into a life of slavery imposed upon the Negro. White Americans came to this continent voluntarily. They settled together. They brought with them European culture. Africans came to America against their will. They came from many tribes and spoke different languages and had different customs. But they were forbidden to settle together by tribes. They were sold and purposely scattered so that members of one tribe could not combine and rise up against their masters. They were prevented from replanting their culture in the new land. In this way, they became a people without a history, without a culture. As time passed, both white and Negro came to believe that Africans had never had a real culture of their own or done anything worth knowing about.

The fact is that while the Negro culturally was centuries behind his white captor, he did have a cultural past comparable in many respects to that of the white man. An examination of the culture of West Africa, Senegal and the Congo, areas from which Negro slaves were recruited, has shown it to rank in complexity high among the non-literate, non-machine societies over the world, being somewhat comparable in many respects to Europe of the Middle Ages. It is known, for example, that the natives of Africa were perhaps the first to smelt iron and forge instruments of usefulness and beauty. This is believed in part to account for the fact that throughout the days of slavery Negroes did practically all the South's blacksmithing, wagon-making and iron work, manned its factories, machine shops and mills and even in some cases ran its trains. Back in Africa they had been skilled weavers, rug makers, potters and wood carvers. In America they soon developed great skill as carpenters and masons and erected many of the South's most beautiful and stately structures. Africans also brought a fund of folklore and a distinct gift for music. The Uncle Remus stories about B'rer Rabbit and the wolf are said to be adaptations of native African folk stories of the gazelle and the lion and express the same philosophy. The Negro's native musical gift is universally recognized. The music he has created since he arrived on these shores is said by critics to be America's only distinct contribution to the music of the world. (See the pamphlet, "America's Tenth Man," published by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, 1947.)

Nevertheless, suppression in America of the African's own culture was complete. Only those personal talents and abilities which suited the white man's purposes, or at least did not threaten them, were allowed to survive. The only hope for the African in America, as the African himself came to see it, was to adopt the white man's culture. But this also was barred. The language he could and must learn and after long discussion, European-Americans decided that Africans in America might be allowed to become Christians. But that was all.

Miss McCulloch has written: "....Enterprise, initiative, independence, an alert, belligerent sense of personal freedom and personal honor -- which were set great store by in the white community -- were the exact opposite of the values commended and rewarded in the slave. In him it was a virtue to be obedient to command, to be docile and unquestioning, to show trust, compliance, smoothness, servility, happy acceptance of any fate. Thus the system created two different sets of social values. ....These two sets of social values tended of themselves to keep white and Negro apart and to give them a sense of distance from each other. ....To each group, the faults of the other group ... became the distinguishing mark. To the Negro, all whites were mean, hard, proud, domineering and violent. To the white, all Negroes were lazy, shiftless, irresponsible, untrustworthy and comical."

To this Miss McCulloch added: "....Even stereotypes are not made up; they grow out of the experience of people. The important thing to remember is that it was not whiteness or blackness that caused these traits even where they exist in the extreme. They are not biological or inborn, in white or Negro. They are the results of history, the master-slave relationship that existed in America for over two centuries."

SEGREGATION IN AMERICA TODAY

Of all discriminations against the Negro in America, segregation is the most widespread. Popularly it is often thought of as the discrimination, or at least a symbol of the Negro's second-class status in our society. It is, of course, the most open for all to see, but it is only one form of discrimination. Other discriminations exist -- denial outright of such rights as jury service, public office and even burial. In the South such outright discriminations as these are necessary, in the opinion of Margaret McCulloch, to maintain in force the practice of segregation itself. But it is a mistake today to think of segregation as wholly Southern. It was the South that wrote segregation into law, as its answer to emancipation and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing the Negro's right to full citizenship. But segregation is also all-American, as are the other discriminations practiced against the Negro. However, segregation is, and has always been, most firmly fixed in the 17 states in the South and its bordering areas. It is in these states that three-fourths of the 13 million American Negroes live. It is here only that segregation is the law.

The South: The South's segregation laws and regulations are too many and varied ever to be summarized in a small space. They are found in: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia. In addition, segregation has been practiced without sanction of law in the District of Columbia, much as in the 17 "segregation" states. Now, however, the District scene is changing, thanks to recent Supreme Court decisions. For instance, Court decisions have led to the beginning of integration in restaurants and public schools of the District.

The Southern segregation laws are written into some state constitutions. Some are acts of legislatures. Some are municipal ordinances. Others are commission rulings or police regulations. In all these states intermarriage between white and Negro is forbidden as a legal offense. In all these states, segregation laws require separate public school systems for Negro and white pupils. (It is these laws that the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, declared unconstitutional, in effect. But most of these states have vowed to fight to maintain segregation in their schools. For instance, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi have taken steps to turn their schools over to private groups which would voluntarily operate them on a segregated basis.) Almost everywhere in these states there are some sorts of laws, ordinances or regulations that forbid public eating places to serve Negro and white customers together. In most places they are forbidden to sit together in a theatre or other place of public commercial amusement, or in public transportation, such as trains or buses. About other things, the laws or regulations vary widely, from city to city, state to state.

Besides all these laws, there are customs which may be even more binding than the laws. Miss McCulloch has written: "Negroes are not to buy or rent homes in white neighborhoods. Negroes may not attend 'white' churches. Very emphatically Negroes and whites may not dance together. It is considered an offense for them to eat together even in a church or private home. In some places these customs may be broken with safety to life, limb or job, if it is carefully and quietly done by the people who 'know the ropes.' Even so, there is certain to be a good deal of resistance. Sometimes the offending group or person is merely threatened; sometimes he loses his job; ... rarely -- but sometimes -- he meets actual lawless violence. In all of this he can usually expect no protection from the law. Indeed the police in some cases are ordered to break up unsegregated meetings, or are used to intimidate and warn away people going to them. They may even interfere, on suspicion -- without orders. ...In the South, therefore, segregation is most serious because it has behind it law and custom and the threat of lawless violence. In the South, even the white man who wants freedom from segregation finds himself tied hand and foot by it."

The North: Segregation, while not the law outside the South, is in fact the practice in the North, the East and even the West. Many states in these areas have laws forbidding racial discrimination. The laws vary. Some are vague and are not much en-

forced. Others are more exact and have teeth in them. But in spite of them, there is segregation. This denial of rights to Negroes outside the South, in the view of E. Franklin Frazier, professor of sociology at Howard University, is more arbitrary and unpredictable than in the South and is due more to individual antipathies and whims.

The basic form of segregation in the nation outside the South is residential. In the "black ghettoes" of larger cities, like New York and Chicago, naturally the schools and churches and public accomodations all become Negro, much as if this were required by law. Besides this, there are other barriers erected against the Negro. Many Northern employers, like Southern, segregate their labor forces. Some employ whites only; others employ whites in the higher capacities and Negroes in the lower. Many hotels and restaurants will not serve Negroes. Many hospitals have segregation of staff. They allow only white doctors and nurses on the staff. Many medical schools segregate. Most private schools, many private colleges and almost all local churches practice segregation. There is also private segregation. Even where white and Negro youths attend the same schools, they and their families often will not mingle socially with each other. Discrimination against the Negro manifests itself in this way, finally, as a part of our social order and culture.

## THE NEGRO'S STATUS IN AMERICA TODAY

### ENFRANCHISEMENT:

First and foremost among the Negro's weapons in the fight for recognition of his equality, is the right to vote. The key to the legislature -- and, to some extent, the courts as well -- lies in the ballot box. Migration to the North and West, where the Negro has been relatively unrestricted at the ballot box, has been the principal means by which Southern Negroes have regained the vote they won in the 15th Amendment -- and then all but lost in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Negroes migrated during World Wars I and II in very large numbers to such industrial cities as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago. In World War II, more came to these cities but others went to cities of the Northeast and the West Coast. In 1940, 72 percent of the Negro population was located in 13 Southern states. In 1950, only 62.5 percent was in these same states. The importance of the Negro vote outside the South is now generally recognized. In certain key Northern states, according to a comprehensive study of "The Southern Negro" by The Nation magazine in Sept., 1952, Negro ballots can be decisive in close Presidential elections. And now in the West, the Negro vote also must be reckoned with. The Nation noted in its survey that local precinct returns in California showed the Negro accounted for President Truman's slight margin of victory in that state in 1948.

Even in the South, the Negro has been voting in growing numbers in the last decade. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People estimates that about 1,200,000 Negroes were qualified to vote at the end of 1952, compared to an estimated 750,000 in 1948 -- and 250,000 in 1940. These figures, however, should be measured against what the NAACP also estimates as a potential Negro vote of nearly 6,000,000 in the South. The Negro's recovery of the ballot in the South has been the result of an attempt to enter the Democratic party primary. These primaries -- tantamount to election in the South, where no other party has had any influence since the 1890's -- were restricted by law after the Civil War to "whites only." In a historic decision in 1944, the Supreme Court held the Democratic white primary unconstitutional. It is that date that marks the rebirth of Negro voting in the South. New obstacles, nevertheless, have succeeded the white primary. South Carolina removed all references to the primary from the statute book in a move to permit the state to formulate and enforce its own rules as a private white club. Alabama adopted an impossible voter-qualification test meant for Negroes only. Mississippi registrars also have seen to it that Negroes are unable to answer questions necessary to qualify as voters. Georgia purged its voter registration lists to eliminate Negroes. Throughout the South, there has been a long series of murders and terroristic incitements designed to prevent or discourage Negro voting. The result has been that legalistic devices, where subject to court test, have been ruled unconstitutional one after another.

But they have been succeeded usually by more legalistic devices. Violence, in urban areas, has been notably unsuccessful in stemming the growth of Negro voting. Only in rural areas do Negroes still rarely dare to vote.

Of the major barriers to the Southern Negro's enfranchisement, only the white primary has been removed. Five states -- Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Arkansas -- still exact a poll tax. And the refusal to reapportion representation in state legislatures -- no Southern state has been reapportioned since 1910, according to The Nation's survey in 1952 -- continues to make possible a seniority system that is used to control state legislatures. In Georgia, moreover, a county-unit system still gives two-thirds of the votes to one-third of the population.

EDUCATION:

Basic to Negro advancement is increased literacy. When Negroes were emancipated in 1863, 90 percent of them could neither read nor write. Until that time education of the Negro in many states was forbidden in the fear that it would make them discontented. In 1952, U.S. Census figures showed that the situation had been reversed: 90 percent of the Negro population had learned at least to read and write, but 10.2 percent was still illiterate. Illiteracy among whites, on the other hand, was only 1.8 percent of the population. The gap between white and Negro literacy, however, was steadily narrowing. In 1947, for instance, Census estimated that 11 percent of the Negroes in the country was illiterate, while white illiteracy in that year was 1.8 percent, and remained steadily at that figure through 1950.

Probably more significant than the overall illiteracy figures were their breakdowns according to age groups. These showed the highest rate of Negro illiteracy was among those 65 years of age or older. The rate was 33 percent. The lowest rate -- 3.9 percent -- was in the group aged 14 to 24. This reflected the growing rate of school attendance among the Negro population. Census figures for 1953 showed the enrollment rate for Negroes below 14 years of age was 97 percent, only a little off from the 99 percent for whites of the same age grouping. For those 14 to 17 years of age, 86 percent of the whites were enrolled in school, compared to 82 percent of the Negroes. The recent report, "The Negro and the Schools," published by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, revealed that Negro school attendance in the South increased twice as fast as the growth in total Negro population between 1940 and 1950. In the country at large, Census calculated that recently whites and Negroes have tended to start school at nearly the same age and about the same proportion remain in school until they have passed through the compulsory attendance ages. These facts indicate both past and potential future improvement in the overall literacy rate for Negroes.

Nevertheless, non-whites (where the Bureau of the Census refers to non-whites, it includes along with Negroes, the Indians and Orientals of the population) complete considerably fewer years in school, on the average, than does the total population. The 1952 census on educational status showed:

Persons 25 years of age and over, grades completed

| Year | Total Population | Non-Whites |
|---|---|---|
| 1947 | 9.6 | 7.4 |
| 1952 | 10.3 | 7.7 |

Persons 25 years of age and over, education attained

| | Total Population | Non-Whites |
|---|---|---|
| Less than five grades | 9 % | 30 % |
| High school education | 38 % | 15 % |
| Four years of college | 7 % | 2 % |

Though there are still fewer high-school and college-educated Negroes than whites, this gap between the races is narrowing. Around 1900, according to a statement made in a 1953 radio broadcast by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, state-supported colleges in the U.S. had only 400 Negro students. Private colleges and univer-

sities accounted for another 2,500. As late as 1939, Dr. Johnson said, one-third of the South lacked standard four-year high school facilities for Negroes. But within a generation, attendance of Negroes at colleges and universities in the U.S. has trebled. Since 1940, it has leapt from 48,000 to 75,000. Between 1930 and 1950 enrollment of Negroes in high schools rose from 112,000 to 338,000, he said.

School Segregation: In the South, where the races have gone by law to separate schools, the facilities themselves were supposed to be equal in condition and in the opportunities offered. This equality never did in fact exist. The inequality has accounted for a number of Supreme Court decisions since 1950 under which state-supported universities such as Oklahoma and Texas were ordered to admit Negroes to their graduate and professional schools. The New York Times reported Sept. 11, 1954, that in the 1953-54 school year, 2,000 Negroes attended previously all-white colleges or universities. They were enrolled in 24 on the graduate or professional level, in 13 on the undergraduate level, and in 46 private denominational colleges. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, which banned segregation in public schools, applied to higher as well as grade school education, according to the Court's own interpretation of the decision. It was largely to circumvent such a decision as this that the South since 1940 has made greater efforts than ever before to improve Negro education -- within the segregated system. For example, the Ford Foundation's 1953 report on "The Negro and the Schools" found that in 1940 the expenditure for Negro pupils was 45 percent of the expenditure for white pupils. But by 1950, the expenditure had risen to 75 percent. In rural areas the expenditure for Negro pupils was still only 60 percent of that for white pupils. Teachers' salaries (in 12 states) in 1940 were $894 for whites, against $487 for Negroes. By 1952, the gap had narrowed so that whites got an average $2,740 and Negroes $2,389. Moreover, white and Negro teachers now have on the average virtually the same years of college training -- 3.8 years, against 3.5 years. In 1940, whites had 3.4 years against 2.7 for Negroes.

JOBS AND EMPLOYMENT:

Inequality of opportunity to work and advance, to express and utilize his talents and knowledge, remains the principal source of frustration, bitterness and maladjustments among Negroes. Only a few blows have been struck against this evil, but these have been enough to render irreparable damage to this form of discrimination.

FEPC: The first major strike was on June 25, 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, seeking to prepare the nation for possible entry into World War II and desiring to utilize the nation's human resources to the full, established a Fair Employment Practices Committee, and instructed it to seek the elimination of discriminatory practices in government and private employment related to the war effort. During the life of this Committee, a marked advance occurred in hiring policies of private business and government and the membership policies of labor unions. Factors in this advance were the short labor market and the sense of unity among the people. But a big factor was the FEPC.

Four out of five cases which arose during the life of the Committee, according to President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, involved Negroes. (The other cases were on account of religion, ancestry and national origin.) The FEPC as a practical matter had no enforcement powers of its own, nor recourse to courts. Its effectiveness, the Civil Rights Committee believed, was due to its success as a body of mediation. During its most active two years -- 1943-44 -- FEPC closed an average of 250 cases a month, about 100 of which were satisfactorily adjusted. FEPC's work ended in June, 1946, when Congress failed to appropriate funds for the next years.

State FEPC's: Even before the end of the federal FEPC, states had begun to pass their own fair employment practices legislation. Since March, 1945, when the first such legislation was enacted in New York, 10 other states and 25 municipalities in nine states have adopted some form of so-called FEP legislation. A survey made in 1953 by a Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee showed that only seven of the state laws were enforceable but that most of the municipal ordinances grant the administering agency enforcement powers. It was estimated that the areas having enforceable laws included 2/3 of the Jews of the country but only 1/8 of the Negro population.

States and municipalities having some form of FEP legislation are: Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin. Ohio: Akron, Campbell, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Girard, Hubbard, Lorain, Lowellville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Warren, Youngstown. Pennsylvania: Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia, Sharon. Illinois: Chicago. Indiana: East Chicago, Gary. Minnesota: Minneapolis. Wisconsin: Milwaukee. Arizona: Phoenix. California: Richmond. Iowa: Sioux City.

Enforceable laws exist in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington. An eighth state, New Mexico, has a similar law but it has not been in operation because the state legislature has failed, at least through 1953, to appropriate funds for its enforcement. A ninth state, Colorado, has a FEP law that has educational provisions with respect to private employment but the enforceable provisions apply only to public employment. Two more states, Indiana and Wisconsin, have authorized agencies to attempt to eliminate employment discrimination by conciliation but have granted them no enforcement powers.

For the cities, only Minneapolis and Philadelphia have enforceable ordinances that have been in effect for more than two years. The Minneapolis law became effective in 1947, the Philadelphia law in 1948.

The Subcommittee's survey found that the content of the various FEP laws varied greatly, as did their effectiveness. The one precise fact uncovered was that where enforceable laws have been in operation, a total of 5,900 cases were received or initiated up to mid-1953. Of the total, some form of discrimination had been found and eliminated in 2,800 specific cases. And in only six of these had an administrative agency found it impossible to settle the matter by conciliation. In the six cases, a formal hearing was held by the agency administering the FEP law. Thereafter, five cease and desist orders were issued. The Subcommittee concluded that the small number of cases handled by the agencies was probably due to the facts that (a) protection of civil rights is a comparatively new legal concept, (b) that laws have been in operation only a few years, and (c) the agencies themselves have been cautious and tended to stress educational rather than compulsory powers.

The Federal Government: The Civil Service Commission has long had rules against racial discrimination in government employment. Various department directives and executive orders have restated this policy of non-discrimination from time to time. However, about a fourth of the complaints docketed by the federal FEPC for the fiscal year 1943-44 were against the federal government itself. In 1947, the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital made a sample survey of Negro and white workers in one government agency to check on promotion and resignation. It was found that whites had received 12 grade promotions in a total service of 22 years, for an average of one promotion for each two man-years of service. The Negroes had two grade promotions in a total service of 28 man-years, or one promotion for each 14 man-years. In other words, the NCSNC pointed out, it took the average Negro seven times as long as the average white to get a promotion.

In response to criticism directed at these facts by his special Committee on Civil Rights, President Truman in 1948 established a Fair Employment Board within the Civil Service Commission. However, the CIO-Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, in April, 1954, concluded after a special study that "discrimination does continue to exist in almost all federal agencies." Among continuing practices, according to the union, are discriminatory recruitment and a failure to inform employees and prospective employees of their rights and remedies under the existing program. The union blamed the executive branch for attempting to solve individual complaints on a case-to-case basis and for failing to develop a "vigorous, long-range plan of elimination of the cause of discrimination."

Discrimination's Effect: Two-thirds of the nation's population -- and a full 85 percent of the Negroes -- live in areas where no FEP laws exist. Even with FEP laws on the books, the persistence of employment discrimination everywhere still forces many Negroes into low-paying and often menial jobs, such as common laborer and domestic servant. For instance, in 1940, the Bureau of the Census reported:

"Striking differences between the occupations of whites and Negroes were shown ... Farmers, farm laborers and other laborers constituted 62.2 percent of all employed Negro men and only 28.5 percent of all employed white men. Only about 5 percent of all employed Negro men, compared with approximately 30 percent of employed white men, were engaged in professional, semi-professional, proprietary, managerial and clerical or sales occupations. Skilled craftsmen represented 15.6 percent of employed white men and only 4.4 percent of employed Negro men ..."

In 1950, the Bureau of the Census reported figures showing some improvement in the Negro's situation, but these figures nevertheless showed a continuing disparity. Compared to the total population, the Negro's position was shown to be as follows:

Farmers, farm laborers and other laborers constituted 47 percent of all employed Negro men but only 23 percent of all employed persons. This means the number of Negroes in this occupation grouping dropped relatively faster than did the number of all such persons so employed. Again, the professional, semi-professional, proprietary, managerial and clerical or sales occupations engaged only 9 percent of all employed Negro males, though this nearly doubled the 1940 figures, while the number of all persons in these occupations remained at 30 percent of the population. Skilled craftsmen represented about 7.6 percent of employed Negro men, a relatively large increase over the 1940 number, while the number of all persons working as skilled craftsmen were 18.5 percent of the total working force.

For the Negro in the South, there was also some -- though slight -- improvement in employment opportunity. Lewis W. Jones, director of research on the Rural Life Council of Tuskegee Institute and an authority on problems of the rural South, wrote in The Nation magazine in September, 1952:

"In 1940, 40 percent of the non-whites in the South were employed in agriculture; in 1950, 29 percent. In the same period, the percentage employed in manufacturing increased from 10 to 14 percent, and there were small percentage gains in other industry groups. Industrial workers classified as operatives and the like represented 8.9 percent of non-whites employed in the South in 1940, compared with 16.1 percent in 1950. Private household workers and laborers accounted for 31 percent of employed non-whites in 1940 and 30 percent in 1950 ..."

But, Jones added:

"Regardless of how many more Negroes were employed in some categories in 1950 than in 1940, it is well to observe that only 1.6 percent of employed non-whites were clerical or kindred workers ... 4 percent were craftsmen, foremen and the like ... and 4 percent were professional and technical workers. ...In none of the occupations in which Negroes made significant gains during the past decade does their proportion of the total number of workers approach the proportion of Negroes in the population. ...The pattern that has circumscribed the industrial employment of Negroes continues to operate. ...No serious attempt to change the pattern has been made by either employers or unions in the new industries that have moved to the South."

In line with Jones' latter conclusion are the results of a 1953 survey by the National Planning Association, a private research organization. The survey covered 108 separate establishments in the textile and tobacco industries, with a total employment of 105,000 workers, including 17,000 Negroes. The results showed that a great majority of the Negro employees held unskilled or "dirty" semi-skilled jobs. In the firms studied, the division of labor between white and Negro workers had remained fixed at least since 1940. Negroes were totally excluded from clerical or executive positions in white-managed firms. Almost all Negro workers were supervised by whites. Hiring and firing was left to white foremen. Members of the two races were virtually never engaged alongside one another in identical operations. Employers, the report added, held back from upgrading Negro employees owing to fear of incidents. Textile mill owners, as a general practice, restricted to 10 percent the ratio of Negro employees to whites. Among 70 textile mills examined in the Carolinas and Virginia, less than 8 percent of the labor force was Negro.

The Negro's Income: If he can get himself hired, the Negro worker often finds he is being paid less than other workers. This wage discrimination is sharply evident in studies made of individual cities and is especially exaggerated in the South. The Research and Information Department of the American Federation of Labor found after World War II, for instance, that the average weekly income of white veterans ranged from 30 to 78 percent above the average income of Negro veterans in 26 communities, 25 of them in the South. In Houston, to cite a case, 36,000 white veterans had a weekly income of $49, and 4,000 Negro veterans had an average income of $30 -- a difference of 63 percent. These differences are not caused solely by the relegation of Negroes to lower types of work. The final report of the FEPC in 1946 stated that the hourly wage rates for Negro common laborers averaged 47.4 cents in July, 1942, compared with 65.3 cents for white laborers. Nor can the disparity be blamed entirely on differences in education and training. The median annual incomes of Negro and white high school graduates, and Negro and white college graduates, are far apart. The 1940 and 1950 Censuses revealed:*

| 1940 Median Income | White | Negro |
|---|---|---|
| High School Graduate | $1,454 | $ 775 |
| College Graduate | 2,046 | 1,074 |

| 1950 Median Income | White | Negro |
|---|---|---|
| High School Graduate | $3,285 | $2,245 |
| College Graduate | 4,407 | 2,633 |

*These figures show that Negro median incomes, for both high school and college graduates, have gone up at a relatively faster pace than income of whites on these educational levels. But they still remain at about one-third lower.

Education aside, median income of all whites in 1952 was about twice that of non-whites. White females had a median income of $1,300, compared with $500 for non-whites. Wage and salary workers among the population, both white and non-white, did slightly better than the average income earner, while non-whites in this group increased their earnings more rapidly than whites between 1939 and 1952. Census figures showed the following:*

| Median Incomes, Wage and Salary Workers | 1939 | 1952 |
|---|---|---|
| Whites, male | $1,100 | $3,500 |
| Non-whites, male | 500 | 2,000 |
| Whites, female | 700 | 2,000 |
| Non-whites, female | 200 | 800 |

*Thus, while the white wage and salary worker trebled his income, the non-white's was quadrupled between 1939 and 1952.

For families, the position of non-whites vis-a-vis that of the total population improved scarcely at all in the decade between 1940 and 1950. From 1945 to 1952, the median income of non-white families went up from $1,538 to $2,338, or 52 percent. But white families increased their median income from $2,718 to $4,118 in the same period, or 51 percent.

HOUSING:

Segregation of housing is probably the most widely practiced of all forms of segregation in the United States. It is found everywhere in the country, particularly in the cities, where the Negro population has expanded in recent years. In 1940, for instance, 48.5 percent of the Negro population lived in urban areas, but in 1950 a full 62.5 percent were living in the cities. Like other groups of workers moving into the city, they started in the lowest paid jobs, unskilled and unorganized. They moved into the poorest sections of the cities to live. Segregation followed. When they got enough money to move into decent homes, they could not go. Segregation hemmed them in. Nowhere is this more apparent than in such cities as New York and Chicago. Segregation of housing has led wherever it exists to segregated schools, churches and public accomodations. For instance, in a city like Philadelphia where schools are supposed to be integrated, many Negro chil-

dren never have white classmates because they must live and attend school in Negro neighborhoods. Likewise, the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the schools of the Southern area will not produce fully integrated schools until housing also is integrated.

Overcoming housing discrimination will be a great task, primarily because it is private and personal discrimination and, therefore, not subject to effective legal attack. For instance, segregation by housing has been accomplished principally through the device of restrictive covenants. These are agreements of whites not to sell, rent or lend their property to Negroes (though the agreement sometimes also excludes Jews or "anyone except Caucasians"). Restrictive covenants were ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1950, but this simply meant the agreements could not be enforced by any court. When restrictive covenants are private agreements voluntarily entered into nothing can be done to prevent their use. Therefore, they continue to figure in real estate transactions. Besides restrictive covenants, real estate men keep lists of property as "Negro" and "white" and will only do business on that basis. Banks and loan companies often will not lend money for Negroes to build in "white" areas.

Public Housing: Improvement in Negro housing opportunities has occurred in the last decade, thanks largely to federal public housing. This was the view expressed by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee reported that the Public Housing Authority has "tried to allocate public housing fairly, to make certain that equal standards are maintained ... (and has operated) housing projects with mixed racial occupancy ... with great success." The Federal Housing Authority, which provides mortgage insurance for private builders, soon after World War II abandoned its previous policy of encouraging racial restrictive covenants on projects built with its support, the Committee also noted. Yet the NAACP still finds the FHA, and the PHA in certain of its operations, guilty of providing government aid for housing that is forbidden to Negro users. The NAACP announced May 18, 1954, following the Supreme Court's decision against public school segregation, that its major goal in the courts will now be elimination of residential discrimination.

Condition of Housing: The 1950 Census of Housing showed generally that housing improved from 1940 to 1950. In Negro housing, most of the improvement occurred in the area of home ownership. The quality of white housing was much superior to that occupied by non-whites. Here is a resume of the Census findings, as they related to white and non-white:

> Although the non-white population has increased about the same or faster than the white population since about 1920, the rate of increase in the number of dwelling units occupied by non-whites lagged far behind the increase in white households. From 1940 to 1950, the growth in households was 15 percent for non-whites, compared to 24 percent for whites. "Spreading out" occurred to a greater extent among whites than among non-whites. The white population per occupied dwelling unit decreased from 3.7 in 1940 to 3.5 in 1950. The non-white average remained at about the same figure, even increasing a little, from 4.1 in 1940 to 4.2 in 1950. This decline in the size of the average household may be attributed to the decline in the birth rate and to the longer life span and growing tendencies among older people to maintain separate households. (No explanation was offered for the failure of the size of Negro households to decline recently, though undoubtedly a factor is the inferior economic status of the Negro requiring parents and children to live together.)
>
> The improvement in Negro housing in the last decade has come in the area of home ownership. Among both whites and Negroes in 1950, there were 23,559,900 home owners, an increase of 8,360,000 or 55 percent, over 1940. But in the same decade, home owners among non-whites increased by about 70 percent, from 777,671 in 1940 to 1,318,996 in 1950. However, the proportion of home owners among the white population was about 57 percent, while only 34 percent of the Negroes owned their own homes.
>
> The housing occupied by non-white households was of much poorer quality than that

occupied by whites. The following Census table illustrates the difference:*

Condition and Plumbing Facilities by Color of Occupants

| | White | Non-White |
|---|---|---|
| | (Percentage Distribution) | |
| Dilapidated: | | |
| (i.e. so run down or so poorly built that it does not provide adequate or safe shelter for occupants) | 6.7 % | 33.4 % |
| Not dilapidated: | | |
| No running water | 9.9 " | 21.6 " |
| Lacking private toilet or bath | 12.2 " | 14.3 " |
| Cold water only, with private toilet & bath | 3.1 " | 4.0 " |
| Hot water, private toilet & bath | 68.2 " | 26.8 " |

*These statistics show in a sum that 32 percent of the white dwellings, but 73 percent of the non-white, were either dilapidated or lacked modern plumbing facilities.

HEALTH:

Length of Life: The right to life is still not shared equally by white and Negro in the United States. In 1951, the average Negro lived only 61.3 years, compared to an average 69.3 years for whites. This eight-year difference, however, should be measured against the 14-year difference in the life spans of white and Negro in 1900, when the white man usually lived 47 years, the Negro only 33. There has been especially rapid improvement since 1940. In that year the white man had an average life of 64.2 years, the Negro 53.1 years. As many years have been cut from this 11-year difference in the last single decade as were cut from a 14-year difference in the four decades after 1900.

PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS:

Library Facilities: In 1941, Dr. Eliza Atkins Gleason's pioneer survey of the "Southern Negro and the Public Library" revealed that only 16 communities in the South gave any type of service to Negroes through their main public libraries. Four of these -- all in Kentucky and Texas -- offered full service; the other 12 limited Negro patrons to separate reading rooms, partial privileges, or service in the summer months. There were then about 100 Negro branch libraries.

In January, 1954, Dr. L. D. Reddick, chief librarian of Atlanta University wrote in a report for the Southern Regional Council that there now are about 200 Negro branch libraries in the South. In another study of Negro library facilities, also made on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, Anna Holden reported that 83 cities and towns in the South now permit Negroes some type of use of the main public library, 59 of them giving full service. Another 11 localities have one or more integrated branch libraries. While no figures were given on how many Negroes live in the 94 communities having some integrated library service, Dr. Reddick, in his report, implied that the number is relatively small. For example, he stated that 6,500,000 of the South's 10,000,000 Negroes have no library service whatsoever. One million of these, he said, are barred solely because they live in communities where tax-supported libraries are for "whites only." The other third of the South's Negro population having access to some library service are limited, for the most part, Dr. Reddick said, to the Negro branch. Thus, the 94 communities with some integrated library service must have, according to Dr. Reddick's figures, small Negro populations.

Public Transportation: Throughout the nation, the Negro finds a crazy-quilt pattern of discrimination in public transportation. These practices are widely varied and differ not only among the systems of public transportation but also within the systems themselves, as well as among areas of the country. The practices are too varied for summary in a limited space. The Race Relations Dept. of Fisk University has cited as one example of the difference in practice, the taxicab regulations of Nashville and Memphis, Tenn. In Nashville, any taxicab may carry any passenger. In Memphis, only white-owned and operated cabs may carry white passengers, and only Negro-owned and operated cabs may carry

Negro passengers. The Nation magazine wrote in September, 1952, that a Negro riding by bus from North to South might be able to hang onto an unsegregated seat as far as Jacksonville, Fla., but if he refused to move back after that "in accordance with Florida law" he might risk arrest for "disorderly conduct" or "disturbing the peace." While segregation and other discriminatory practices exist in public transportation in parts of the entire country, the practices are worst, as might be expected, in the South. Segregation prevails there in all intrastate transportation and usually in interstate services as well. It extends to railroad stations, bus terminals and airports. These practices persist despite numerous decisions of the Supreme Court which, in the opinion of the NAACP and other groups, clearly show them to be unconstitutional. For instance, on June 3, 1946, the Supreme Court barred segregation on interstate buses. But "Jimcrow" still rides buses. In 1950, segregation in railroad dining cars was banned, but "Jimcrow" still is not barred from all railroad dining cars. This has meant that the Negro, in practice, has to return to the courts and get enforcement of Supreme Court decisions on a case-by-case basis. Few Negroes are able or willing to do this. The NAACP has said the fight for the Negro's equality of access to travel facilities will be limited to the piecemeal, case-by-case approach until the Supreme Court -- or Congress -- places segregation, per se, beyond the law in public transportation. In 1952, the NAACP asked for "federal legislation eliminating segregation in interstate travel facilities."

THE ARMED SERVICES:

Perhaps the most successful of all attempts to end segregation on its various fronts has occurred in the Armed Services. The results of this policy, kept under cover for years by the military, has recently been fully documented in a book called "Breakthrough on the Color Front," by Lee Nichols. The following is a resume of Nichols' report:

> Through World War II, Negroes were used primarily as service troops. There were certain all-Negro combat units but they always proved unreliable. A start toward dissolution of these unsatisfactory units and experiments with service-wide integration was made in World War II when, faced with troop shortages, Negroes in service units were sought to volunteer for combat. It was found later that the closer white infantrymen had been to actual combat experience with Negroes, the more willing they were to accept integration as a good idea for the future. After World War II, the Navy and Air Force moved quickly toward integration of Negro personnel, though the Navy continued to retain its all-Negro Steward's Branch. There were no longer any all-Negro Marine units. It was not until after the Korean war began, however, that the Army really gave integration a trial. Gen. Omar N. Bradley has said the Korean war hastened Army integration by a decade. The cause again was a shortage of troops, as well as the continuing poor performance of all-Negro combat units. Racial integration was first ordered in Korea and the entire Far Eastern Command in 1951. It was later pushed in the European command and is considered nearly complete there. Integration in the U.S. itself came later. Seven camps visited by Nichols, including five in the South, had integrated troop activity.

Despite this positive progress toward service integration, the NAACP felt compelled in its 1952 report (with the American Jewish Congress) on civil rights in the U.S. to complain that there has been "no simple categorical declaration that all military segregation must be ended." It said "Jimcrow" still existed in the military.

**********
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This material has been prepared by the Washington office of the
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
214 Second Street N.E., Washington 2, D.C.
October 25, 1954.

Practical suggestions for use of this material at the community level are included and may be obtained separately if desired at 5¢ per copy or 3 copies for 10¢.

For additional copies of this material send orders to WILPF, Literature Department, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa. Price: 15¢ or 2 for 25¢. Quantity prices upon request. Suggestions for use of the material may be obtained also through the Literature Dept. at the prices quoted above.

Va

Feb. 7, 1957

Mr. Frederick Routh
So. Regional Council

Dear Fred,

Here's a complete set of our clippings, or nearly so, beginning in July when we organized our local chapter right on up until now.

Some of these, which I've placed in a separate envelope, guard with your life as I've no extras. Also, I'd like these back as soon as possible as I never know when I'll need them very badly. Reporters call on me for exact information and so forth.

The others you are welcome to keep if keeping them will do any good. But if you are just going to photograph them and throw them away, please shoot them on back, too, when you've finished with them as I can often find a good use for extra copies.

We're all looking forward to seeing you on or near the 14th. I do wish I had guest facilities, so you could be with us.

As ever,

~~Sarah Patton Boyle~~

Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 3183, Univ. Sta.
Charlottesville, Va.

Please habit x

As ever

Patty

Please pass the enclosed expense account along to the right person.

SARAH PATTON BOYLE ● BOX 3183, UNIV. STA. ● CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Charlottesville

Dear Fred, Feb. 17, 1957

Since talking together concerning the briefing you have asked for on the the town before you set out, those of us who are supposed to know the most are filled with horror at the specter of our ignorance, and much fear that we may not have the information you will want from us. Won't you please (although I strongly suspect that you are not a letter writing man by nature) drop me a note letting me know what kind of information you will want? Names of heads of organizations? If so, which organizations? Or more general information? You see, we are really at sea, and can't give you efficient help unless we know more.

We are very excited about your coming.

~~Cordially~~,

over —

Unless we notify you otherwise we will meet you at Madison Hall (the YMCA), right accross the street from the Rotunda, at the junction of Univ. Ave., and Rugby Road. On sober refection I fear we would cramped beyond comfort in my living room.

Enclosed are latest clippings.

10:30 A.M. Monday, March 4th it is.

Cordially,

Polly

~~Applications~~ ?

February 21, 1957

Mr. William F. Bagwell
Office of Development
Furman University
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

In Harold Fleming's absence I answer your letter of February 19. Mr. Fleming will probably want to add to this upon his return to the office the first week in March.

It is gratifying to find that a person in your position has taken an active interest and a leadership role in human relations activities in Greenville. I am sure you know Judge Richard Foster in that city, who was formerly the chairman of our South Carolina affiliate.

If you are considering further graduate work in the field of human relations, might I put in a plug for New York University. I did my doctoral work there after receiving my A.B. and M.A. from the University of Miami. I found the leaders at N.Y.U. sensitive to the problems of the South. You might contact Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Director, Center for Human Relations Studies, Graduate School of Education, New York University, New York, New York. Dan is a native Texas who is a twentieth century liberal and a mighty fine educator. Another chap at the Center is Dr. H. H. (Mike) Giles, another wonderful guy.

It is a little difficult to predict at this time what openings there may be a few years hence, but we and our state affiliates are often on the search for qualified staff people.

We would be glad to have you stop by our office any time you are in the Atlanta area. We will be happy to discuss with

you possibilities in the field of human relations and graduate work at the various university centers.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Encampment for Citizenship

March 21, 1957

Dear John:

Thank you ever so much for your recent note. I am looking forward to seeing you and having a good long talk. I assume that arrangements have been made for me to address the student body on early Monday morning and am therefore arranging to arrive in Atlanta late Sunday night, March 24th. I will be staying at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel and would appreciate your leaving with them a message with regard to the Monday morning meeting, if one has been arranged.

I would also appreciate if you would be able to arrange any other meetings with students at Atlanta University, Spellman College, or any other place. In addition if you can arrange anything for Emory University with Pat Smith, that would be appreciated too.

Please notify President Mays of my impending visit and tell him I would like to spend a few minutes with him while I am out at Morehouse if he can spare the time.

With very warm regards,

Alexander Brooks
Field Director

Mr. John Hope, III
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

AB:dw

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Encouragement for Citizenship

March 21, 1957

Gentlemen:

This is to inform you that I am arriving in Atlanta at approximately 1:45 A.M., on the morning of March 25th, by Capital Airlines, and will therefore be at your Hotel on a very late arrival. The room has been reserved for me on the night of March 24th as per your confirmation of March 7, 1957.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander Brooks
Field Director

Dinkler Plaza Hotel
98 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta 1, Georgia

AB:dw

AIRMAIL

Encouragement for citizenship

March 21, 1957

Dear Pat:

I am coming down to Atlanta for three days beginning with Monday of next week and will be staying at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel. If you can arrange any kind of meeting with Emory students for purposes of recruitment I would appreciate it. If you do make some arrangements for me, please check with either Fred Routh of the Southern Regional Council, or with John Hope at Morehouse, so there should not be a conflict of time.

I am looking forward to seeing you again.

Cordially yours,

Alexander Brooks
Field Director

Miss Patricia Smith
Box 219
Emory University, Georgia

AB:dw

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

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June 17, 1957

Dear Fred:

Thanks ever so much for your very lovely note concerning my "promotion" into academic life. One of the best parts of making a change like this is receiving the good wishes of people whom we respect and carry in great affection.

I am writing this to keep you up to date on the number of candidates who have come through the Southern Regional Council. Just this morning five additional applications were received, three from the Arkansas Council, one from the South Carolina Council and one from the Louisiana Council. Assuming that these will all be accepted, that makes a total of nine, as of this writing.

I needn't tell you that we are very pleased with the nine applicants that have come through you. While we could, naturally, use more, the number is a respectable one and the quality of the applications appears to be very good. We are grateful to you, sir, for past, present and future favors. I am staying on at the Encampment until the end of this month, at which time the Encampment will begin at Riverdale, and I will start my preparations for the fall term at Rutgers. So, if you have any need to reach me during the next couple of weeks, I will be here or at home.

You will be glad to know that the enrollment this year at the Encampment has been shaping up extremely well and we are expecting a very good turnout, both qualitatively as well as quantitatively. There have already been 133 applications and we still have two weeks to go, when the rate ~~begins~~ seems even higher. Some of these have already been rejected, of course, but it looks as though we will have about 140-150 of the very best.

My best wishes to everybody at the Council.

With warmest regards,

Cordially yours,

Alex.

Alexander Brooks
Field Director

AB:ly

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Wisconsin Youth Committee
Young Adult Council—National Social Welfare Assembly
YWCA—Los Angeles, California

(List Incomplete)

(Associate Member of Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly)

RNA
FBR
Return to MF

December 3, 1957

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm
Executive Director
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
4435 Blenheim Road
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Hugh:

Many thanks for your letter and the copy of your fiscal audit. It is good to have this for our files.

Fred Routh will shortly be getting out to all the state councils a memo describing reporting procedures under the new financial arrangement. It won't be necessary to file financial statements more often than quarterly, but I am asking Ruth Alexander to send you additional copies of the report form for your own use. sent 12/3/57 RNA

We have noted your change of address.

With good wishes for the work and best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

# KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

*Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.*

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LOUISVILLE 7, KENTUCKY

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November 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am sending herewith a copy of the report of the auditor for the fiscal year of 1956-57.

This will advise you that the Council has closed its Frankfort office and operations have been moved to Louisville for the time being. Until we can get a Post Office box, our address will be:

4435 Blenheim Rd.
Louisville 7, Ky.

Would you like to have a monthly financial statement from us under this new arrangement? In any event we would like to have some of the forms that were used for making this report because our auditor has now set our books up with it and the bookkeeping has been greatly simplified.

I hope that all is going well with you and with kindest personal regards, I am,

Cordially,

Hugh

Hugh A Brimm

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL SUNDAY

RECEIVED MAR 2 1956

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY

February 26, 1956

Sermon by

Reverend Thurston N. Davis, S.J.
Editor-in-Chief, America

"God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean...." Acts of the Apostles 10:28.

Over on the West side we have a Jewish neighbor named Arnold. Arnold keeps a newsstand and candy store near the corner of 108th Street and Broadway. Campion House, the editorial office of America, is just down the street, and all the young men like Father LaFarge who live there are necessarily omnivorous readers of newspapers. So, since we are well up on Arnold's list of best customers, we have come to know him rather well.

Arnold sells newspapers and magazines printed in as many as 18 languages. One day one of us said to him: "Arnold, how many languages are spoken by people who live within a block of here?" Arnold said he figured there must be at least twenty. We checked up on that figure later, and Arnold's guess was probably conservative. For any Sunday afternoon a person walking along Broadway or Riverside Drive in our neighborhood would probably hear Spanish and French and Yiddish; Hungarian, Russian, German and two dialects of Chinese; Italian and Greek and Portuguese; Japanese, Korean, Tagalog, Hindi and several other Indian tongues. Also, of course, an occasional snatch of English of the Manhattan variety.

In our neighborhood the Italian shoemaker keeps his shop two doors from the Oriental gift shop and three doors from the Spanish bodega. Our own house on 108th Street stands quietly shoulder-to-shoulder with the Japanese Methodist Church. Just around the corner on Riverside Drive, a Buddhist monastery rubs elbows with its next-door neighbor, the residence of the Provincial of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. You can see why, in that part of town, we all feel we qualify as people with some interracial experience.

Our upper-West-side New York neighborhood is not exactly typical of American life in general. In fact, I wonder whether anywhere in the world you could find quite so heterogeneous a band of fellow-citizens. Perhaps ancient Alexandria, or Athens at the time of her greatest 5th-century domination, or Rome at the height of her Empire might have been comparable. But in all those places there were constitutional and civic inequalities which have no place in our neighborhood. There are no metics, no bondsmen, no second-class citizens in New York. At least, there aren't supposed to be. Though we speak all the languages of Babel as we jostle each other in the subway--here we are, trying day by day to work out the great experiment of living together as fellow-citizens in a Republic.

This experiment is one of immense meaning. It has not yet completely succeeded, nor--thank God--has it failed. Without the bond of a single culture; without the ties of a common community built on language; often, in fact, without any of the visible supports of a community at all, we are trying to make a go of it. And, given time and patience and charity and the grace of God, we shall succeed.

Now what we are trying to accomplish in our neighborhood is exactly what you are doing in yours. It is what millions of people all over the globe--each in the peculiar setting of his or her tradition or culture, as these are being constantly modified by the twentieth century--are laboring to accomplish together.

For suddenly, by forces over which we as individuals have little control, we have all been brought out of our isolation, rooted up from our separateness, and crowded together in a world which is almost hourly shrinking in size. The jet plane, the radio, the TV antenna, the telephone cables which join our continents, the lightning-like character of the contemporary press, the new mobility of ideas, of techniques and even of persons--these startling and revolutionary qualities and characters of modern life are driving us together whether we like it or not.

You can step aboard a plane this afternoon and lunch tomorrow in Buenos Aires or Madrid. What may yet transpire this evening in Cairo or New Delhi will be in our headlines in the morning. The casual phrase of a diplomat in a magazine article published in New York will in a few hours be bandied about over the beer steins of East Berlin or the teacups of Peiping.

Our American eyes, by the marvel of television, are on the whole world. South Africa, Australia, Indonesia and far, frozen Antarctic constantly tell us their stories over a network of airwaves and wires and cables and rotary presses and newsprint. Conversely, our decisions and our deeds here in the United States are flashed at once to the ends of the earth.

All this makes us think immediately of something St. Paul once wrote In his first letter to the Corinthians (I, 12:26) he said: "And if one member suffer anything, all the members suffer with it, and if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it." He was telling the Corinthians about the Mystical Body of Christ Our Lord. Technology today, it would seem, has produced another kind of body. In some strange way the contemporary world has become a gigantic secular body, in which "there are indeed many members" (1 Cor., 12:21), and in which, as in Christ's Mystical Body, the eye cannot say to the hand, I do not need thy help; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Here, too, there are feeble members and strong ones,

comely members and uncomely. The secular wonder of electronics and the long arms of communication are fusing us into one, so tempering this great body together in due portion (to apply St. Paul's words once again) as to give more abundant honor where it was lacking.

Whether or not we choose to see here a secular analogy to the Mystical Body, all of us must at least concede that this dynamic thing has happened. Some mighty and ineluctable drawing-together of persons and institutions, of sovereign nations and of whole continents, is a fact which brooks no denial. Not even an Iron Curtain can forever pervert or destroy it. It may provoke joy or resentment or confusion or astonishment in us whose lives and destinies have been caught in it. But one things is sure: we cannot wish it away. It confronts us in the hard, palpable reality of accomplished fact. We are free to ignore it, resist it, delay it, yield to it, or gladly accept and work with it. But we shall not stop it.

Our gathering here today is not the place nor the time to weigh this fact in the balance. Fully, to appraise its good and its possible evil would be a tremendous task, one which only a man very close to the Heart of God and to the heart of contemporary man should attempt. Beyond all doubt, however, this new secular oneness of mankind, now increasing in great quantum-jumps all over the earth, is a reality with which all of us Christians should reckon. Our present Holy Father has repeatedly urged us to do so. On July 23,1952 he said:

> International unification is making remarkable strides forward, despite psychological obstacles which are neither easily nor quickly to be overcome. For technology, economics, politics and the needs of a common defense are exerting their pressure, and seem to have the power and the will to achieve their objectives.

Again, on December 6, 1953 he said:

> The institution of a community of nations, which today has been partly realized but which is striving to be established and consolidated upon a higher and more perfect level, is an ascent from the lower to the higher, that is, from a plurality of sovereign states to the greatest possible unity.
>
> The Church of Christ has, in virtue of a mandate from her Divine Founder, a similar universal mission. She must draw to herself and bind together in religious unity the men of all races and of all times.

A Catholic does not need to be told how important these great developments are to him and how intimately they concern him. "Catholics are saddled with a great responsibility," said Pope Pius XII (July 23,1952).

> They above all...must realize that they are called upon to overcome every vestige of nationalistic narrowness, and to seek a genuine fraternal encounter of nation with nation.

And still again that strong voice spoke out (same date):

> Catholics are...trained from their childhood to look upon all men, of whatever zone or nation or color, as creatures and images of God, as redeemed by Christ and called to an eternal destiny; to pray for them and to love them. There is no other group of human beings so favorably disposed, in breadth and in depth, for international understanding.
>
> Never before in recorded history have we had such an opportunity.

No age or circumstance has ever before given us so magnificent an occasion for knowing and loving all our fellow-children of God. Through the wire-services,

the TV set and speedy, cheap travel, people at the ends of the earth become our intimates as well as our neighbors. For we come to know them and they to know us, not in that faint, sometimes glamorous haze which distance casts over little-known objects, but with all the sharp, clear features which are reflected in almost face-to-face acquaintanceship.

At times that face-to-face encounter is not a happy one. Rousseau's noble savage looks a bit less noble when one can get as close to him as we can today. But it works the other way around, as well. For often the face we turn to the rest of the world is not a handsome one, either. The whole world has its eyes on us. It had its eyes on Tuscaloosa all this month. Our world audience will not note or long remember that Autherine Lucy's lawyer may have made charges which could not be substantiated, or that the milling crowd of news photographers may have had something to do with the hysteria of the crowd of rowdies on the Alabama campus. They will note and remember only that at a critical moment we denied our democratic principles and resisted our own laws in a passion of race hatred.

We should never forget that the majority of these new neighbors of ours are men and women of color. Two-thirds of the globe is peopled by non-white races. The Kremlin is making advances to them. Every interracial failure here, every injustice which goes unredressed, every tension which flares in Louisiana's Jesuit Bend or Chicago's Trumbull Park is bruited around the world with the speed of light. Often that light gets refracted through the strong, twisted lens of Soviet propaganda. We cut an ugly figure when we fail to live with our fellow-citizens in justice and in charity.

What must be the effect on the non-white peoples of the world when they read that our Supreme Court ruled that we proceed with all "deliberate

speed" to end the segregation of races, and then learn that a United States Senator on Feb.10,1956 spoke of the Court's decision as "judicial tyranny by a nine-man oligarchy"?

The United States today finds herself bearing the immense responsibility of the leadership of the free world. It is a responsibility we did not seek, but cannot surrender. Our every action, our every failure, is now loaded with importance and significance to all the world. Surely the Senator must see that he cannot effectively oppose subversion one day in Washington if soon after in Montgomery, Alabama, he aligns himself with those who promote it.

On this Interracial Sunday, however, we clearly recognize that the problem, and its solution, goes much deeper than this. Failure to resolve our racial tensions is not merely a blow at the diplomatic labors of our State Department. Failure here is not simply a major setback to national self-interest in the cold war. Failure in these vital concerns does more than compromise our leadership of the free nations of the world.

These are not problems which we can leave to the ingenuity of Mr. Dulles; or to the Congress, the President and the Supreme Court; or to the script writers of the Voice of America. They concern us all. At bottom they are religious questions. They touch us, each in his or her own person, as we stand before our God. In their tangled complexity they form a new crown of thorns pulled down on the bleeding head of Christ's Mystical Body. Each of us is responsible. Each is called on to answer for them. Each man, woman and child in America must do whatever he or she can do to solve them.

In New York City we live almost unbelievably interracial lives. For example, we have with us today in this city over a half million Catholic brothers and sisters from Puerto Rico. Some day, like all the minority groups

which this rich nation has assimilated, they will have lifted themselves socially and economically into full participation in American life. Their sons and daughters will attend our Catholic colleges. They will fill our law courts, our medical schools and our seminaries. They will be our engineers our Government officials and our business executives. They bring us the rich traditions of their own culture. It will fertilize ours with its rich Spanish fecundity. At the moment the Puerto Ricans stand without and knock. The years ahead will be filled with problems as they overcome a language barrier, help solve a public health problem, and free themselves from poverty and poor housing. But they will do all these things, because we shall aid them in the countless practical ways that charity and justice dictate.

New York is not unique as an interracial city. The problems caused by the color of men's skin are problems which affect every one of our forty-eight States. There is the Negro of the deep South, the Negro in our large northern cities, the migrant Mexican on almost every highway in the land, the Oriental of our far West, the Spanish American and the American Indian of our West and the Southwest. We are responsible to God for all of them. We must go to them all with love in our hearts, with justice in our hands, with courage in our will to right their wrongs, with vision in our minds and imaganations. The Catholic Church is their friend, their Mother if they will have it so. She has gone on record time after time in defence, not merely of charity, but of interracial justice, and she will do so again and again when the occasions arise. She sees them all as children of God, marked with the same stain of the redeeming blood of Christ. In her eyes, as in St. Paul's, (Colossians 3:11), "Here there is not 'Gentile and Jew,' 'circumcized and uncircumcized," 'Barbarian and Scythian,' 'slave and freeman', but Christ is all things and in all."

With the glorious St. Peter, let us today reaffirm the unbounded Catholicity of our faith. Peter said: "...God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean; therefore I came without hesitation when I was sent for" (Acts 10:28-29).

We too have been sent for. These brothers and sisters of ours call to us to come quickly and without hesitation. Today, as the scattered children of God are pulled closer and closer together in secular unity, let it never be said that we American Catholics were not on hand. Let no one ever claim that we failed our Mother the Church in this historic moment. For by our love, our courage and our hard work, we Catholics of this twentieth century can "baptize" this new unity of man. We can help direct these giant secular forces of our time to the building unto its fulness of Christ's Body on earth. We must not fail. And we shall not fail, if each of us dedicates himself to making interracial justice come true in his own neighborhood. The day we achieve it in our neighborhoods we shall have begun to establish it all over the world.

# THE CHRISTIAN IMPACT

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS • CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH • P.O. BOX 694 • NEW ORLEANS, LA.

## NOTED CRIMINOLOGIST DEBUNKS FALSE CHARGES ABOUT RACIAL DELINQUENCY!

RECEIVED MAY 21 1956

**Professor Reiss, of Vanderbilt University, shows that delinquency has no effect on school integration.**

Catholic parents, interested in the further desegregation of the Catholic school system, now have the straight facts concerning the oft-repeated charges about racial immorality and delinquency. These facts were explained by Professor Albert J. Reiss at the May 6th forum and panel discussion presented by the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South.

1. There is absolutely no evidence that the Negro is biologically or genetically a more delinquent type of being than the white. All the evidence shows that delinquency in both races is traced to the economic and cultural background of the individual.

2. The big risk in delinquency is not the school and who attends it, but the community around the school. Good neighborhoods, churches, playgrounds, housing and families, are the anti-dote for crime and delinquency.

3. Slums and low income breed vice. Both white and Negro slums have higher crime rates than the good residential areas. Cities with the worst slums have the worst vice; cities with the least slums have the least vice.

4. Arrests and convictions for delinquency are found most often in the lower income groups. Since discrimination and segregation force most Negroes into the lower income brackets, their delinquency rates are logically higher. It is surprising that Negro rates are not higher.

5. If we equalize the economic income and the educational opportunities for the races, we will also equalize the delinquency rates at a lower level. As long as Negro income is low and Negro schooling is poor, there will remain a racial differential in delinquency.

6. The average family income for New Orleans Negroes is less than half than the average for white families. Upper and middle class Negroes are no more delinquent than upper and middle class whites. But the proportion of lower class Negroes is much greater than that of whites.

7. Crime statistics report only arrests, convictions and crimes known to the police. They do not report the total number and kind of crimes committed, the miscarriages of justice, the discriminations by law enforcement agents.

8. Justice is administered differently for Negroes and whites; and white juvenile delinquents are often treated more leniently than Negroes. White youths "get away with" delinquent acts more easily and more frequently.

9. The bearing of illegitimate children is more common among Negro than among white girls; but contraception and abortion and hidden pregnancies are more common among white girls than among Negro girls.

10. Since the main goal of Catholic education is to develop better moral characters, Catholic schools with able teachers and competent principals can curb delinquency in all their pupils, white and Negro.

11. There should be no delinquency in Catholic elementary schools because the school can expel any child, regardless of race, who misbehaves. For this reason, desegregation should neither increase nor decrease the amount of delinquency in Catholic elementary schools.

12. White Catholic juveniles in New Orleans have a higher delinquency rate than white Protestant juveniles. Negro Catholic juveniles in New Orleans have a lower delinquency rate than Protestant Negro juveniles.

13. The Catholic Negroes in New Orleans are largely middle class people. This is an important reason why their delinquency rates are much less than those for non-Catholic Negroes who are mainly in the lower classes.

14. Since white Catholic delinquents are more numerous and have a higher delinquency rate, it is more likely that the Negro Catholic child will come into contact with delinquents in New Orleans than vice versa.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 694, New Orleans

WHAT DOES CHRIST ASK FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS?

CAN WE BE SATISFIED WITH MEDIOCRE MORALITY?

DARE WE BE FULL-TIME CHRISTIANS?

Father Howard, well-known preacher and missionary, gives the positive approach to Christian race relations.

Devoted followers of Christ cannot be content with minimum morality. It is the genius of Christianity to push ever forward and upward, and not to do merely what is strictly required. Neither our Church nor our country could have made such great social progress if our people had not practiced positive, and even heroic, social virtues.

The final forum in the present educational series of the CHR presents the positive Christian program for better race relations. It does not answer the question: "What must I do under pain of sin?" It does answer the question: "What is Christ asking me to do in imitation of His universal love?"

To help us understand the mind of Christ and the Church, to provide a program of prayer and virtue in race relations, the Commission on Human Rights presents:

FATHER CLARENCE HOWARD, S.V.D.

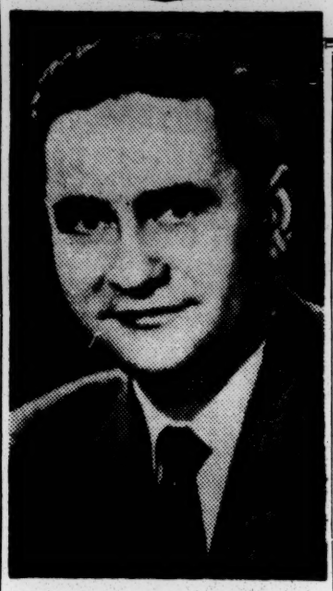
Saint Augustine's Seminary
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS

Sunday Afternoon
3:00 P.M., May 20, 1956

St. Joseph Academy
2116 Ursuline Avenue

Father Howard is well-known to New Orleans Catholics. Vice-provincial of the Southern Province of the Society of the Divine Word, experienced pastor and preacher, long-time seminary teacher, he was appointed to New Guinea to establish a seminary for his Order. We are fortunate that he can be in New Orleans at this time to address our public forum.



**DR. ALBERT J. REISS JR., chairman of sociology and anthropology at Vanderbilt university, will address an open meeting sponsored by the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South Sunday at 3 p. m. at the Cor Jesu High school auditorium, 4401 Elysian Fields. Dr. Reiss will discuss the comparative crime rates of Negro and white groups.**

# DR. REISS TALKS ON DELINQUENCY

## Environment, Not Race, Is Cause, Says Educator

Environment makes a youth delinquent, not his race, says the head of the department of sociology at Vanderbilt university, Nashville, Tenn.

There is no evidence, according to Dr. Albert J. Reiss, that the Negro is biologically or genetically a more delinquent or criminal type.

"On the contrary," he said in New Orleans Sunday, "all evidence points to the opposite conclusion. Such diferences as exist in the delinquency rates of Negroes and white are due to differences in social environment."

Dr. Reiss' public address on "Delinquency, Race and the Schools" was given Sunday in the auditorium of Cor Jesu High school at a meeting sponsored by the commission on human rights of the Catholic committee of the South.

**Questioned by Panel**

He was later questioned by a panel that included Dr. Daniel C. Thompson of the department of sociology, Dillard university; Dr. Donald P. Conwell, assistant professor of epidemiology at Tulane university; Mrs. Viola Weiss, superintendent of case workers for the Family Service Society; Dr. Robert A. Lystad, assistant professor of anthropology at Tulane and the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter chairman; and George Saporito instructor, sociology department at Loyola university.

Dr. Reiss pointed out that the picture may sometimes show a higher delinquency rate among Negro youths because:

1. Delinquency is found most often in lower income groups and discrimination compels Negroes to remain in low income groups.

2. Justice is administered differently, so that white offenders are often treated more leniently than are Negro youths.

**Family Is Weakened**

Slavery so weakened the family structure that common-law marriage is more frequent among Negro families, he said. Courts are reluctant to allow juvenile offenders to remain in these environments and send them to places of confinement.

"Negroes are perhaps more exposed to the less conventional institutions of our society," said Dr. Reiss, "since segregation generally confines them to the areas of highest vice and crime and permits vice and crime 'institutions' to center in these areas.

"There are fewer opportunities for association in conventional community institutions, such as the church, the community or recreation center, or with conventional business and political groups."

He said upper and middle class Negro children are no more likely to be delinquent than are upper and middle class white children.

**Recalls Survey**

Dr. Thompson recalled a survey made of juvenile court records two years ago which showed no delinquency among Negro children of parents living together, college educated and supported by a white collar job.

"The whole practice of discrimination," said Dr. Reiss, has generally meant both inferior education and inferior opportunities for advancement of Negroes as compared with whites.

"Why then should Negroes not experience hostility toward the white environment and the values he represents which have denied him an equal share? Why should he not turn, in part, with aggression against his environment?"

Schools—whether integrated or segregated — do not shape the pattern of youth so much as do the contacts the youth makes outside of school hours, said Dr. Reiss.

"The big risk is not the school and who goes to it," he said, "but who lives around the youth. Who are the child's friends? What kind of community does the family live in?

"To the extent that discrimination against Negroes leads to aggressiveness in the form of delinquency, school desegregation should somewhat reduce delinquency among Negroes."

# *Every Human Is Neighbor--Pope*

VATICAN CITY, May 5 (AP)—Pope Pius XII said Saturday that "every man" is one's neighbor and that intellectual justice is a requisite for a fraternal world.

The Pope spoke to members of the international committee for unity and university of culture, recently established here, whose members he received in special audience.

Answering the biblical question, "who is my neighbor?", the Pope said:

"The neighbor is every man the Negro of Central Africa or the Indian in the forests of the Amazon, awaiting spiritual goods more than material ones."

The Pontiff said that the gifts of civilization and culture are not lost in being spread, but enrich themselves with areas they conquer.

He said that in the past the most civilized nations at times have been wrong in their attitude toward people that came under their care.

"It is always necessary," said the Pope, "to realize that people have cultural elements of authentic value."

# *McAuliffe Says Integration Okay*

NEW YORK, (UP)—Gen. Anthony McAuliffe, commander-in-chief of the U. S. Army in Europe, said he did not agree with Gen. Mark Clark's stand against integration in the Army.

McAuliffe said, "Integration has worked very well and the military problem is to make use of the manpower available."

"Integration is not a real problem," McAuliffe said at a news conference. "It is accepted and no one questions it."

The four-star general, who won fame when he said "Nuts" to a German surrender demand at Bastogne during World War II, returned to the United States Saturday to retire from the Army on May 31.

# CHURCH VOTES FOR INTEGRATION

## Methodists Condemn All Racial Segregation

By GEORGE W. CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS, May 2 (AP)—The Methodist Church today condemned racial segregation "by any method or practice"—and laid down new laws to put the principle into action.

In a fervent display of unanimity, the big denomination's policy - making general conference swept through measures opening the door to full integration in the church.

The action brought delegates to their feet in a prolonged roar of applause.

"God has been with us," declared the Rev. C. Cooper Bell, of Lynchburg, Va. "He has worked a miracle."

The changes in the church constitution passed with only a few hands raised in opposition, eases procedures for all-Negro church units to move into the regular organizational framework.

**'Change of Mind'**

Edwin L. Jones, of Charlotte, N.C., said he had come to the conference "determined not to budge," in modifying the segregated system, but he had undergone a change of mine that must have been "the work of God."

"When I met with people from other sections," he said, "something happened."

The action went beyond that recommended by the church's Council of Bishops, who called only for a four-year study of problems.

**Hits All Segregation**

The conference also overwhelmingly approved a resolution, urging that "discrimination or segregation by any method or practice, whether by conference structure or otherwise, be abolished with reasonable speed."

Unlike the constitutional measure, the resolution is not legally binding on Methodists, but is offered for their guidance.

It calls on all Methodists to "actively work" to end racially discriminatory practices in their churches and community life, and asks pastors to admit members to churches "without regard" to color or race.

The statement, shepherded through the conference by a committee headed by Atty. Charles Parlin, of Englewood, N.J., says:

"The teaching of our Lord is clear that all men are brothers... there must be no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation."

It urges that "our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership, discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color or national origin."

America
*National Catholic Weekly Review*
Vol. XCV No. 5 Whole Number 2451

# Catholic Approach to The Race Problem

*Donald J. Thorman*

"I'M CONFUSED," the man said. He was earnest, in his thirties, obviously sincere, and he was pressing his point in the discussion period after a lecture on Catholics and the race problem.

"I try not to be prejudiced," he continued. "And I've had courses on the encyclicals and social principles in college. But I'm still confused. How can we approach something so big and complex and frightening as the problem of race relations and hope to solve it? The Popes have given us a kind of blueprint to guide us in solving economic problems but, outside of the Mystical Body, what have they given us as a guide to the race problem?"

This kind of "how do we approach the problem?" questions are being asked by many sincere Catholics who are disturbed by the revolver-at-our-head urgency of race relations in the United States and who are trying to grasp the situation in terms of the Church's teachings.

For them, and for everyone who is interested in defining the problem of interracial living in "Catholic" terms, there is what might be called a "Catholic" approach to the race question. (We should put Catholic in quotes, since in the social encyclicals the Popes attempt to remain on a natural-law level as much as possible so as to appeal to *all* men of good will, regardless of religion.)

Too many Catholics, even those at home with the papal social encyclicals, are inclined to look in piecemeal fashion on the questions posed by the reconstruction of society. And yet, Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno,* 25 years old this May 15, is translated as *On Reconstructing the Social Order,* not just reconstructing economic life.

It is indeed from this very document that we can get the clues we need to chart a "Catholic" approach to the race problem which will help to bring that problem into clearer focus and make it more understandable, and therefore easier to deal with.

In this historic encyclical, Pius XI demonstrates the need for the reform of morals and the reform of institutions as the two foundation stones for the reconstruction of society. If we are to build up a Christian society, we must work for both these reforms.

The application of these two lines of approach to race relations is as clear as their application to economic life, a fact which demonstrates their universality as effective tools in the solution of every major problem connected with the broad social question.

### ELEMENTS OF RACE QUESTION

The race problem itself is made up of two distinct, though related, elements: *prejudice* and *discrimination.*

Prejudice is primarily a personal, moral problem. True, it is tied in with a complex of psychological, cultural and social attitudes and considerations, but it always boils down to the individual who is prejudiced; prejudice is embedded in individuals.

Discrimination, on the other hand, is found in the very fabric of society. It is the practical outward expression of prejudice. It is the "institutional" part of the twofold approach of moral and institutional reform. Discrimination involves the laws and social customs

*Mr. Thorman is managing editor of* Ave Maria *and editor of* Act, *national publication of the Christian Family Movement. He was formerly (1952-56) managing editor of the* Voice of St. Jude.

which treat Negroes and other minority groups as if they were not quite human. It is institutionalized prejudice—that is, it has become more or less permanently ingrained into our social habits and institutions.

Jim Crow, for example, is a case of discrimination. It is bigger than an individual's prejudice. It is an institutionalized part of Southern culture with legal sanctions attached to shore it up. Segregation in education is another instance, as are the poll tax and the many more subtle forms of discrimination which hold the Negroes' freedom in a paralyzing embrace.

In addition, a vicious byproduct of these institutions of discrimination is that they tend to perpetuate prejudice.

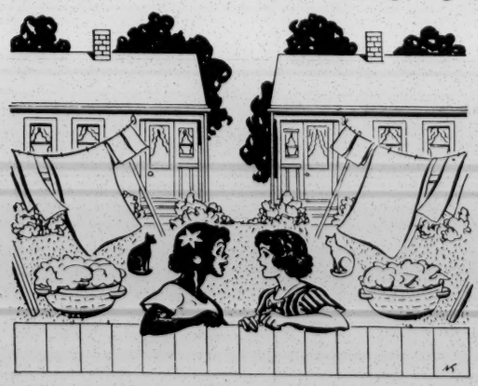
Take the case of segregation in the armed forces. In the past, before segregation was abolished, the very fact that whites and Negroes were segregated tended to sustain the prejudice in the minds of whites that they were superior and that Negroes were naturally inferior.

Now that segregation has been eliminated, observers report that Negroes and whites get along reasonably well and that they usually accept each other as equals, many times forming fast friendships. This experience, which is the result of the good institution of integration, tends to eradicate, to lessen racial prejudice.

But when servicemen are discharged they are thrust back into a segregated society. Their service experience may have taught them how to get along in an interracial social situation and perhaps may have brought them to know and like Negroes. But they will have to be brave men indeed to stand up under the derision and pressures which will come to them if they attempt to buck the institutions of discrimination in their own home towns and try to mingle freely with Negroes or treat them as equals.

The majority of men are born compromisers and practising realists so they will most likely passively accept discrimination and go through the socially accepted motions of acting as though they were superior even if they do not feel that way. And their bad example, half-hearted as it may be, will not only help to influence others to grow in prejudice, but it will also help to perpetuate the very institutions of discrimination.

This is a practical and concrete example of why Pius XI insisted on both moral reform and the reform of institutions as well. They belong together; they influence each other; each is necessary for a complete solution of any social problem.



Prejudice is a personal problem requiring moral reform. Discrimination is a problem of institutions, of social customs which require institutional reform.

Because the race problem is made up of two parts, it requires a twofold solution, two kinds of approaches.

There is work for what Arnold Lunn in *A Saint in the Slave Trade* calls the divinitarian, the person mainly interested in the individual, in personal, moral reform. And, also, there is need of the social reformer who is primarily interested in the reconstruction of institutions.

### TWO SOCIAL VIRTUES

In addition to chartering the outlines of the race question, to help us understand it more incisively, Pius XI proposed for us the two virtues which should be of particular significance to both the divinitarian and the social reformer in their work for the solution of the problem: social justice and social charity.

Social justice aims at organized action to reconstruct the social order according to the mind of Christ. It demands that each individual and group take every appropriate action to achieve the common good.

This means that as individuals and as groups we must work for the reform of un-Christian institutions; or where no institutions or social customs have yet been established—say, in the vast numbers of suburbias which are springing up—we must set on foot good ones.

It is incumbent upon us not only to work for the reform of existing institutions such as segregated schools and housing, but also to set up desirable institutions of our own, such as interracial centers and councils which create a social situation and social pressures conducive to charity and understanding.

There is also social charity, a virtue which has been described as an unselfish and prodigal concern for the common good. This virtue aims at making us take an unselfish and helpful attitude toward our fellow members of society for the sake of their souls. It is the good will, tolerance and patience which help to encourage and unify us in our work of social justice. It makes our personal love of God overflow into a social love of our fellow men, fanning to white heat our desire to change or replace any social institution or custom which keeps them from loving God completely.

The marvelous fact about these virtues is that we can all practise them according to our own positions in life. Each of us has a job to do in his own sphere, among his own associates, in his own milieu, from the neighborhood to the nation.

This brief outline is no more than the top of the iceberg when it comes to facing up to and attempting to solve the myriad practical complexities of that moral and social situation we call the race problem. But, then, seeing only the top of an iceberg has helped many a vessel chart a new course which saved it from disaster.

We have much to thank Pius XI for, but certainly one of our most glorious remembrances of him must be the clarity and incisiveness with which he delineated the outlines of the "Catholic" approach to the many problems involved in the reconstruction of the social order. He has given us the tools. It is now up to us to make vigorous and courageous use of them.

FBR

August 1, 1956

Mrs. Septima Clark
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Clark:

Thank you for your letter of July 25, and I will be up there on schedule on the 8th of August.

I am glad to find that you have some union workers signed up for this go round.

Looking forward to seeing you and Myles when I get there.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

FBR

**COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS**

NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCILS OF THE YMCA AND THE YWCA
291 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y. DIGBY 9-0700

L. MAYNARD CATCHINGS
SECRETARY

RECEIVED OCT 12 1956

October 4, 1956

TO: Participants in Meeting at Willard Hotel, September 18, 1956

It was good to meet with you at the Willard Hotel on September 18th.

In order to help acquaint you with the work which the Student Division of the YMCA and the College and University Division of the YWCA are doing in the field of interracial relations, I am enclosing for your information a copy of our News Bulletin. This Bulletin grows out of a project which we have been conducting across the country during the last three years. A formal report of the work is being prepared and will be available on request.

We are presently intensifying our efforts in the South and southwestern parts of the United States and we are open to discussing opportunities wherein we may cooperate with agencies whose purposes are similar to ours. I will appreciate information on the work which your agency is carrying out.

Sincerely yours,

L. Maynard Catchings

L. Maynard Catchings

LMC/ca
encl.

INTERREGIONAL

# NEWS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL-INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS OF NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCILS YMCA-YWCA

Vol. 1, Number 2 347 Spring 1956

## Report of NSCY Committee on Interracial Relations

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, head of the Department of Sociology of Brooklyn College and chairman of the National Student Council of the YMCA-YWCA National Committee on Interracial-Intercultural Relations, presented the following recommendations and observations in his report to the NSCY Administrative Committee on the mid-winter meeting of the Interracial Committee:

I. That the campus Y's should be concerned not only about racial discrimination and segregation in the life of the Association, but throughout the entire campus and its surrounding community.

II. That efforts should be made toward the developing and strengthening of the Regional Committees on Interracial Relations and that further attention, in the light of developments, should be given to defining the purpose and function of these committees and their relationship to the National Committee.

III. That the need for and the ways and means of calling a National or sectional consultation for members or representatives of Regional Committees on Interracial Relations should be explored.

IV. That the *Interregional News Bulletin* should be continued.

V. That a self-survey instrument be developed which can be used by campus Associations to evaluate progress toward racial integration on the campus.

VI. That announcements of the publication of the book "Fraternities Without Brotherhood" be circulated to all campus Associations and that Associations be urged to aid in the movement toward the elimination of racial discrimination in the pledging practices of Fraternities and Sororities.

VII. That the National and Regional Interracial Committees urge campus Associations to work for the inclusion of qualified minority group persons on college and university faculties.

VIII. That the National and Regional Staff encourage campus Secretaries and "Y" cabinets to communicate with groups or persons in the Movement who are under attack for taking a progressive stand in racial relations in areas of greatest tension, seeking to give them assurance of the reality of our fellowship in Christ.

These suggestions and recommendations were submitted for the information of the Administrative Committee.

# Workshop on Integration

## in the Pacific Northwest studies the problem of integration to acquire both experience and knowledge for greater understanding

By GLADYS LAWTHER

**Department store executive, sociologists, and a lawyer join with the YMCA-YWCA, the Urban League and the Fair Employment Practices Division of the Oregon Bureau of Labor to study this problem. Students were enthusiastic in their acceptance of the opportunity to delve into the problems of race.**

Students in the Pacific Northwest needed experiences, as well as knowledge, to help them understand a problem like integration which is more subtle here. To meet this need, a Workshop on Racial Integration in the Community was held in Portland in February 1956. The story behind the workshop goes back to the National Student Assembly of the YMCA and YWCA. The Assembly was more than the experience and resolutions of students who attended. In the Northwest, delegates came back determined to do something positive in the field of integration. At Seabeck in June, their annual summer conference, a committee discussed this, and the Councils voted to have a Workshop on Integration in connection with their winter meetings. At the Executive Committee meetings held in Portland in October, the officers thoughtfully planned for two workshops in their enthusiasm over the promised visit of Mr. Maynard Catchings, Associate Secretary for Interracial and Intercultural Relations, National Student Council YMCA. The first was to be a Workshop on Integration in the Community which would be held prior to the meeting of the Councils, and the Workshop on Integration in the College and University would run concurrently with the Councils. The planning was to be done by a small committee made up of delegates from several colleges near Portland. Miss Kathy Thurston, the YWCA Integration Co-chairman from the University of Oregon, was to chair this committee since Mr. Gil Bremicker from Montana State University, the YMCA Co-chairman, would be too far away to work with it.

On December 2nd, Kathy Thurston called together a meeting with Miss Carolyn Calder and Dr. Hideo Hashimoto of Lewis and Clark College; Mr. Neil Cay, Pacific University; Miss Shirley Witters, Wilamette University; Miss Delores Fay Harris, Linfield College; Mr. John Holley, Urban League of Portland; and the regional staff of the National Student YWCA, Mrs. Loretta Willcox and Mrs. Gladys C. Lawther. In a couple of hours they outlined the workshop as one which would allow students to come in for the day, see the school and the district in which many members of the Negro community were crowded, hear of progress and problems in integration in employment, and learn about housing, the number one problem in Portland, and other areas in which the law has opened both employment and public facilities to all groups.

News of the proposed workshop brought an enthusiastic response from many people in the community when they were asked to help. The Portland YWCA has a Williams Avenue Center in the heart of a district in which so many of the Negroes live. They offered the use of their facilities; and when they heard students would be traveling

*Continued on page 7*

### National Student YMCA-YWCA

Affiliates of the National Student YMCA-YWCA are at work on approximately 700 campuses across the country. These Associations are linked together through nine regional offices. Essentially democratic in operation, the national structure provides for student and staff participation in policy and program formulation. As a lay Christian movement, the Student YMCA and YWCA are dedicated to the development of an indigenous Christian witness in the life of American colleges and universities.

# EDITORIAL

### Toward a new strategy in race relations

The early leaders of the Student Movement of the YMCA and YWCA had a deep concern for applying the Christian faith to social issues. For them racial segregation was disrespect for the teachings of Jesus.

The Student YMCA and YWCA Movement has made many real contributions toward the development of appreciation and respect between different racial groups. This resulted in some places in loosening the pattern of racial segregation, which until the beginning of World War II was legally fastened upon a large part of American society. The strategy of the "Y" movement during this period was conditioned by the "separate but equal" principle of racial relations. Although the student "Y" move-

*Continued on page 2*

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*INTERREGIONAL NEWS BULLETIN*

Published two times a year during the fall and spring quarters by the Committee on Interracial and Intercultural Relations of the National Student Councils of the YMCA-YWCA.

L. MAYNARD CATCHINGS
*Editor*

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## EDITORIAL

*(Continued from front page)*

ment rejected this principle, its work with Negro and white students was in the context of the social limitations of racial segregation.

The strategy of the "Y" movement during this period was fourfold:

1. It sought to dispel false beliefs about racial differences and their implications through sound interpretations of the teachings of Jesus and through the communication of the best scientific information on the meaning of race and its inconsequentiality in regard to the physical, mental and spiritual capabilities of the individual.
2. The "Y" movement involved students in social action and social service projects designed to correct the untoward social conditions under which minority group individuals were required to live.
3. It provided interracial experiences in conferences and projects wherein white and Negro students of similar educational and cultural exposure could become personally acquainted with each other in the program of worship—study—action and play and in the pursuance of common objectives as college students.
4. It sought to establish clear policies on racial relations through democratic student discussion and to initiate group action designed to correct specific instances of racial discrimination on campuses.

There is no doubt that the work of the "Y" movement during this period contributed greatly to the development of an atmosphere of interracial appreciation on many college campuses and challenged for many students the validity of the doctrine of racial superiority.

It has become evident since World War II that the social climate and conditions in the United States in regard to racial relations have over a period of time been vastly changed. In the light of these changes there is urgent need for the development of a corresponding alteration in the strategy of the "Y" movement with reference to the achievement of racial integration on American college and university campuses.

The changed period in which we live may be characterized in relief by recognizing that instead of merely working for the improvement of the "black belt" where Negroes live, we must be able to accept the Negro as a person who may live next door. This means not only seeking to provide interracial encounter at conferences, week-end retreats and projects, but discovering the ways in day-by-day living wherein we know ourselves, white and Negro, to be involved in the same community.

In the light of these developments it appears that our strategy for today ought to continue the older strategy but add to it the following elements:

1. Promote and nourish interracial acceptance among students in day-by-day relationships on college campuses.
2. Keep open channels of communication between all student groups concerned with the issue of integration, encouraging them to find means of showing their solidarity with each other in the movement toward integration.
3. Aid student Associations to influence the power structures on their campuses to the end of developing an atmosphere of free interracial participation throughout the campus and into the life of the off-campus community.

The necessity for advancing as rapidly as possible is urgent if we are to diminish significantly the number of casualties which will result from a prolonged period of reaction. Needless to say, our advances in the area of race relations have strengthened the confidence of the world in American leadership, but each instance of racial bigotry and violence tends to neutralize appreciation for the gains which have been made. We must hasten to discover more effective ways to diminish prejudice and reaction and to establish an atmosphere in which genuine acceptance rests on individual qualities and no one is denied equality because of race or culture.

—L. M. CATCHINGS

## LETTERS

### A White Georgia Student

I could not have experienced a more unique summer! I have thought about it almost constantly ever since I've left, and in retrospect, it couldn't have been better. One of the most wonderful experiences was that a Negro and a Japanese American were in the group. If you were fearful about the attitudes we would have, before we came, let me tell you that I'm glad now, and I was then, that I had such a chance. Now I know that two people can become really close friends, in spite of (or maybe *because of*) different colors in skin or nationality. Having never previously come into personal contact with many people of different races and nationalities, it was something I had to adjust to at first, but something which brought forth fruit, just as working with children of other races. The whole summer was really an eye-opener!

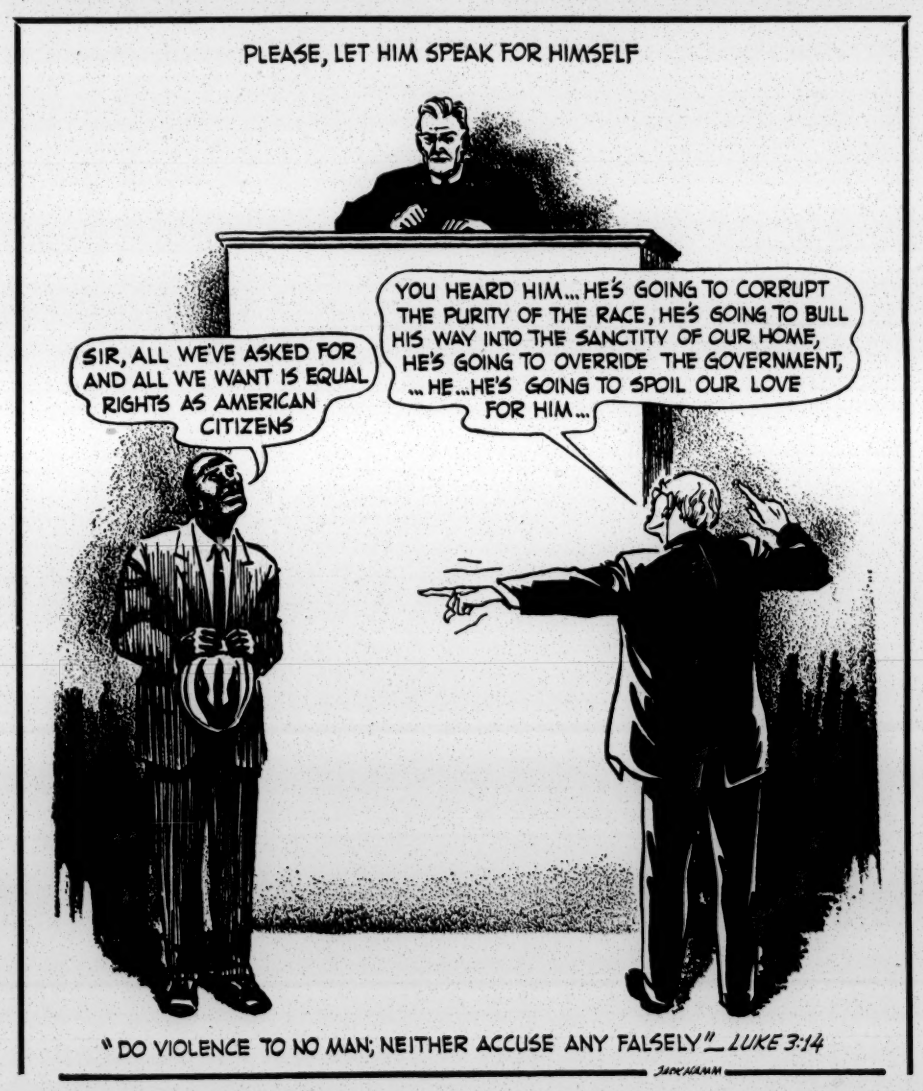
### A White Student from Iowa

In general, I could say this has been the most meaningful experience of my life. Through the seminar programs and traveling around New York, we soon got a good picture of the city. The topics discussed were very appropriate, with competent speakers to supply the information. The most meaningful experience was the opportunity of associating with students who had accepted a Christian commitment and who certainly influenced and strengthened me. The opportunity of meeting people of different races and religions was so meaningful since previously I had had little chance to do so; this certainly increased my tolerance.

### A Negro Student from North Carolina

Being a member of College Summer Service Group was a very wonderful experience. There was no one thing in particular that made it so, but each forum, family session, week-end trip, show and get-together contributed to the whole. The job placement is not to be left out, for that constitutes half of the total program, in general.

Working in, and being a part of, an integrated situation was perhaps "one" of the most meaningful experiences since I am not able to witness this sort of situation every day.



# Regional Reports

## reveals growing understanding and strength as students take the lead

### Rocky Mountain Regional Integration Committee

The INTEGRATION COMMITTEE REPORT was brought to the Council after an explanation that they chose to change the name from Desegregation to Integration. Recommendations presented by the Committee and accepted by the Regional Council are as follows:

A. That local Associations bring to the attention of their members that there *is* a problem on integration.

B. That local Associations obtain visual aids to distribute to church groups, service clubs and fraternities and sororities.

C. That local Associations promote genuine friendship among minority groups on campus.

1. Have groups on campus sponsor one foreign student who lives with them and goes to their meetings.

2. Have international dinners.

3. Help with language difficulties.

4. Help overseas students mingle with American students.

5. Encourage their participation in organizations.

D. That when Regional Council members eat at a restaurant and see the sign "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone," they copy down the name and address of the restaurant and send a postcard or letter complimenting them on the meal and expressing regret about the sign. Council members are urged to sign it cordially with name and address.

E. That local Associations adopt a policy of education in the community. Though a slow process, this "gentle nudging" may produce results.

F. That local Associations contact National Scholarship Fund for Negro Students in New York City. They will provide colleges and universities with backgrounds of outstanding Negro students graduating from high school.

G. That local Associations inquire about opportunities for Negro teachers and administrative officers.

H. That local Associations express appreciation to places that do open up to all students.

I. That local Associations bring one or two non-Caucasian speakers a year to talk to campus organizations. The Regional Secretary, Hal Kuebler, will circulate a list of possible speakers.

J. That local Associations talk to pastors and ministers to seek their ideas on achieving integration.

K. That local Associations in the Rocky Mountain Region create a committee to deal with the integration problem.

L. That they refer to the program as "integration" instead of "segregation."

M. That Associations receive the interregional news bulletin of National Committee on Interracial Relations of National Student Council of YMCA-YWCA.

N. That local CAs report progress and ideas of committees to regional office.

O. That Region have an Integration Chairman who will appoint his/her own committee, to coordinate regional activities and report on regional progress to National Committee on Interracial Relations.

It was moved that a regional integration chairman be appointed by the regional co-chairmen from the Regional Council, having this person in turn appoint a committee to work with him.

### New England SCM Commission on Christian Social Action

The Christian Social Action Commission of the New England SCM met in Stoughton, Massachusetts, on February 4-5, 1956. Our first hope in this work is that *all local groups will appoint officers for Christian Action, and will notify the SCM office of their choice.* The group president should see that this officer receives all pertinent communications, and that he be charged with setting up ways and means of both studying the basis of Christian Action, and expressing Christian social concern in action.

Mr. Maynard Catchings, Executive Secretary of NSCY's National Commission on Interracial Relations, led us in the discussion on Intercultural and Interracial Relations.

We recognize the need to encourage local groups to be recorded on their own campuses as in favor of admitting more Negro and Oriental students to the enrollment.

We need to look further into the over-all matter of human relations

*Continued on page 4*

Students and faculty of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, participate in a discussion on segregation and discrimination in the university community.

### OTHER REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

**NEW YORK STATE**

The New York State SCM has recently established a committee on racial integration and is to hold its first meeting prior to the summer conference in June.

**GENEVA REGION**

The Geneva Region has been weighing the value of forming a region-wide committee or of developing state and area committees. It is expected that some decision will be made during the student conference at Lake Geneva in June.

**PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGION**

A regional committee on racial relations has been authorized by the Regional Council. Several program suggestions have been evolved, and special consideration is being given to the possibility of a regional conference under the leadership of outstanding Civil Rights exponents.

**SOUTHERN REGION**

The Student YMCA and YWCA in the Southern Region have naturally been deeply concerned about increased racial tensions. Programs designed to strengthen the trend toward racial integration have emerged on several campuses. Increased racial tensions and limited resources have influenced the development of a regional plan. Certain proposals for strengthening our work on problems of racial integration in this Region are under consideration.

Staff and officers of the University of Texas YMCA-YWCA discussing desegregation and integration with Maynard Catchings.

## New England Regional Report *(continued)*

on our campuses. This may be viewed in the following four realms:

1. Small number of minority groups on our New England campuses.
2. Very subtle discriminatory pressures, rather than official policy.
3. General apathy of students regarding these matters.
4. Question of how to encourage students to carry over the ideals of brotherhood practiced in college into their associations in later years.

The Commission feels that one concrete way of tackling this problem is to devise—in cooperation with the NSCY Committee—an instrument which could be used by local CAs to evaluate their own campus.

Such an evaluation sheet might well cover the following areas of concern (among others):

1. Extent of interracial and intercultural "community" on the campus.
2. Extent of discriminatory practices—overt or subtle—in fraternities and sororities.
3. Administration practices and policies regarding employment of faculty members on a non-racial basis.
4. An evaluation of the community in which the campus is located, relative to racial and cultural discrimination. (housing, eating places, barber shops, etc.)

### Student Interracial Strategy in Southwest Region

The Interracial Strategy Committee of the Southwest Regional Council of the YMCA-YWCA met at the University of Texas in February 1956. The Committee heard reports from local campuses and discussed various program proposals. The Committee decided to carry forward its work in the following manner:

1. Collection resource materials for the use of Associations.
2. Report the Committee's work in the *Student Angle,* including:
   a. Suggestions as to what local Associations can do now—incorporated in a brief discussion of how the Committee hopes to help Associations.
   b. A brief summary of the Proposal for Use of YWCA Special Funds.
3. Have a meeting at Regional Conference of people from campuses chosen as locations for workshops in the fall.
4. Have an evening program at Regional Conference. We could dramatize some of the items from the Handbook of things to do.
5. Send a letter to local Associations with specific suggestions about what to do in the process of integration.

Secretaries and Advisers of Associations in the Southern Area meet during the Blue Ridge Student Conference.

The preparation of the Handbook was delegated to the University of Texas SCA Committee on Race Relations.

It was agreed that an Interim Committee was needed. The chairman named the following members to serve in this capacity: Rosalie Oakes, Bert Miller, Anne Campbell, Harley Clark, Maurie Suttle, James Smith, Eli Gordon.

A letter will be sent to all Sectional Council Chairmen urging them to publicize the work of the Interracial Strategy Committee at Sectional Conferences. The Meeting was closed with a prayer by Gordon Gay.

*Carole Willitt, Secretary pro tem.*
*Rosalie Oakes, Editor*

### Middle Atlantic Student Christian Movement Conducts Survey

The 1955 Regional Assembly, of the Student Christian Movement, in the Middle Atlantic Region, approved a proposal for a Campus Survey instrument for member groups of the Movement which would provide the Civil Liberties Commission of the SCM with needed information on the state of academic freedom and racial integration on the college and university campuses in the Middle Atlantic Region.

This Survey was prepared by the staff of the SCM in consultation with students and faculty people in the field of community relations and surveys. It is to be used by groups in the SCM which are interested in making a study of the campus situation and possibly securing counsel and other assistance from the Commission for setting up a "pilot project" in some aspect of the social and political witness of Christian students.

The purpose of the Survey is:

1. To help students come into an awareness of the actual situation in which they live and its possibilities for total Christian witness.
2. To help students analyze and evaluate the campus situation from the Christian perspective to perceive the various social and political problems of the American university community to which Christian faith and action may be particularly relevant.
3. To provide the Civil Liberties Commission of the SCM with information in order to designate certain situations which seem suitable for pilot projects. Such projects, acceptable to and executed by the local SCM groups in consultation with the Commission, will have the purpose of demonstrating relevant Christian action in some crucial area of campus life and amassing data and experiences useful to the local group and to other SCM groups which desire to proceed effectively in this field.

The SCM in this Region has been restive in this state of perpetual readiness which is never quite committed to action. Many students and staff are convinced, nevertheless, that the modern ecumenical movement does provide us with powerful resources both for perceiving and entering realistically into God's activity in the great social revolution of our time. They are anxious to discover what these resources are and to employ them.

Moreover, the SCM believes that the revolution has its action or counteraction in every aspect of American life and most significantly in the university community which occupies such strategic advantage in this society.

We further assume that Christian students need to be helped to become sensitive to the crucial, though often deceptive, changes in our situation and to undertake a more responsible role in the redemption which is being witnessed to both within and outside of the Christian Church.

This is the long-range objective of this project of the SCM and it is hoped that the Civil Liberties Commission of the Movement will give expert leadership to this end.

### Pacific Northwest Report

*The Workshop on Racial Integration in the Community,* February 17, sponsored by our Regional Councils, was attended by 56 students and faculty from 14 colleges. A special group continued discussions in this field at the Council meeting at Menucha, February 18-19.

*The Winter Regional Council Meetings,* Menucha, were attended by about 85 delegates from 15 colleges. The sessions were concerned largely with campus program. Separate meetings of the YM and YW Councils handled a number of business items.

The National Student YMCA Secretary for Intercultural and Interracial Relations, Mr. Maynard Catchings, traveled in the Pacific Northwest, Feb. 9-19, with stops at Montana State University, University of Washington YM-YW International Folk Camp, Willamette YM and YWCA, University of Oregon YM and YW, Oregon State College YM-YW. Reports from these campuses indicate Maynard Catchings' visits were most helpful. Maynard Catchings also was a speaker and resource adviser at the Integration Workshop in Portland on February 17. He was also a guest leader at the Menucha Council Meetings where he spoke twice and led a Workshop on Racial Integration on the campus.

There is a possibility that Mr. Catchings can make a return visit to the PNW next fall or winter and a number of campus groups say they would like to have him again.

### SOUTHWEST BEGINS INTEGRATION PROJECT

After several months of planning, the Southwest Region is launching a program to help prepare Christian Associations to meet the challenge of integration on their campuses. Ten campuses have been chosen for the initial phase of the project. The project will include a training program during the regional conference in June and will be followed by intercollegiate workshops in the fall devoted to specific problems of desegregation and integration as they arise on the campuses concerned.

Mrs. Edna T. Anderson will direct the project and develop the findings from the project. It is hoped that significant program ideas will issue out of this project, which will speed the process of racial integration on the campuses involved and provide a body of information which will be helpful to Christian Associations on other southwestern campuses. *—Jean Whittet*

## Goncharoff Speaks to Student Groups

Nicholas T. Goncharoff was part of the Russian YMCA movement during most of his days in Munich. His first YMCA contacts came in 1946 in refugee camps, and in 1948 he became president of the YMCA for Russians in West Germany, a position he held for three years. At the same time he served as secretary of the Russian Student Christian Movement and was a member of the Advisory Board of the YMCA/YWCA in Munich.

Mr. Goncharoff is now working with the International Committee of YMCAs and in cooperation with the Program Services, Adults Group and Student Services Department of the National Council, he is conducting a series of seminars on Youth's Role in a Revolutionary World. He has spoken to student groups in New Jersey, Washington (state) and Alabama.

Nicholas Goncharoff

He was in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, during Miss Autherine Lucy's attempt to enter the University of Alabama. In every conversation during this visit, Mr. Goncharoff expressed the following position of the World YMCA on race relations:

> "That the YMCA should continue to strive for the removal of every form of social or economic injustice or racial discrimination, and first of all within its own fellowship; and for the protection and enrichment of individual freedom."

Nicholas Goncharoff says of his visit in Tuscaloosa that: "There are many people who are sincerely and deeply concerned as to how to create better understanding, better relationships, and respect for each other. The YMCA has definitely a great chance and possibility to do something definite about it. What is needed there and everywhere is training in our basic philosophy. Conviction is needed. Our leaders must be equipped with knowledge and "activized" to carry their ideas into practice in new, bold, possibly unconventional ways, armed with the ageless faith, but also to interpret it in 20th Century terms.

# United Student Christian Council

**Drafts pastoral letter to local affiliates, reaffirms support of Supreme Court decision on desegregation, and urges removal of racially discriminatory practices and policies in American colleges and universities.**

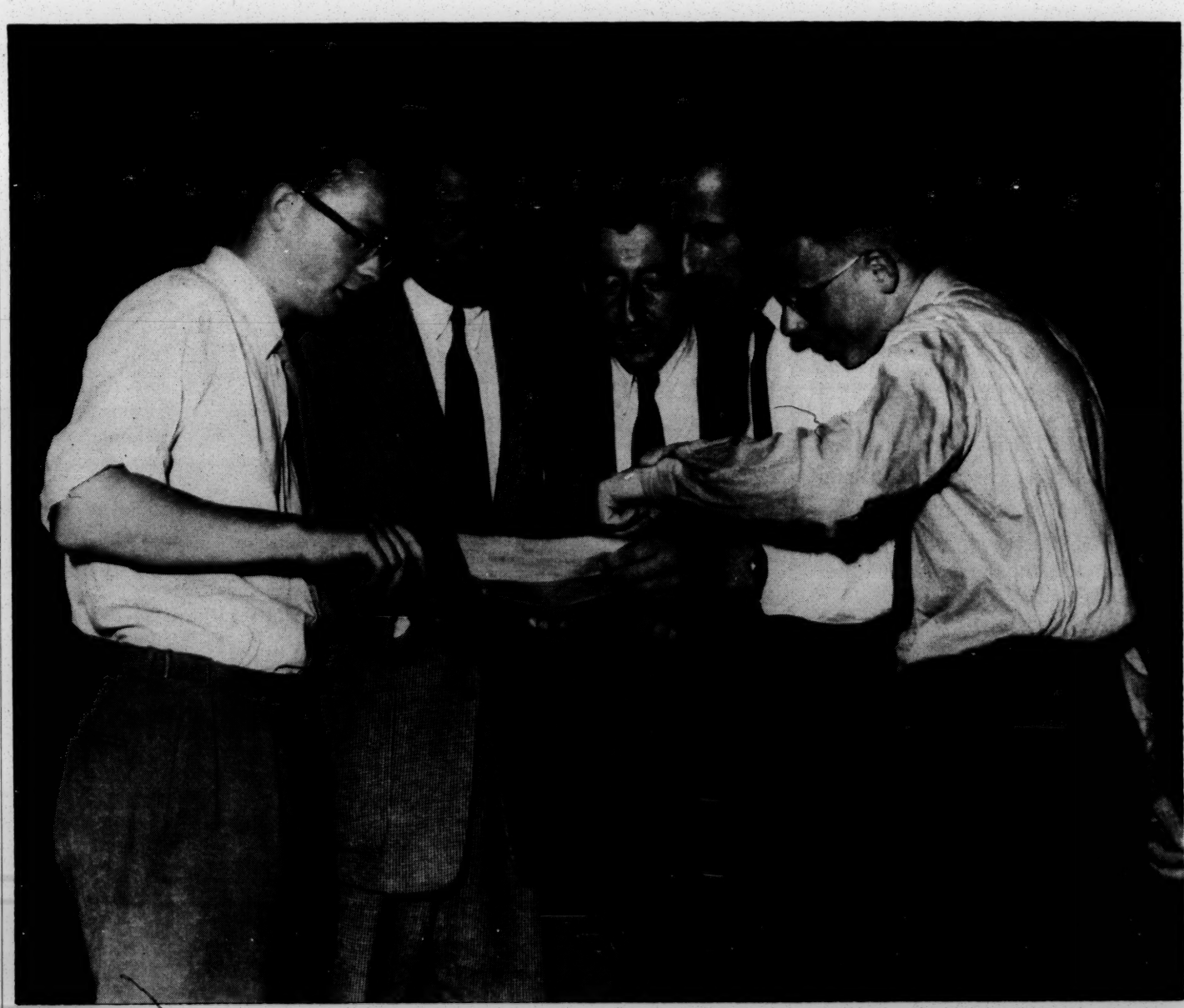
The United Student Christian Council in the USA, meeting in Executive Committee in Cincinnati, Ohio, in February, heard reports from various campus representatives concerning the progress being made toward the achievement of integration in American colleges and universities in different sections of the country. In a resolution drafted for transmission to some three thousand campus student fellowships affiliated with the various student Christian movements of the United Student Christian Council, it stated that it was "deeply troubled about incidents indicating heightened racial tensions in American academic communities.

The statement took note of the fact that all of the campus student Christian fellowships throughout the country are deeply involved in the problems pertaining to the removal of racial restrictions in the colleges and universities, and said, "We confess as Christians that we are all involved in what has happened and that we have failed to seek adequately reconciliation between those of different races."

The United Student Christian Council is composed of twelve federated student Christian movements including the student YMCA and YWCA, as well as several national Church denominational student Christian movements, and Church student work departments. It is the American section of the World's Student Christian Federation, and represents approximately one million Christian students.

Calling upon its campus affiliates to renew their efforts toward reconciliation through actions seeking the removal of all racially discriminatory policies and practices in American colleges and universities, it reaffirmed its support of the Supreme Court decision on "the elimination of racial segregation in public schools." It urged all of its member movements to effect racial integration "at all levels of their organizations, including their local churches," and called upon college and university officials to take immediate steps "toward racial integration" in dormitories, eating places, theatres," and to develop positive approaches to "intercultural relations on the campus."

In a corollary action it drafted a "pastoral letter" to be sent to the presidents of all campus Christian fellowships calling for special prayers of intercession for all those who are suffering under the present crisis that obtains in many academic centers in the United States. It said, "We believe that wherever there is racial or religious violence, tension, bitterness, fear, hatred or misunderstanding, that we share in it, that it is part of our own lives, that we are part of it because we are called to be disciples of Jesus Christ." It called for searching self-analysis to discover where in the life of the student movements racial conflicts had their origin and continued to exist, and why, and it asked how students and student groups could respond to these situations.



Delegates to YMCA Centennial in Paris discuss world YMCA resolution on race.

# PACIFIC NORTHWEST WORKSHOP

## Points First to the Individual, Then to the Community—Techniques, Specific Problems and Suggestions Are Given

Our integration workshop was held on February 17-18, 1956. The first part of the workshop was spent pooling the major problems from all the campuses. Following the reports, Maynard Catchings gave a talk on the general theories of integration. The afternoon was spent discussing more specific techniques. These are summarized as follows:

**Suggestions—two main solutions**

I. Strengthen the individual.

A. Get a better understanding of your own stand—your faith and attitudes.

1. Be honest. Ask yourself:

"Can I differ from the group consciously?" "What makes me feel significant? the group that I belong to? what people think of me? the beliefs that I hold?" "How do I act in situations where there are 'blocks'?" "How strong is the C.A.?" "Are we ready to work with integration? Can we cope with it?"

2. Work because you believe in it and not because you expect some kind of response.

3. Have a great determination to reconstruct the value system.

4. Try to overcome racial group consciousness.

B. Back the individual. Let him know he's not working alone.

1. Relate the person to others who are aware of the problem and thus strengthen him.

2. Make the community to which he is related significant; i.e., the C.A. (The community must be significant if it is to stand for any important thing.)

a. What it says must be significant.

b. Attract leaders into it.

c. Build leaders out of the membership.

d. Involve respected faculty.

II. Increase the permissive atmosphere of the community.

A. Dramatize the problem.

B. Build security—show what others are doing.

C. Bring in good lecturers who represent various minority groups.

D. Involve other persons outside of the C.A. in the conversation, especially those who are secure persons.

**Techniques for racial integration**

1. Ask, "How can I be most effective when I have a conviction in the area of race?"

2. Try to accomplish the end without "fanfare"—get the work accomplished before resistance develops.

3. Get a better grasp of the situation; find the cause of the community's concerns in terms of (a) the policy level, (b) the operational level, (c) the attitudinal level.

4. Find enough resources for work.

5. Form study groups as a base group and an appraisal group—not an active part of the program.

6. Use surveys—to distinguish where the problem is (determine participation, concerns—how many). The value of the survey is to identify the problem on campus. It has educational value for those conducting the survey.

7. Associate with other organizations: Student Council, National Student Associations, heads of houses.

8. Share information through Interregional News Bulletin (291 Broadway, N. Y.), correspondence with other campuses.

**Specific problems and suggestions as to how to deal with them**

I. Minority isolation—voluntary segregation.

A. Let person know that the individual makes the difference.

B. Induce minority members to become a part of the group.

II. Intermarriage question:

A. Get a study group to find out the effect of racial identity, anthropologically.

1. UNESCO booklet series.

2. W. Ashley Montague's "Man's Most Dangerous Myth."

B. Get an Instructor of Anthropology to speak.

III. Fraternities and Sororities.

A. Bring the problem to their attention—let them become concerned.

B. Bring these people together to discuss the value of their purpose or the question of pledging a minority member.

C. Bring the question up at meetings of house representatives.

D. Ask them to discuss ways and means to make their organizations more democratic.

E. Know the problem well before you bring it up.

(A good resource is "Fraternities Without Brotherhood" by Alfred McClung Lee—Beacon Press, $1.95.)

David N. Howell

## YMCA World Services

### staff member to participate in Southwest Regional Summer Conference

David N. Howell, a member of the World Services staff of the YMCA, has received a warm reception from numerous student groups throughout the U.S.A. this year. Mr. Howell is on a furlough from his post as General Secretary of the YMCA in Monrovia, Liberia. His popular and penetrating analysis of world conditions as well as of social issues in the United States have helped students understand the dimensions of the world-wide struggle for human dignity and freedom. He will be one of the leaders at the Southwest Regional Conference.

## Racial Tension Affects Religious Emphasis Week at Mississippi State College

The following news release with reference to the 1956 Religious Emphasis Week at Mississippi State College appeared in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* on February 21, 1956:

THREE MORE PASTORS DROP COLLEGE TALKS

"Three more ministers Monday night withdrew from participation in Religious Emphasis Week at Mississippi State College in sympathy with another speaker who quit the program rather than withdraw his statement that segregation is un-Christian.

"In a joint statement Dr. Blake Smith of Dallas, Dr. John Compton of Vanderbilt University and the Reverend Stuart G. Currie of Emory University said they felt 'in good conscience we cannot meet our engagements for the rest of the week.'

"The ministers said they took the step since 'we have not been made to feel free to announce our personal convictions in regard to the Reverend Duncan Gray Jr.'s statement which was quoted in the press.'

"They referred to a remark made by the Reverend Mr. Gray before a student group at State College Sunday night that 'Segregation is incompatible with the Christian faith.'

The Reverend Mr. Gray later withdrew from participation in the program after college officials asked the statement be retracted and the ministers refrain from speaking on the 'inflammatory issue' of segregation in their talks to the students."

The news release is somewhat inaccurate in that we have learned that President Hilbun did not ask Mr. Gray to withdraw but to promise not to mention the subject of segregation in his talks. Mr. Gray, however, did not feel he could honestly lead a seminar on "The Changing South" under this restriction.

The personal convictions to which the above news release refers is that these ministers "concurred unconditionally and wholeheartedly in the published statement of Mr. Gray."

## Roster of Members of the Interracial and Intercultural Committee of the National Student "Y"

The following are members of the Committee on Interracial and Intercultural Relations of the National Student Councils of the YMCA and the YWCA. L. Maynard Catchings serves as Secretary. Offices are at 291 Broadway, New York 7, New York.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, *Chairman;* Rhetta Arter; Barbara Bishop; Peter Bower; James P. Breeden; Mrs. Buell Gallagher; Richard Harter; Virginia Holmes; Paul Moritz; Mary K. Moseley; Mrs. Ruth H. Purkaple; Dr. George W. Webber.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS: A. Bryan Clark; Mrs. Alfred E. Mudge; Dr. Seymour A. Smith; Dr. Frank T. Wilson.

## Workshop on Integration

*(Continued from page 1)*

from great distances to attend the Workshop, the YWCA staff asked if they might serve coffee and sweet rolls. The Urban League offered its assistance and two of the staff, Mr. E. Shelton Hill and Mr. John Holley, spent many hours preparing for the Workshop. Mr. Mark Smith, who is Administrator of the Fair Employment Practices Division of the Oregon Bureau of Labor, not only agreed to assist with it but also offered suggestions which proved invaluable. Dr. Hideo Hashimoto and Mr. Charles Frantz, who teach in the field of race relations at Lewis and Clark College and Portland State College respectively, agreed to help. Dr. Hashimoto not only assisted in the planning, but gave a whole day of leadership to the workshop. Mrs. Hester Turner, a member of the Bar in Oregon and Arizona as well as an Assistant Professor of Physical Education at Lewis and Clark College, assembled a fact sheet on civil rights in the four Northwest states. The Portland Public Schools were well represented with the able assistance of Dr. V. D. Bain, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Secondary Education, and Mr. Robert Selby, Principal of Elliot School. Mr. Jack Hargrove of Lipman Wolfe and Co., a Portland department store, was most generous with his time and assistance.

The day of the workshop arrived heralded by fresh snow and storms to the east. Sixty-four delegates from fourteen different schools, including Montana State University, arrived. Two students from Wenatchee Valley College had completely wrecked their car on their way in, skidding over a 70-foot embankment, as well as suffering from bad bruises, but attended for part of the day in spite of this. The program for the workshop was planned to help students understand the problems of integration, not in the South, but in the Pacific Northwest. First they heard from Maynard Catchings of New York City who gave a background for the workshop indicating the Student YMCA-YWCA's concern in the field of integration. Mr. John Holley, Community Services Secretary of the Urban League of Portland, followed with some basic information on residential discrimination in Portland. Mr. E. Shelton Hill, Acting Executive Secretary of the Urban League, had prepared a map and information sheet to allow the students to see behind the front doors into the congestion that is created when several families move into a house built for one family, without adequate kitchen and bathroom facilities. Five groups left the Williams Avenue YWCA and, guided by the map, walked to the Eliot School which is composed of students, 95 percent of whom are Negro. Mr. Robert Selby captured the students as he pictured the problems of a school in which so many of the students are living with only one parent, inadequately supervised after school, move often, and yet a school in which the teachers are excited about their jobs and are eager to remain instead of asking for transfers. A visit through the school after many questions had been answered was made before returning to the YWCA. Mrs. Hester Turner graciously answered questions on the laws in the four Northwest states as they pertained to civil rights and integration. Two women in the community prepared lunch which was followed by a panel on integration in employment moderated by Dr. Hashimoto. Facts and experience were shared by Dr. Bain, Mr. Hargrove, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Smith. That the Portland Public Schools have had no difficulty in placing teachers of minority groups in schools throughout the city was an illustration of what can be done. Mr. Hargrove told how Lipman's had received 240 letters of commendation after the first Negro had been placed as a salesman on the main floor. Only one letter received was negative. He spoke briefly on the City Club study now being done on the status of the Negro in the community. The questions flew at the end of the panel. Mr. Charles Frantz then presented the problem of the American Indian, a minority in the Northwest, and answered questions. After a talk by Mr. Holley on the number one problem in Portland, housing, in which he used charts and figures which had come out of a recent housing survey, the delegates broke into five discussion groups with leaders who had participated earlier in the day. The closing session provided a chance to hear from some of these groups; their questions were answered by a panel composed of the leaders including Mr. Selby and Mrs. Spencer, one of the teachers at Elliott. Mr. Catchings closed the workshop with a brief summary and a challenge to the delegates.

The enthusiastic comments of students at the close of the workshop said what they had already demonstrated by remaining until the closing moment, 5:45 p.m. Comments were heard, such as: "I had always thought that integration in housing was possible but had never known the facts about real estate values. Now I can go home and speak and work for integration." "Segregation, whether in the North or South, I learned, is the same thing, just a difference in the way it's done. Here it is social. The freedom of all those at the workshop to discuss this was an amazing experience for me." Another student writes: "In reviewing my experience with the Integration Workshop held in Portland, I'm certainly at no loss for words of praise. The program was especially meaningful to me for two reasons. The first of these of course would be the number of valuable speakers and resource people who were in attendance. Not only were they able to point out the problems as they existed but also answered all questions that arose while considering these problems. Second, the experience of having such a meeting in an area where a serious integration problem existed gave a meaning to the program that could have been accomplished in no other manner. No amount of factual or descriptive information could have replaced the actual visitation to a segregated district. I strongly feel that this workshop has helped me to understand the problems of minority groups in my own area and it has helped me to understand how I may take part in relieving this situation."

More than half of the delegates went on to the Pacific Northwest Regional Student YMCA-YWCA Council meetings at Menucha some 20 miles from Portland. Here Maynard Catchings led a Workshop on Integration in the College and University. The colleges in the Northwest which had been working in this field reported what they had been doing. They then proceeded thoughtfully to face the problems of integration in the college, the attitudes of students and faculty, their own prejudices, and worked on ways in which they might assist in integration in their own college or university. Mr. Catchings was adept in drawing out basic problems and helping students face these. The comments from those who attended the group were most enthusiastic in assessing its worth to them as individuals as well as helping them face the problem in their own schools.

At Washington State College, students who attended both Workshops were scheduled to present their experiences and the problems of integration at a "Popcorn Forum" two weeks later.

Several of the leaders of the Workshop on Integration in the Community have voiced the hope that we would again have a similar workshop. Some of the students have urged that there be a follow-up workshop at Seabeck, the annual Student YMCA-YWCA summer conference. A year's cycle may not show dramatic results, but students indicated that their attitudes have changed, that they are wiser in their approach to the problem of integration and are more eager to have a real part in creating equal opportunities for all people.

## World Assembly of Youth

### adopts resolution on social tension in United States

The Executive Committee of the World Assembly of Youth, meeting in Brussels between March 23 and 26, after a long debate on racial segregation, passed a resolution expressing concern about "racial tension which is developing in many states in the USA" and welcoming "the actions of solidarity" undertaken by US student groups in the case of Miss Autherine Lucy's attempt to enter Alabama University.

The members of the Executive Committee come from some twenty out of the fifty member-countries of the World Assembly of Youth in Africa, North and South America, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and the West Indies.

*Full Text of Resolution*

The Executive Committee of the World Assembly of Youth, meeting in Brussels, March 23rd-26th:

*Concerned* about racial tension which is developing in many states in the US and which arises largely from the racial policies adopted by these states;

*Moved* especially by the events taking place at present in Alabama;

*Disturbed* by the realization of the influence that this situation has and will continue to have on all sections of youth in the United States;

*Deplores* that up till now Miss Autherine Lucy has ben deprived of her legal right to take up studies at the University of Alabama;

*Welcomes* the actions of solidarity in favor of Miss Lucy undertaken by the US National Students Association and by other youth and student organizations in the US;

*Expresses* its full solidarity with the actions collectively taken by the Negro community in the US in order to end segregation in all aspects of life;

*Asks* the US Government to implement as rapidly as possible, by all means—judicial, legal and moral—at its disposition the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its territory.

# Southwest Students Forget Racial Prejudice

## Interracial conferences in the Southwest Region have been held since 1927

By L. NED LINEGAR

Springtime is a time of rebirth, of new beginnings. Each spring in the great Southwest, small things begin to grow, ideas begin to spring from the soil of our Association life. Seven times I have seen it happen, but this time it is more important to me. You see, two years ago the Supreme Court, in the spring, proclaimed in a new way, an old, but ever-present truth, that men are created free and equal. Segregation in the public school system is inequality, and unequal education means unequal economic opportunity, and this means depriving men of their heritage without due process of law. This process of law has been long overdue.

This year desegregation in the public school system has been gradually taking place in the Southwest. Communities in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas are permitting Negro and white children to enjoy the same educational opportunities. In the midst of the cries of interposition and integration, the process of social change is occurring. It is not being accomplished by force and irritant, but by love and reconciliation. The mechanics of social change involve law and economics, but the matrix of social revolution is love and reconciliation. It is truly a matter of the mind and the heart, and the young people are making it happen!

The Student Christian Association Movement in the Southwest has been holding interracial conferences since 1927. Members of local Student Christian Associations each spring come together in four sections of the Southwest for week-ends of worship, study and action. The theme of the conferences this spring is "We Are Members One of Another."

Let me picture one of the conferences for you! On Friday, after the last class, students on ten campuses in the section, gather their bags, blankets, Bibles, and books, board buses for week-end at camp. Faculty advisors accompany each delegation. In an informal camp setting, overlooking a lake, not far from the city, the young people register for the conference. They greet old friends and meet the leaders. One is a theologian from India, from the Mar Thomas Christian Community, at Travancore, while another is secretary of the local Council of Social Agencies, and another is a well-known lawyer. Dinner is soon ready, and the first meal is served. Voices ring out in the blessing, "Be present at our table, Lord, Be here and everywhere adored."

One of the co-chairmen of the conference is a girl from a state college, which is primarily for Negroes. She is a Senior, married to a young man in the Army, who is training to be a social worker. Small, attractive, she welcomes the delegates. Her co-chairman is a young man training for the ministry. Together they will handle the program. After dinner, while many gather around the piano for a hymn song, those whose birthdays come in January, February and March wash and dry the dishes.

The evening session is highlighted by an address by the leader from India on the meaning of the world-wide Christian community. With clarity and sincerity, he speaks of the unity of all men, in the human family. In the Protestant community, there is the richness of denominational difference, but there must be unity in diversity. The students ply him with questions from the floor. Informal discussions begin in the coffee hour, that will continue throughout the week-end.

The delegates round off the evening with recreation. Through group stunts and group games, they learn each other's names, hometowns, major subjects, and special interests. Lili Marlene, Cshebogar, Five Foot Two, Danish Family Waltz, and other folk mixers bring music and laughter to the group. Then, men and women students drift off to their different sections of the camp for their evening prayers.

The sun rose bright across the lake, and some of the faculty and students rose early to see the reflection of the early morning sun on the lake. A rustic cross on the lakeside offered an ideal spot for meditation. With breakfast over and dishes washed, the students met for a discussion of "The responsibility of the Student Christian Association for integration." Three students approached the subject from the economic, political and religious angles. A minister on the board of the Southern Regional Council spoke of "membership regardless of race, creed and color," emphasizing the importance of differences in our plural culture. During the business session, students were elected to the Regional Council without concern for race, or creed, or economic status. Co-chairmen for the coming year were chosen—one a bright-eyed freshman from the northern part of the state, efficient and capable, one a good looking lad from the state Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College.

Recreation was lively, led by a girl majoring in physical education. Mixers in a circle, team relays, action songs all added to the merriment. In the scavenger hunt, when a black hair was required, Negro girls responded without embarrassment. At the closing dinner, the new officers were impressively installed, and the leader from India spoke of the challenge of Christian leadership. Brief statements at the dinner by the students included one by a senior pre-ministerial student who said that this was his first interracial experience.

Through worship, play and discussion, these students forgot their prejudices, their psychological and social barriers, and became close friends. The sophomore girl in the closing worship spoke of humanity as a mighty rainbow, with panoramic color. Out of the dining room window the sun could be seen splashing the hillsides with color. This experience was indeed a miracle in miniature.

### Staff Task Group on Integration

A staff "Task Group" has been at work during this school year preparing a working paper on Desegregation and Integration for the Staff Seminar which will be held at Northland College in August.

This "Task Group" has held two extended meetings and is now compiling its findings. A work group on Desegregation and Integration will meet during the Staff Seminar to further refine the role of the Student YMCA and YWCA in the movement toward racial integration on college campuses. The following staff members have participated in the "Task Group" discussions: Rosalie Oakes, Chairman, D. Ned Linegar, Russell Jones, Martha Newell, Ernest Price and Maynard Catchings.

### Resource Materials for College Groups

- THE INTERCOLLEGIAN, April 1956 issue—25¢. 291 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y. This issue is concerned with the achievement of community across racial lines.
- FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD—$1.95. By Alfred McClung Lee, Beacon Press, Inc., 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. A campus report on racial and religious prejudice.
- TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC CAMPUS —50¢. United States National Student Association, 1234 Gimbel Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. A student manual for better human relations.

RECEIVED OCT 24 1956

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

REctor 2-5417 NEWS SERVICE 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N.Y.

JESUIT PSYCHOLOGIST FINDS
NO MENTAL DISPARITY BETWEEN RACES

New York, Oct. 22 -- Skin color is no determinant of scholastic standing, the Rev. Joseph F. Donceel, S.J., professor of psychology at Fordham University said in a talk here yesterday.

Basing his conclusions on his experience in teaching psychology in Belgium, the United States and Africa, Father Donceel said that, given equal opportunity and equal intellectual stimulation, white and Negro students achieve equal scholastic grades.

Fr. Donceel spoke at a bi-monthly communion breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council and the Catholic Laymen's Union at Fordham University, Downtown.

Conducting a course in experimental psychology at the Jesuit scholasticate in the Belgian Congo was an experience which strengthened Fr. Donceel's view that there are no differences in mental capacity between the races. A professor at Louvain University in Belgium, he was asked to give the course to the native Jesuit seminarians in the Congo. Seeking advice on how to adapt this course to the African mentality, he was told by educators who had been in Africa: "Give exactly the same thing you give at Louvain."

Heeding this advice, Fr. Donceel also gave the same examinations and found that the African students rated higher in their tests than the white students at Louvain.

A factor which creates an apparent disparity between white and Negro scholastic ability in higher studies, the Jesuit educator said, is inequality in basic educational training.

Living in the same religious community with African Jesuits, Fr. Donceel "found no real difference" between them and his fellow Jesuits in Europe and the United States.

He said that these future priests find a difficulty in reconciling the "kindness and generosity" of the American people with racial injustices practiced in the United States. To their inquiries in this regard, Fr. Donceel responded that: "At least in the United States the law is in favor of equality, and the law slowly advances."

# # #

# INFORMATION SHEET

USCC Southeastern Regional Conference
Davidson College
Davidson, North Carolina
December 27, 1956—January 1, 1957

Welcome to the USCC Southeastern Regional Study Conference. All conference delegates are expected to enter fully into the 2½ hours each day set aside for individual study.

**IMPORTANT ITEMS TO REMEMBER:**

1. The college library will be open each day 9:00 to 12:00 noon and 3:45 to 5:00 P. M. A conference library will be set up within the library building.

2. The Davidson College Infirmary located across the street from the south edge of the campus will be open for sick calls each day from 1:30 to 2:30 P. M. Please do not go to the Infirmary at any other time. Notify the conference director if a doctor is needed.

3. Your name tag is your meal ticket. Please do not lose it and wear it at all times.

4. The conference post office will be located on the first floor of the Student Union Building.

5. The conference book store is in the Student Union Building.

6. The conference office is on the second floor of the Student Union Building

7. Worship will begin at 9:00 A. M. each day in Chambers auditorium.

8. Each conference delegate has been assigned to a Bible study group and to a discussion group. Please do not move from your group.

9. The evening "firesides" or interest groups (9:00 to 10:00 P. M.) are optional. Recreation will be held each evening in the gym (9:00 to 11:00 P.M.).

10. It is suggested that lights be turned out at 11:30 P. M.

11. All delegates will remain on the Davidson campus during the entire conference. Anyone finding it necessary to leave the grounds is requested to ask permission of the conference director.

12. Each afternoon during free time a movie will be shown in the Student Union Building:

December 28 - 29, 2:15 - 3:00 P. M., "Fire Upon the Earth"
December 30 - 31, 2:15 - 3:00 P. M., "Answer For Anne"

13. The conference office will welcome suggestions.

# Conference Schedule

| TIME | THURSDAY | FRIDAY | SATURDAY | SUNDAY | MONDAY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7:30-8:30 | | Breakfast | - | - | - |
| 9:00- 9:30 | | Worship | - | - | - |
| 9:45-10:15 | | Platform II | Platform III | Platform IV | Conference Summary |
| 10:15-10:45 | | Free Time | - | - | - |
| 10:45-12:00 | | Individual Study | - | - | - |
| 12:30- 1:30 | | Lunch | - | - | - |
| * 1:30- 3:00 | | Free Time | - | - | - |
| 3:00- 3:45 | | Discussion Groups | - | - | - |
| 3:45- 5:00 | | Individual Study | - | - | - |
| ** 5:30- 6:30 | Dinner | Dinner | - | - | - |
| 7:00- 8:30 | Orientation Platform I | Bible Study | - | - | - |
| 8:30- 9:00 | Discussion Groups | Evening Prayers in Bible Study Groups | | | |
| 9:00-10:00 | | Firesides or Interest Groups (Optional) | | | 9:00-10:00 Worship |
| 9:00-11:00 | | Recreation | | | 10:00-12:00 New Year's Eve Party and closing Devotional Service |

* 2:00-3:00 Discussion Group leaders meet with Dr. Waldo Beach, Chambers Building, Room 144.

** 4:30-5:30 Bible Study Group leaders meet with Dr. Al Winn, Chambers Building, Room 126.

NOTE: The Snack Bar and College Store and Conference Book Store will be open during free periods each day.

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BIBLE STUDY GROUP ROOM ASSIGNMENTS
(All rooms in Chambers Building.)

| Group No. | Leader | Room |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tom Biggs | 144 |
| 2 | Pat Miller | 126 |
| 3 | Clayton Stalnaker | 212 |
| 4 | Gordon Bondurant | 229 |
| 5 | Don Webster | 222 |
| 6 | Neville Meaney | 220 |
| 7 | Robert Ivey | 237 |
| 8 | John H. Quinn, Jr. | 218 |
| 9 | Donald Frank | 201 |
| 10 | Paul Smith | 203 |
| 11 | Gerry Mayo | 206 |
| 12 | Donn Wells | 208 |
| 13 | Holland McSwain | 209 |
| 14 | William Kane | 210 |
| 15 | Roy Williams | 211 |
| 16 | Alan Johnson | 309 |
| 17 | Isaac Crosby | 301 |
| 18 | Ed Camp | 302 |
| 19 | Sally McCants | 305 |
| 20 | DeLane Wallace | 307 |
| 21 | Robert Davenport | 308 |
| 22 | Fannie Caruthers | 309 |
| 23 | Dr. Al Winn (faculty) | 132 |

DISCUSSION GROUP ROOM ASSIGNMENTS
(All rooms in Chambers Building.)

| Group No. | Room |
|---|---|
| 1 | 144 |
| 2 | 126 |
| 3 | 132 |
| 4 | 201 |
| 5 | 203 |
| 6 | 206 |
| 7 | 208 |
| 8 | 209 |
| 9 | 210 |
| 10 | 211 |
| 11 | 212 |
| 12 | 218 |
| 13 | 220 |
| 14 | 222 |
| 15 | 229 |

(over)

# THE EVENING GROUPS

(Christian Concern and Strategy on the Campus)

The purpose and intent of the Planning Committee in creating the "Evening Groups" is to provide conferees with an opportunity to work out "our united witness in Christ" in terms of specific areas of concern on the campus. Attendance at any or all of the Evening Groups is strictly voluntary! It is the hope of the Planning Committee, however, that the Evening Groups, in the context of a Study Conference, will provide "ammunition" for the battles Christians wage on their campus.

Should the following list of "interests" not meet the particular needs of the conferees, a request to the "Coordinator" will in all probability provide andEvening Group which will meet those needs. For "wherever two or three are gathered" there will be an Evening Group!

1. Our Ecumenical Concern on the Campus (Chambers Hall: Room 144)
Leader: Herluf Jensen, Executive Secretary USCC

A. Is it really possible to make a United Wifness to the campus through Campus-wide Student Religious or inter-faith councils?
B. What about the World Student Christian Federation?--our solidarity with the Student Christian community throughout the world--problems and rewards.

2. Fraternities and Sororities (Chambers Hall: Room 126)
Leader: Neely McCarter, Presbyterian Minister to Student, Univ. of Florida

A. To what extent do the "Greeks" help or hinder our United Witness?
B. How does the Christian speak to the problems of rushing, pledging, blackballing, hazing? to local-national policy?

3. Religious Emphasis Weeks and University Christian Missions (Chambers:Room: 132)
Leader: Harvey Floyd, Acting Chaplain to Duke University

A. Why, why not, how and how not hold RE weeks? UCM's?

4. Study Groups (Chambers Hall: Room 237)
Leader: Harry Smith, Presbyterian Minister to Students, Univ. of North Carolina

A. Deepening and enlarging our program of concern on the campus. The how and why of group study.

5. Campus Politics and the Honor Code (Chambers Hall: Room 220)
Leader: Samuel Magill, Director of Student Affairs, Univ. of North Carolina

A. How does the Christian witness through the campus government?
B. How do the honor code and honor system relate to the Christian ethic?

6. The Christian Student and Race Relations (Chambers Hall: Room 201)
Leaders: Fred Routh, the Southern Regional Council
Will Campbell, National Council of Churches, Race Relations Department

A. Given the "facts of life" on the Southern Campus, how does the Christian witness to the Lord in whom all men are brothers? Are we sure of these "facts"?
B. Apart from campus concerns, how does the Christian witness in his family, his community, and his church?

7. Opportunities for Service (Chambers Hall: Room 218)
Leader: Ann Queen, Secretary YWCA, the Univ. of North Carolina

A. What is available in the way of Summer Service opportunities, work-camps, study seminars, and mission appointments?

8. Faculty Seminar (Chambers Hall: Room 203)
Leader: Malcom McAfee, faculty of Davidson College

A. Unstructured Chats on Our United Witness

Evening Group Coordinator
Bill Scott, minister, Congregational-Christian Church, Durham, N.C.

Same letter to:

Miss Edith Davidson

January 11, 1957

Miss Lillian Chernoff
Southern Interstate Regional
National Council of Jewish Women
One West Forty-Seventh Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Miss Chernoff:

We have been advised that you will represent your agency at the conference to be held at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 23-24, 1957. This will be a meeting of Southern field representatives of agencies participating in the newly formed Consultative Conference on Desegregation, as well as a follow-up of the Tuskegee conference of October 24-25, 1956.

The meeting is scheduled to begin with lunch at 12:30 p.m. in Atlanta University's Dining Hall located in the dormitory building at 50 Chestnut Street, Southwest. The first session will convene at 2:00 p.m.

Meals for all participants and lodging for out-of-town representatives have been arranged for at Atlanta University. Lodging and meals will be paid for by the sponsors of the conference through the assistance of the Fund for the Republic. Transportation costs must be borne by the participating agencies. Out-of-town participants should check in at the dormitories (address as above) with Mrs. Murphy or Mrs. Anderson.

Meetings will be held in the conference room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S. W. The first session will be from 2:00 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. on Wednesday, January 23; the conference will end with a morning session on Thursday, January 24 (9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.). There will also probably be a night session on the evening of January 23, (Wednesday).

Please let us know the expected time of your arrival, and whether or not you will want to be housed at Atlanta University.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/eab

cc: Miss Stella Eberlin

February 19, 1957

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

I write about three things:

(1) Thanks for the letter which contained the information about Roswell Barnes and his proposed and past actions. I will be glad to come to a pre-conference conference on short notice, for I understand the nature of the situation.

(2) The Charlottesville deal is now all set and you will have received by this time a letter explaining the details thereof. Really hope you can make this, because its important.

(3) How about a progress report on your visit to Koinonia and any subsequent follow-up? I am enclosing a chronology on Koinonia we did (which Emory Via may have already sent you; if so, have two).

Best regards, old boy. See you at Charlottesville.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosure

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

*DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK*
*DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS*

1716 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3842

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*Administrative Assistant*

February 15, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I shall be as brief as possible in bringing you up to date on the proposed audience with President Eisenhower for the purpose of discussing the Southern Crisis.

Dr. Roswell Barnes, Associate General Secretary of The National Council of Churches who had agreed to make the initial contact with the White House on behalf of the Southern Group spent two hours with five members of the President's staff yesterday, February 12.

This conference was informal and I suppose off the record. These staff persons reported that the President does not receive delegations at their request. However, they were most cordial and implied the need for such a conference. A considerable amount of time was spent in discussion of how it might be accomplished. The consensus seemed to be that an effort will be made to get the White House to officially invite the delegation so that the initiative will not have come from outside official circles. Such a move is anticipated within the next three weeks. However, no assurance has been given that this will be done. I am suggesting that you make no effort to block time on your schedule for this purpose. I assume that if this is done the names of those who have indicated their willingness to consider the matter will be submitted and the invitation will then come directly to you.

I appreciate your patience and consideration in this matter and will inform you of future developments as they occur.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC/jf

# NEWS LETTER

*Published Monthly By The Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago*

21 West Superior Street - Chicago 10, Illinois - Phone Delaware 7-7776

Vol. 4, No. 1 118 February, 1957


# CARDINAL STRITCH PRESENTS CIC WITH $5000 CONTRIBUTION

## PONTIAC RECEPTION—FEBRUARY 22

### ADAMOWSKI, SEXTON, SHRIVER, LEAD IN TICKET SALES

State's Attorney Benjamin S. Adamowski, Thomas Webb Sexton and Robert Sargent Shriver Jr., presently lead in the sale of tickets for the Council's 1957 Pontiac Catalina Benefit Reception, Friday evening, February 22, at St. George High School in Evanston.

Tickets to the reception which will get under way at 8 p.m. can be secured for the sum of $25 per person at the Council's office, 21 West Superior Street.

Thomas Webb Sexton of John Sexton & Co. has been appointed chairman of the Benefit Committee. Mr. Sexton will be assisted by Mrs. Robert C. McNamara Jr., Mr. John Farrell, Mr. Edward M. Kralovec Jr., Mr. Thomas Gibbons and Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C., Principal of St. George High School.

Entertainment at the Reception on February 22 will be provided by student members of the Human Relations Club of St. George High School. Members and friends of the Council are invited.

## BULLETIN BOARD

**Maurice Fischer**, Acting City Editor, Chicago Daily News and CIC Board member, discussed the Council's program this month with members of the Christian Family Movement in Lincolnwood, Illinois.

**Dr. Paul Mundy**, Chairman of CIC's Pilot Workshop Committee, reports that 55 faculty members from North Side Catholic High Schools participated in his recent workshop in Human Relations. A similar workshop is in the planning for St. Mel's High School.

**Lloyd Davis**, CIC Executive Director, was off this month on a six day junket to the State of Nebraska. Davis addressed the annual Award Banquet of the St. Benedict Youth Club in Omaha, made several radio and television appearances and toured the famed Boys Town, U. S. A.

**Emery J. Biro**, CIC's Executive Secretary, addressed high school students at Academy of Our Lady High School.

*(Continued on page three)*

**NOTICE**

Members of the Chicago CIC are reminded that their 1957 membership dues should be paid during the month of January or February.

## SEEKS TO HELP COUNCIL RAISE $43,000 BUDGET

Cardinal Stritch has presented the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, with a $5,000 contribution. His Eminence expressed the hope that his action will encourage community-wide support of the Council's efforts to raise $43,000 in order to meet the requirements of its 1957 operating budget.

CIC President, Robert Sargent Shriver Jr., reported that members of the Board had been successful in their emergency efforts and with the support of friends of the Council, had secured $3,400. Shriver paid special tribute to Tony Manzo, a member of the Council's Board, who solicited $1,000 among South Water Market Merchants. Funds secured during the emergency fund drive made it possible to keep the doors of the Council open during the month of December.

• • •

## SEGREGATION WEAKENS U.S., SAYS EXPERT

The position of the United States as a world power is being weakened by segregation, according to Frank Loescher of Philadelphia. Loescher is an independent consultant in intergroup relations.

"I am convinced," Loescher declared before a meeting of CIC's Board of Directors, "that America will have little moral influence on the two-thirds of the world that is colored as long as we practice segregation in our schools, our neighborhoods, and above all, in our churches.

"People speak of the problem of race relations. Actually, it is an opportunity for America to promote throughout the world acceptance of the principles of our Constitution and Bill of Rights." Referring to racial flareups in Montgomery, Ala., and Chicago's Trumbull Park Homes, Loescher said that . . . "the whole world watches when things like this happen."

Loescher is a consultant to the Fund for the Republic, a non-profit education corporation founded in 1952 with $15,000,000 in Ford Foundation funds.

## CITE PHYSICIANS AS MAJOR OBSTACLE TO HOSPITAL INTEGRATION

One of the administrators attending CIC's 1956 Hospital conference remarked: "In this conference as well as the last two, I felt that there is too much quibbling about matters which are self-evident and truthful. Where the need is indicated the policy of complete integration should not be questioned. I feel that a conference for Catholic doctors would be of definite benefit, since the refusal of doctors to accept Negro physicians seems to be the greatest problem at this time."

The views expressed by this administrator of one of the Archdiocese's largest hospitals, was reinforced by the conclusions of the discussion group dealing with the appointment of minority group members to hospital medical staffs.

One Negro doctor at the conference reported that except for County Hospital or the predominantly Negro-staffed Provident Hospital, most Negroes cannot be hospitalized unless they find white doctors to treat them. In order to gain admission to most private hospitals in Chicago, the doctor treating the patient must be a member of that institution's medical staff. Many white doctors, afraid of jeopardizing their own status, discourage referrals of Negro patients and often refuse them treatment.

Douglass Turner of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations reported that on the basis of an analysis of the 1955 situation, Chicago hospitals did not generally appear to be serving the community area in which they were located.

Turner reported that nineteen hospitals provided maternity service to at least 25% fewer Negro mothers than the percentage of Negro mothers requiring maternity services in the hospital's surrounding area. According to Turner, one of every four hospital births was Negro in 1955 but only one of every twenty-five births was a Negro baby in hospitals controlled by religious organizations. "County Hospital," stated Turner, "served as the delivery point for 52% of all the Negro babies born in Chicago during the year 1955."

Several visiting administrators from communities outside of Illinois remarked that it was difficult for them to understand why Chicago was having such difficulty in appointing qualified Negro doctors to medical staffs, when in communities like Kansas City, Missouri, the Queen of the World Hospital, operated by the Maryknoll Sisters, has thirty Negro doctors on their medical staff.

Father James V. Moscow, Assistant Director of Catholic Hospitals for the Archdiocese of Chicago, told delegates in attendance at the Council's third annual conference that, "In the two preceding conferences it seemed that we needed direction from the promulgation of principles. Now that we have had that from His Eminence and others we can proceed to find the ways for helpful, positive actions, in heretofore considered areas of helplessness such as medical staff and patient attitudes. It is my prayer that the impelling reason for such good positive actions will always be but one: that they are dear to the heart of Christ."

## 1956 FINANCIAL REPORT

| | |
|---|---|
| Total cash receipts | $37,410.84 |
| Total cash disbursements | 37,950.93 |
| Excess of disbursements over receipts | 3,540.09 |
| Cash Balance, December 31, 1955 | 9,411.59 |
| Cash Balance, December 31, 1956 | 5,871.50 |
| Liability—Loans Payable | 1,800.00 |
| Funds available for disbursement, December 31, 1956 | 4,071.50 |

White and Negro doctors lunch together at Kansas City, Missouri's, Queen of the World Hospital.

## MRS. STEPHEN A. MITCHELL APPOINTED CHAIRMAN, 1957 COMMUNION MASS, BREAKFAST

Robert Sargent Shriver Jr., President of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, has appointed Mrs. Stephen A. Mitchell, wife of the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, General Chairman of the Council's 1957 Communion Mass and Breakfast. Mrs. Irene W. King and Mrs. John C. Fitzgerald have been appointed Vice-Chairmen. Shriver also announced the appointment of Edward M. Kralovec Jr., former CIC President, as Treasurer and John Farrell as Chairman of the Council's newly created Advisory Committee. Two appointments to the Board of Directors included James J. Brennan, Attorney for the Prudential Building, and Joseph Vilimas Jr., Sales Director for Fides Publishers.

## ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE GIVES CIC GIFT

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith has presented the Catholic Interractial Council with $150 in literature pertinent to the field of human relations.

# COUNCIL AWARDS 18 SCHOLARSHIPS TO DESERVING STUDENTS

## BRINGS PARTICIPANTS IN PROGRAM TO 28

Eighteen deserving Negro students have been awarded scholarships to Catholic High Schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago, by members of the Scholarship Committee of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. Members of the committee include: Dr. Ann M. Lally, Father Daniel O. Connell, O.F.M., and Harry Goossens.

Students receiving scholarships for the year 1957 include: Renard Harvey to St. Ignatius High School (full tuition), Darnell Overton to St. Dominic's (full tuition), Nathaniel B. Carter to De LaSalle (full tuition), and McAlister Merchant to St. Rita (full tuition). Additional awardees included: Janice Johnson to St. Dominic (full tuition), Willee Esther DeBerry and Melya Jean to St. Michael's Central (partial tuitions), Lamaria C. Shilman to Alvernia High School (full tuition), Peggy Annia Dowdy to Holy Child (full tuition), Dayle Smith to St. Scholastica (full tuition), Clarise Long to St. Josephinum (partial tuition), and Annetta Cathey to Sr. Josephinum (partial tuition).

The Council's scholarship program functions as a means of furthering integration in Catholic high schools and as a means of providing educational opportunities for deserving Negro students. Awards this year were made possible by the generosity of the Catholic high schools of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

# BULLETIN BOARD

**Father Daniel M. Cantwell**, CIC's active Chaplain, was off this month to confer with Council leaders in New York City. **Emery J. Biro** took the road leading to Philadelphia, where the National Association of Inter-group Relations Officials was holding its annual convention. **Brother Jude Aloysius**, Principal of St. George High School and chairman of CIC's Schools Committee, discussed the Council's scholarship program with the Parents and Teachers Association of St. Anselm's Church.

**The Catholic Council on Working Life** opened its 1957 **John A. Ryan Forum** with Thurgood Marshall as guest speaker. The Forum will present Archbishop Robert E. Lucey on March 1. Bishop Lucey will discuss: "The United Nations and World Peace." Tickets ($1.00 single—$2.50 season and $5.00 patron) can be secured from the CIC office.

**Paul Godfrey**, president of the Evanston CIC Chapter, reports that people up his way are still talking about their successful meeting with Father John LaFarge, S.J., founder of the Interracial Council Movement in the United States.

**John Farrell**, CIC's Advisory Committee Chairman, and **Edward M. Kralovec Jr.**, Treasurer, reported successful conferences with CIC advisors, **Charles Comiskey** and **Arnold H. Maremont.**

# HIGH SCHOOL - COLLEGE DIVISIONS UNDERTAKE AMBITIOUS PROGRAM FOR '57

CIC's High School Division under the leadership of Sister Claire Marie, of Alvernia High School, and its College Division under the leadership of Dr. Frank Sizon of Loyola University, have undertaken a program for the coming year which will more than double their efforts in '56.

The High School Division has scheduled their major study day in April, a dance at Alvernia in February, a variety show at Immaculata in April, an athletic event at Loyola in March, a Brotherhood Week commemoration at St. George High School in February and a sociological bus tour sometime before June.

Leaders of the College Division report plans are under way for a conference involving 32 colleges in the Mid-West, the last week in February. Representatives of DePaul, St. Xavier's, Barat, Mundelein, Rosary and Loyola, participated in a one day conference on December 16 in Lewis Towers of Loyola University, and members of the Division's Speakers Bureau report engagements at over four Chicago High Schools.

## URGE MEMBERS-FRIENDS, TO MAKE USE OF LITERATURE

Free copies of **Catholics Speak on Race Relations** are available for the asking, along with a special report on **Merit Employment in Chicago**, issued by the Commission on Human Relations.

## NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION URGED

John A. McDermott, head of the housing department of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations and leader in the CIC movement in that city, cited eight "tentative conclusions about the job of neighborhood stabilization," while conferring with Chicago CIC officials recently.

1. The problems of the changing neighborhood can never be wholly solved in the changing neighborhood.
2. The job of neighborhood stabilization is nevertheless a very important one and deserves our best efforts.
3. Under present conditions . . . changing neighborhoods . . . except under extraordinarily favorable circumstances . . . cannot be stabilized permanently.
4. Racial ratios are an important factor in stability.
5. Changing neighborhoods need . . . direct education to counter misinformation and fears and . . . community action to solve practical problems.
6. Community organization is the essential and basic element.
7. Timing and manner of approach of the professional worker . . . are of crucial importance. . . .
8. In general the higher the level of education, the greater the economic security, the lower the population density, the farther geographically from the ghettoes, the easier the job of stabilization. The converse is also true.

# "HAVING LOVE, ONE FOR ANOTHER," THEME OF '56 REPORT

This has been a year of progress and achievement for the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. During this past year the Council's program has matured and grown in many ways, and its sense of responsibility to the Chicagoland area has deepened.

The Council's efforts in seeking to improve relationships among the peoples of all races in the Chicagoland area were based on two central ideas. **First,** believing that repeated stressing of grievances brings diminishing returns, the Council has sought to accent the positive, rather than the negative, side of race relations. **Second,** the Council has maintained that members of the majority groups and the minority groups must work together, not separately.

The work of the Council this past year merited a special citation from the Lane Bryant organization in New York, which each year gives recognition to groups and individuals performing outstanding community service. The Council's Executive Director received from the City of Chicago's Commission on Human Relations, the Thomas H. Wright Memorial Award for outstanding professional services.

From all over America during this year distinguished citizens voiced their appreciation of the Council's efforts to promote social harmony. These persons included, Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of St. Louis, Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Will Rogers Jr., Bing Crosby, and the Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon.

The Council was gratified this past year to include among its members, Archbishop William D. O'Brien, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, Bishop Raymond P. Hillinger and Bishop Albert R. Zuroweste. The Council was equally pleased to present membership cards to Mayor Richard J. Daley, William G. Caples, Vice President Inland Steel Corporation, County Treasurer Herbert C. Paschen, and County Assessor Frank Keenan.

The Council Interracial Council of Chicago has come to be recognized as a force of tremendous good in and outside of Chicagoland. It is not surprising, therefore, to find increasing numbers of public officials, members of the clergy, business and labor leaders, housewives, and professional people, demonstrating their personal interest and faith in the work of the Council through paid memberships.

## ANNUAL REPORT TO BE FEATURED

The 1956 annual report of the Chicago CIC will be featured on this page of the monthly newsletter. A particular section of this report will be cited each month and comments and recommendations are earnestly requested.

"This organization strives to bring men together in neighborliness" are the words in which His Eminence, Samuel Cardinal Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago, eloquently described the work of the Catholic Interracial Council, when he spoke to its Board of Directors September 17, 1956. His Eminence went on to crystallize the future responsibility of the Council to the City of Chicago with these words:

"You have been doing excellent work in your schools' program, but now there are tougher things we must do. We are having new people coming into our city. Many are Negroes who are poor and not prepared to take their place in urban life. Some need primary education to help them adjust to life in a large urban center.

"Not all of these newcomers are Negroes, for some come from the hills, some from our island possessions. Let's not wait until certain forces make them their victims. Now is the time to extend the friendly hand. Now is the time for some of their own to help. To these newcomers, urban life is frightening and dangerous. We have got to welcome them and try to breathe the spirit of Christian life into our communities. If we can at all help, we must serve these people."

## CITE NEED FOR CHICAGO CIC

From Washington, D. C., this past month, members of the Chicago CIC received the following words of encouragement from the Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon: "Your work is important to the nation and merits support from all men of good will." From New York, General Douglas MacArthur commented: "I send the membership of the Chicago CIC all my best wishes on their important work."


THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL OF CHICAGO
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
118

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Fredrick R. Routh Ass't. Dir.
Southern [illegible] Council
63 Auburn [illegible]
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Form 3547 Requested) CE-3-6763

●●●●●●●●●● "SIGN THREE FOR CIC" ●●●●●●●●●●

NYU?

March 27, 1957

Mr. Ed Williams
Center for Human Relations Studies
Press Annex 21
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Ed:

I have received the announcement about the annual meeting of the Friends of the Center. I note that you are to honor Miriam Hayden at this time for "her warm and selfless devotion to the Center...and to all of us who have been associated with her." Certainly all honor and love to Miriam, and I only wish I could be there to express these feelings personally. Unfortunately, I shall be in the process of Saving the South by attending a Conference of Community Leadership in Jacksonville, Florida, on the 6th of April.

However, let me say just a few words about Miriam. To a rather bewildered student who came to the Big City from the South, she was a gentle spirit, a fount of wisdom, and a good friend. Miriam, in her contacts with other people, not only practices but lives good human relations. I cherish our friendship and only regret that there are 800 miles between us.

Please give her my warmest regards and best wishes as the Friends of the Center make a small down-payment of recognition on what is her just due.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY STUDIES

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

Press Annex - 21

Dear Friend of the Center:

The Friends of the Center cordially invites you to a get together for the Annual Spring Conference at the Faculty Club on April 6 from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m.

We will take this occasion to honor Miriam Hayden for her warm and selfless devotion to the Center for Human Relations Studies and to all of us who have been associated with her.

Sincerely yours,

Ed Williams
Bob Allen
Garda Bowman
Shirley Chartock
Celia Jacoby
Helen Mahoney
Ben Winitt

---

I am enclosing _____ for _____ reservations at $2.00 per person.

Name _____

Address _____

Please address your reply to Mr. Ed Williams, Center for Human Relations Studies, Press Annex 21, School of Education, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

DEDICATED TO THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND THE FREEDOM OF MANKIND

213 N. E. 2ND AVENUE
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M.D., Tampa
MRS. MAYME E. WILLIAMS
Teacher, Miami

June 14, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I had a word with Seymour, who is helping us to raise money, and we agreed that there certainly should be room for both of us at the Food Fair Foundation trough. We will be making our effort before the 2nd week in July and would appreciate first crack.

With the effort that you fellows are making on our behalf, you need not be bashful about approaching anyone in Florida as far as I am concerned. In fact, I feel rather sure that you will be more successful with the Food Fair Foundation for the same reasons that were suggested at our conference up yonder.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Wm. K. Williams by hm

Wm. K. Williams
Executive Director

WKW/hm

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

# *Mississippi Council on Human Relations*

*(Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)*

**1104 LYNCH STREET**
**JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI**


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MISS. STATE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
P. O. Box 9096
JACKSON 3, MISSISSIPPI

June 19, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

In checking with Bishop Brunini, I find that he is scheduled to be out-of-State the week of July 7th. He will be in the following week and perhaps the rest of the month. I asked him to circle the 15th, 16th, and 17th until I hear from you. If these dates do not meet your convenience for coming to Mississippi, please suggest several from which we may choose a suitable date.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

# CLEMENT GUARDS PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

Chattanooga

## Likes Segregated Schools, But Backs Constitution

GEORGETOWN, Ky., Sept. 20 (AP)—Gov. Frank Clement said today he was going to "protect the rights of everyone in Tennessee." 9/21/57

The Tennessee chief executive asserted "I would be dishonest if I denied that I liked the way I was brought up. I like segregated schools because I went to school in Kentucky. But, I swore on the Bible that I would uphold the Constitution and I am going to do my best to uphold it."

Gov. Clement addressed the opening convocation at Georgetown College, urging the students to get interested in government work.

He told his audience he had made as many mistakes as anyone but reminded the students that "as long as God lets you live, you have another chance."

Referring to a dynamite blast which damaged an elementary school during integration trouble in Nashville, Gov. Clement said "the governor has no authority until everything else breaks down. The Nashville police department did a good job."

He mentioned no person by name but added:

"I want to get the rascals out of our state and we can solve our own problems."

December 6, 1957

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Northside Center for Child Development
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Ken,

I have read with much satisfaction your proposal for study in Little Rock and have no further suggestions. Your statement is excellent and I can only wish you "good hunting."

I am asking that a check for $250 to cover your expenses be sent in advance of your departure. May I express my personal thanks as well as those of SRC for your willingness to carry out this important assignment for the Consultant Service Program without benefit of consultant fee.

I am looking forward to the resulting Technical Memorandum which will be circulated promptly to all of our consultants for their guidance and information.

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:rmd

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Mr. Fred Routh

# FINAL REPORT

# COURTS STUDY

## INTRODUCTION

The study upon which this report is based was undertaken in the summer of 1953 by representatives of the Southern Regional Council. The major focus of the project was to determine whether or not there is a bias in the sentencing of Negro, as compared with white, offenders in the criminal courts of the southeast. At the outset of the research it was recognized that the dispensation of justice is a social process with several major stages. At each of these stages there is a real possibility that unequal treatment will be given to the members of racial minority groups.

Several scholars have directed their attention to the analysis of this process. In an article in the Annals (September 1941) Johnson reports evidence which indicates that on the average, Negroestend to receive harsher sentences than do whites for comparable types of crimes committed. He points out that a major variable in the administration of justice is the race, not only of the offender, but also of the adverse party in a criminal case. This latter consideration stems from the insistence that it is in the general structure of social relationships, the caste system, of the nation that we find many of the causes for differential crime rates between Negroes and whites.

Garfinkel, in an article published in Social Forces

adds documentation to the contention that there exist inequalities of treatment among different classes of offenders in the courts of North Carolina. He suggests the hypothesis that court situations involving Negroes are defined as different kinds of situations from those involving whites. Such situations call into play special sets of attitudes towards justice on the part of the court. The major differences in the four types of situations (i.e. Negro vs. Negro, Negro vs. white, white vs. Negro, and white vs. white) are primarily traceable to attitudes arising from the caste structure of American society.

The studies of both Johnson and Garfinkel were concerned with restricted areas of the southeast and the statistics which were used are now out of date. For these reasons it seemed profitable to carry out further research, expanding the areas covered by the study and making use of more recent data.

At the outset of the study we were faced with a choice between two alternative mathods of approach to the problem. Obivously more information was needed concerning the situational variables discussed by Garfinkel. This could best be gotten by an intensive study of a small number of cases or courts. On the other hand, no reliable estimates of the scope and extensity of the problem were available. Because of our applied interest in the applied aspects of the findings we chose to attempt an estimate of the magnitude of the problem.

Thus, the survey method was chosen and a sample of six counties in the southeast was selected. The counties were picked so as to be roughly representative of the several subregions of the area and three were rural counties while three were urban. The following list indicates the name and state of each county and also its classification as rural or urban.

Rural

Bartow, Georgia
Bamberg, South Carolina
~~Abala~~ Attala, Mississippi

Urban

Montgomery, Alabama
Forsyth, North Carolina
Caddo, Louisiana

The field work for the study was carried out by ~~four~~ six field workers who, after a short period of training, each spent approximately four weeks in the field. The investigators were instructed to record all convictions for felonies which were recorded in the superior-courts of the counties studied. An information schedule was provided for the recording of each separate case. A sample of this data sheet is included in appendix A of this report.

Records were to be collected for all convictions recorded for a five year period extending from 1949 through 1953. A brief discussion of some of the difficulties encountered by the field workers while collecting and checking their data is given in appendix D. Appendix C provides a discussion of the sample finally achieved in the study.

## FINDINGS

### Data Analysis

A total of 1267 cases were secured from the total number of cases submitted by the field investigators. An analysis of the distribution of these cases by the various sampling dimensions is included in appendix C.

In view of the fact that the primary emphasis of the analysis in this study has been to estimate the bias in sentencing which was exercised by the ~~judges~~ courts in the six counties under consideration, one of our main problems was to determine a measure which could be used for this purpose. Two measures have been used in the study. These include, (1) the mean or average sentence, and (2) the percent distribution of sentences by class of offender. In cases of crimes against persons the mean number of years of sentence was not an adequate measure due to the wide dispersion of the sentences and also to the difficulty of assigning any number of years to life and death sentences. We experimented with the use of the median in these cases but the small frequency of cases rendered this measure unstable.

In all cases where major breakdowns have been made Chi square was used to test the significance of differences.

### Type of Crime

In general it was impossible to break the sample down both by the class of offender and by the type of crime committed. The specific crimes listeddo not (except in the case of burglary and larceny) include enough cases to make such an analysis fruitful. The general procedure was to

break the type of crime down into two classes. These were (1) crimes against the person, and (2) crimes against property. This procedure seems to be satisfactory both from the point of view of the adequacy of the data and for purposes of statistical analysis.

We can now take a brief look at how the cases were distributed according to class of offender and the type of crime. It will be noted from Table 1 that the majority of crimes were not interracial in character. Furthermore, the largest percentage of such crimes were committed by Negroes against other Negroes. As is to be expected, a small percentage of the crimes against property were committed against Negroes.

Table 1.

Percent Distribution of Crimes Against Persons and Property By Class of Offender

| | Type of Offence | |
|---|---|---|
| | Crime Against Person | Crime Against Property |
| Negro vs. Negro | 69 | 17 |
| Negro vs. White | 06 | 34 |
| White vs. Negro | 05 | 02 |
| White vs. White | 20 | 47 |
| Total Percent | 100 | 100 |

## The Findings

Table 2 presents the distribution of crimes by type, by county. In the total sample about seven-tenths of the crimes were crimes against property. This figure was relatively constant for the four counties in which over 100 cases were obtained. On the other hand, in the two counties with less than 100 cases about half of the crimes reported were crimes against property. This may reflect real differences in the incidence of convictions by county, but it may also reflect a bias on the part of the field worker in recording the crimes.

Table 2.

Distribution of Type of Crimes by County in Six Southeastern Counties

| | | | Type of crime committed Percent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total N. | Total % | Against Property | Against Persons |
| Bartow, Ga. | 117 | 100 | 75 | 25 |
| Bamberg, S.C. | 52 | 100 | 50 | 50 |
| Attala, Miss. | 171 | 100 | 49 | 51 |
| Montgomery, Ala. | 168 | 100 | 71 | 29 |
| Caddo, La. | 614 | 100 | 68 | 32 |
| Forsyth, N.C. | 242 | 100 | 73 | 27 |
| Total | 1264 | 100 | 68 | 32 |

Table 3 is designed to indicate the type of offence characteristic of each class of offender in the two counties

producing the largest number of cases. It can be seen from an analysis of this table that the types of crimes characteristic of the two counties varied with the class of offender. About three times as many crimes were committed in Forsyth county in situations where Negroes were stealing from Negroes than was the case in Caddo county. On the other hand, twice as many crimes against persons were committed by Negroes against whites in Forsyth county as compared with Caddo county. This perhaps reflects a redefinition of the sentencing situation by the judges in Forsyth county induced by the rise in socio-economic position of the Negroes in that area. Note, however, that the differences are small and the number of cases represented is also small.

Table 3.

Distribution of Types of Offence by Class of Offender in Caddo and Forsyth Counties

| | Type of Crime Committed - Percent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Caddo County | | Forsyth County | |
| | Against Property | Against Persons | Against Prop. | Against Per. |
| Total Number | 352 | 131 | 150 | 59 |
| Total Percent | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Negro vs. Negro | 11 | 71 | 34 | 78 |
| Negro vs. White | 39 | 04 | 31 | 10 |
| White vs. Negro | 01 | 01 | 02 | 00 |
| White vs. White | 48 | 24 | 34 | 12 |

Of all the findings presented in this analysis possibly the most startling from the point of view of our focus on "bias in the sentencing procedure" is to be found in what has been

termed the "disposition of the sentence". This refers to the reported actual, final disposition of the sentence once it has been decided upon. It may take one of a number of forms. First, and most frequent, the sentence may be passed "to be served in full" with no part of it suspended. Second, part or all of the sentence may be suspended. Finally, in place of a jail term the offender may receive a fine.

Table 4 and figures A, B, and C indicate the experience of the individuals studied in this investigation as to this item of disposition of the sentence. The findings are presented broken down by class of offender. (See Table 4, page 9.)

It is evident that the Negroes received a substantially higher number of sentences which were to be served in full than did the white offenders. This was true regardless of whether the crime was committed against a white person or against another Negro. In the total sample for all types of crimes the white offender against a Negro adverse party received the least number of sentences to be served in full.

If we consider the percent of sentences which were suspended, either in part or in full, it is evident that here again the Negro benefits least from this provision for leniency in the dispensation of justice. The highest percentage of suspended sentences was given to white offenders against Negro adverse parties, whereas the lowest percentage was given to Negro offenders against white adverse parties. It may be noted that when a Negro is the adverse party, the defendent, Negro or white, is likely to receive a suspended or partly suspended sentence. Thus in this sense, Negroes appear to obtain less protection from the law than do whites.

Table 4.

Disposition of Sentences by Type of Crime by Class of Offender
Percent Distribution for Total Sample

| Crimes Against Persons | Total Number | Total Percent | Disposition of the Sentence: To be Served | Suspended | Fine Only | Served in Default of Fine | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negro vs. Negro | 190 | 100 | 73 | 18 | 05 | 02 | 02 |
| Negro vs. White | 18 | 100 | 72 | 06 | 06 | 06 | 10 |
| White vs. Negro | 13 | 100 | 54 | 38 | 08 | 00 | 00 |
| White vs. White | 55 | 100 | 56 | 15 | 25 | 04 | 00 |
| Unknown | 116 | 100 | 74 | 10 | 10 | 05 | 01 |
| **Crimes Against Property** | | | | | | | |
| Negro vs. Negro | 111 | 100 | 79 | 15 | 01 | 00 | 05 |
| Negro vs. White | 222 | 100 | 86 | 09 | 01 | 00 | 04 |
| White vs. Negro | 11 | 100 | 36 | 36 | 00 | 00 | 28 |
| White vs. White | 300 | 100 | 73 | 21 | 01 | 00 | 05 |
| Unknown | 21 | 100 | 80 | 18 | 01 | 00 | 01 |

The use of fines as an alternative type of sentence seems also to be reserved for whites. (See figure C.) This is true particularly in cases where whites have committed crimes against other whites. Twenty-five percent of the sentences meted out to whites in cases where the adverse party was also white were made up of this type of penalty whereas the comparable figure in cases where Negroes were concerned against Negroes was five percent.

The character of the sanctions involved when a white committs a crime against a Negro may explain the relatively small number of fine sentences given to whites under these circumstances. On the other hand, in such cases a white man is more likely to obtain a suspended sentence than is a Negro. The fact is that a relatively small number of the cases reported were inter-racial in nature where the defendant was white. Thus, the figures on this portion of the sample are subject to a high degree of random variation.

Crimes Against Property

As was indicated in Table 2 above, about seven-tenths of the crimes reported in this study were classed as crimes against property. For this reason the findings concerning crimes of this class offer the most reliable material in the investigation.

Two measures have been used to describe the relationships which have emerged from our analysis of this type of crime. First, the mean or average length of sentence has been used. And second, the percentage distribution of sentences by the number of years of the sentence has been used.

Figure A

Percent of Sentences to be Served in full - By Class of Offender

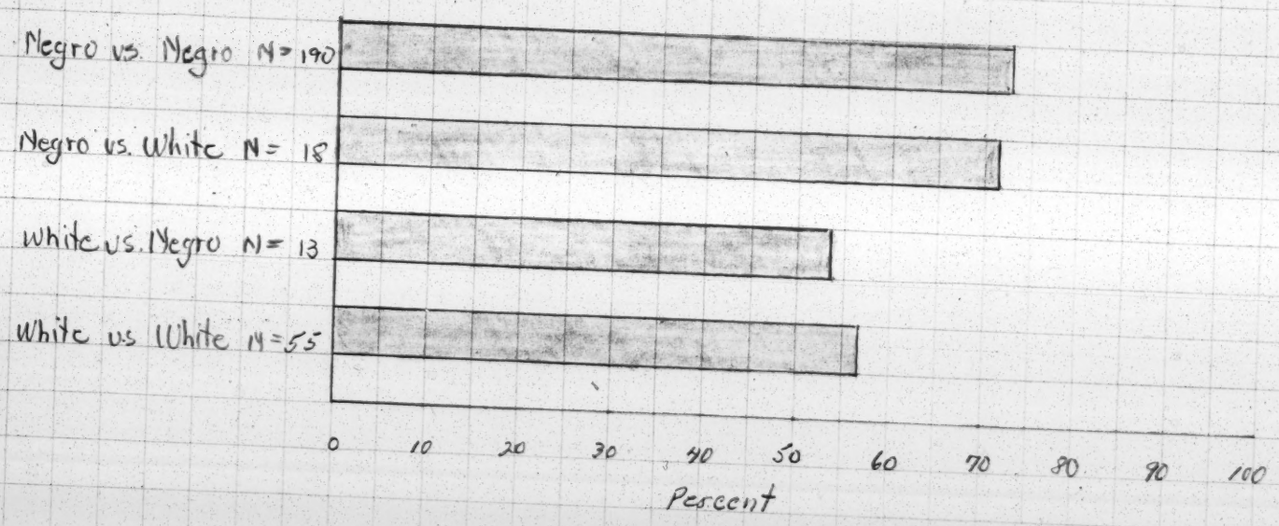


Figure B.

Percent of Sentences Suspended - by Class of Offender - Adverse Party

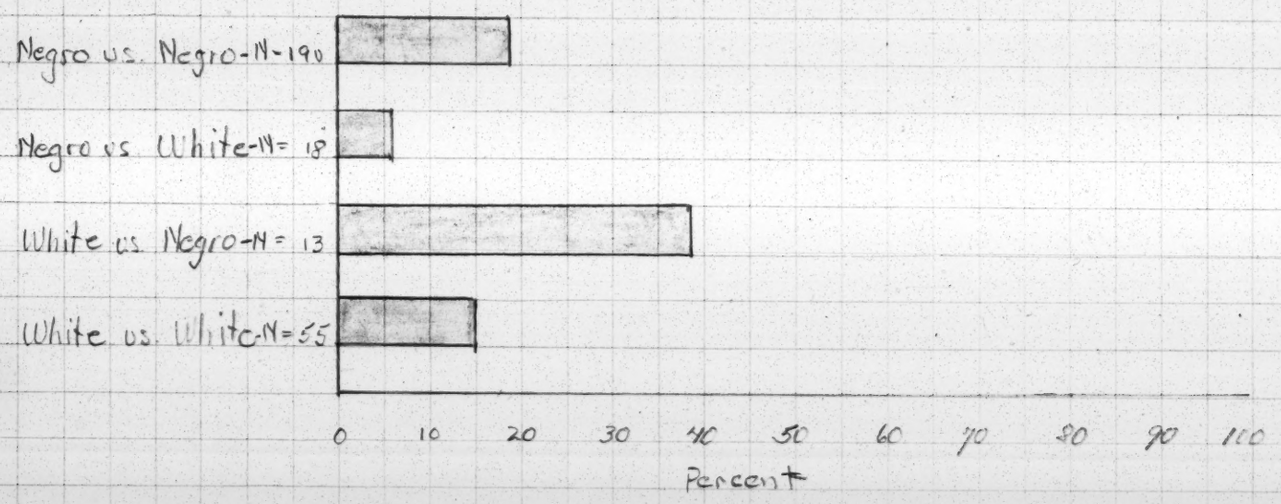
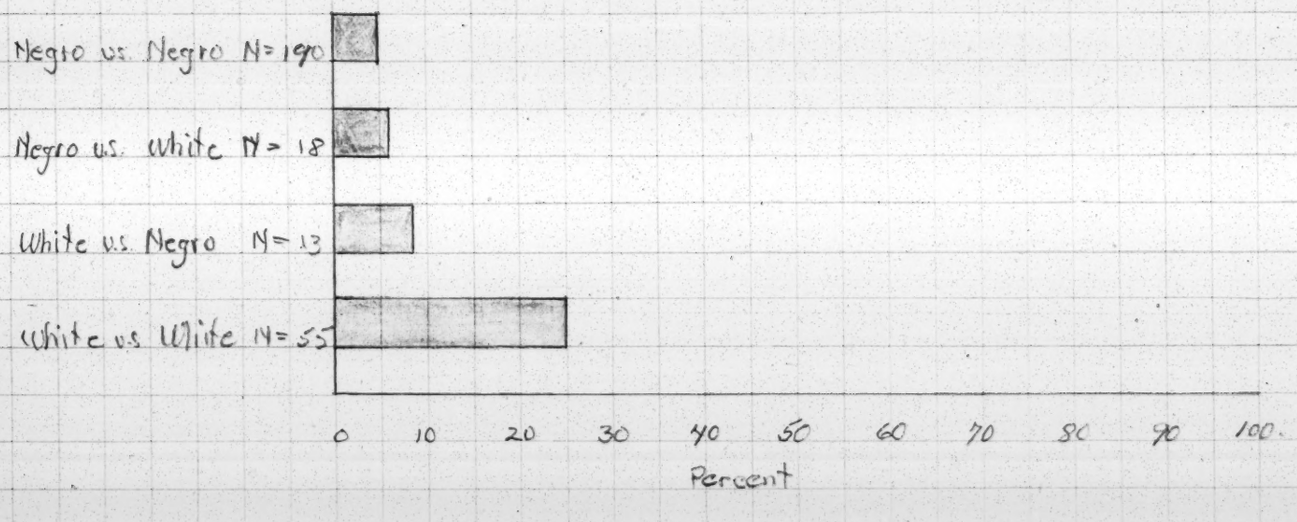


Figure C.

Percent of Sentences Giving Fines Only - by Class of Offender - Adverse Party



Percent Distribution by Length of Sentence

Table 5 indicates that where crimes against property are concerned, the heaviest sentences are given to Negroes when they commit crimes against whites and the lightest sentences are given to whites committing crimes against other whites. The highest pereentage of penalties in the six year and over category and the lowest percentage of one year penalties was given to Negroes in crimes against whites. The highest percentage of one year sentences (41%) was given to whites in crimes against other whites. The relationships indicated in this table are significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Mean Length of Sentence by Class of Offender

The low est average sentences for crimes against property were given to whites in crimes against other whites. The highest average sentences were passed on Negroes in crimes against whites. Here, however, the differences are relatively small and probably not statistically significant.

If we compare the two counties that provide the largest number of cases as to the mean length of sentence in the cases under their juristiction for each class of offender some interesting differences appear. In Forsyth County, North Carolina, the heaviest average penalties were given out in crimes where whites were involved against other whites. On the other hand, in Caddo ~~County~~ Parish, Louisiana, the heaviest average penalties were given to Negroes who

had been convicted of crimes against whites.

In Caddo ~~County~~ Parish the lightest average penalties were given to Negroes in crimes against other Negroes. This was also true of Forsyth County. In general, the penalties in Caddo ~~County~~ were lighter for all classes of offenders than they were in Forsyth. ~~County~~.

These differences between the two counties could be interpreted such that Negroes obtain the least protection from the courts in both counties when they are the adverse party in crimes against property. These relationships are graphically presented in Figure D.

Table 5.

Percent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender For Six Southeastern Counties

| | Total Number | Total Percent | Number of Years of Sentence: One Year | Two Years | Three Years | 4-5 Years | 6 Years and Over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negro vs. Negro | 94 | 100 | 34 | 23 | 21 | 16 | 06 |
| Negro vs. White | 195 | 100 | 29 | 26 | 23 | 12 | 10 |
| White vs. White | 265 | 100 | 41 | 19 | 25 | 09 | 06 |

Note: Chi Square with 8 degrees of freedom is 15.7326. This is significant at greater than the .05 level of confidence.

Crimes Against the Person

Due to the relatively small number of cases of crimes against the person obtained in this sample it is difficult to assess the meaningfulness of the findings from the analysis of this type of crime.

Figure D

Crimes Against Property - Percent Distribution Length of Sentence - by Class of Offender
Adverse Party

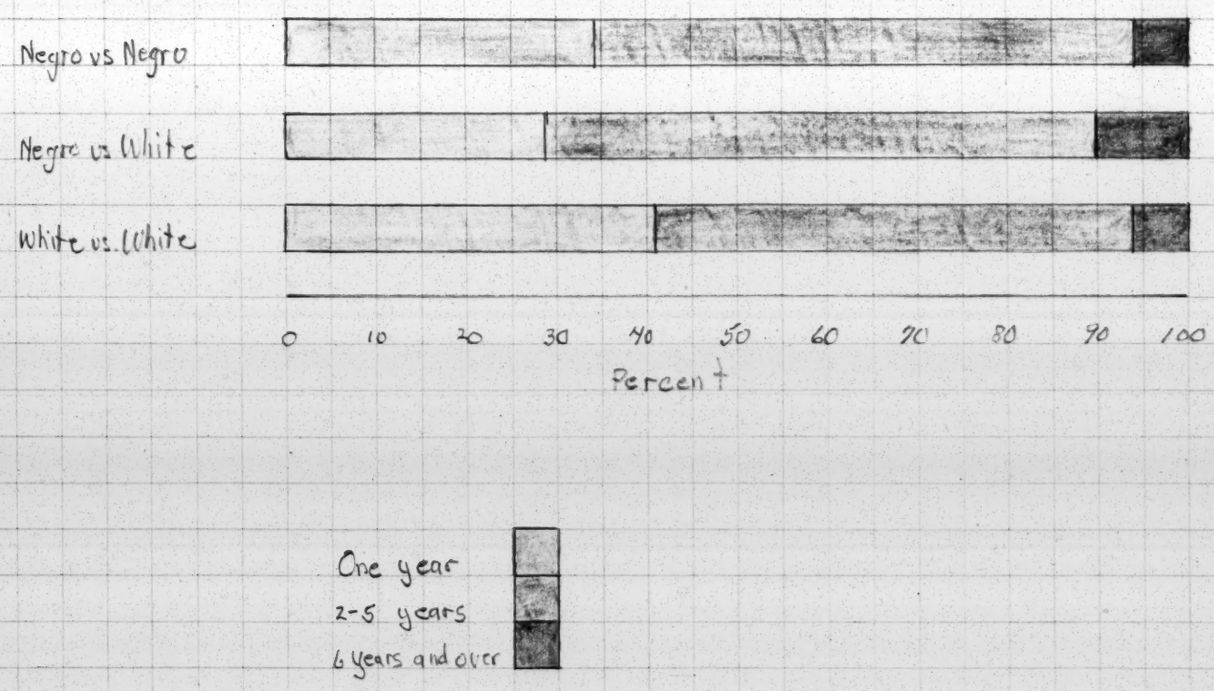


Figure E.

Mean Length of Sentence for Crimes Against Property by Class of Offender - Adverse Party

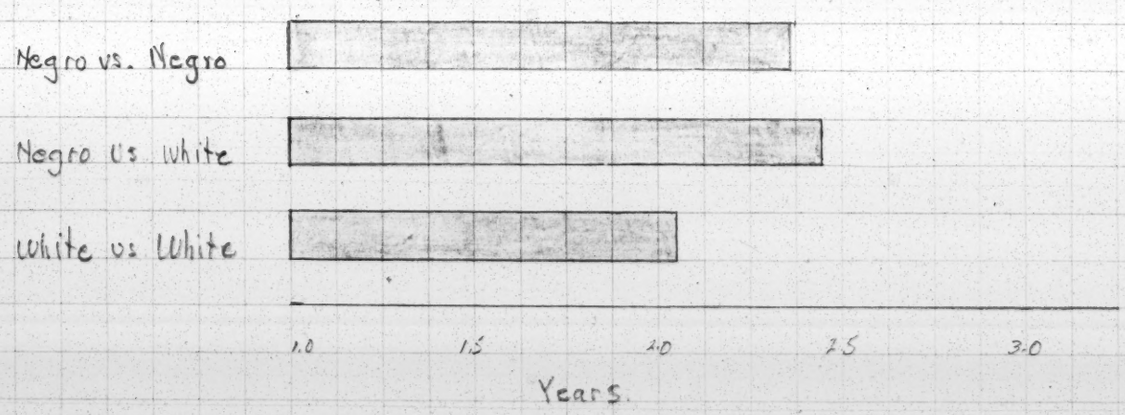


Figure F

Mean Length of Sentence - Crimes Against Property - by Class of Offender Adverse Party - for Caddo and Forsyth Counties

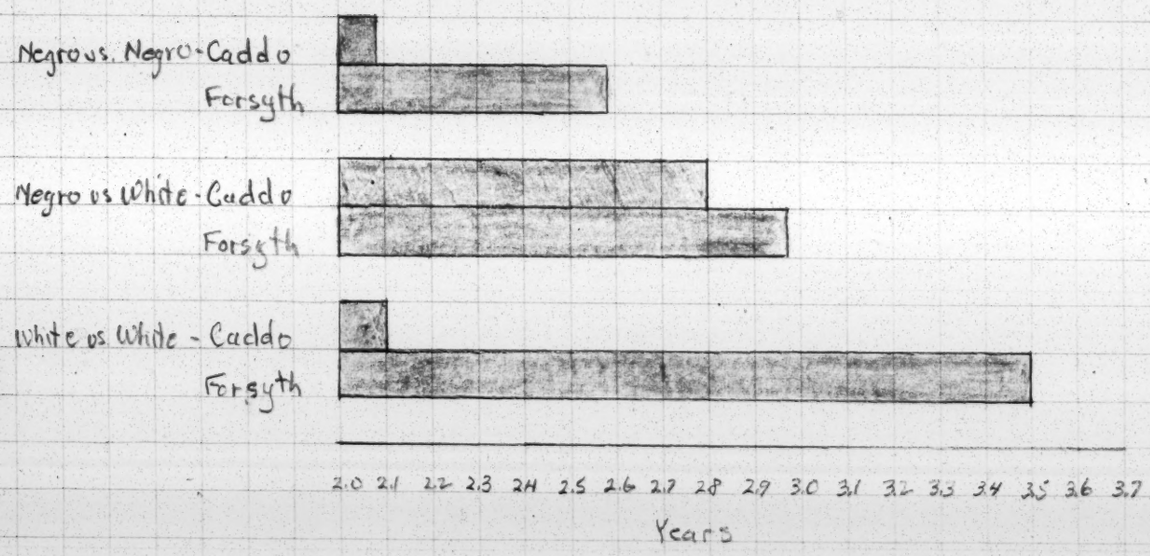
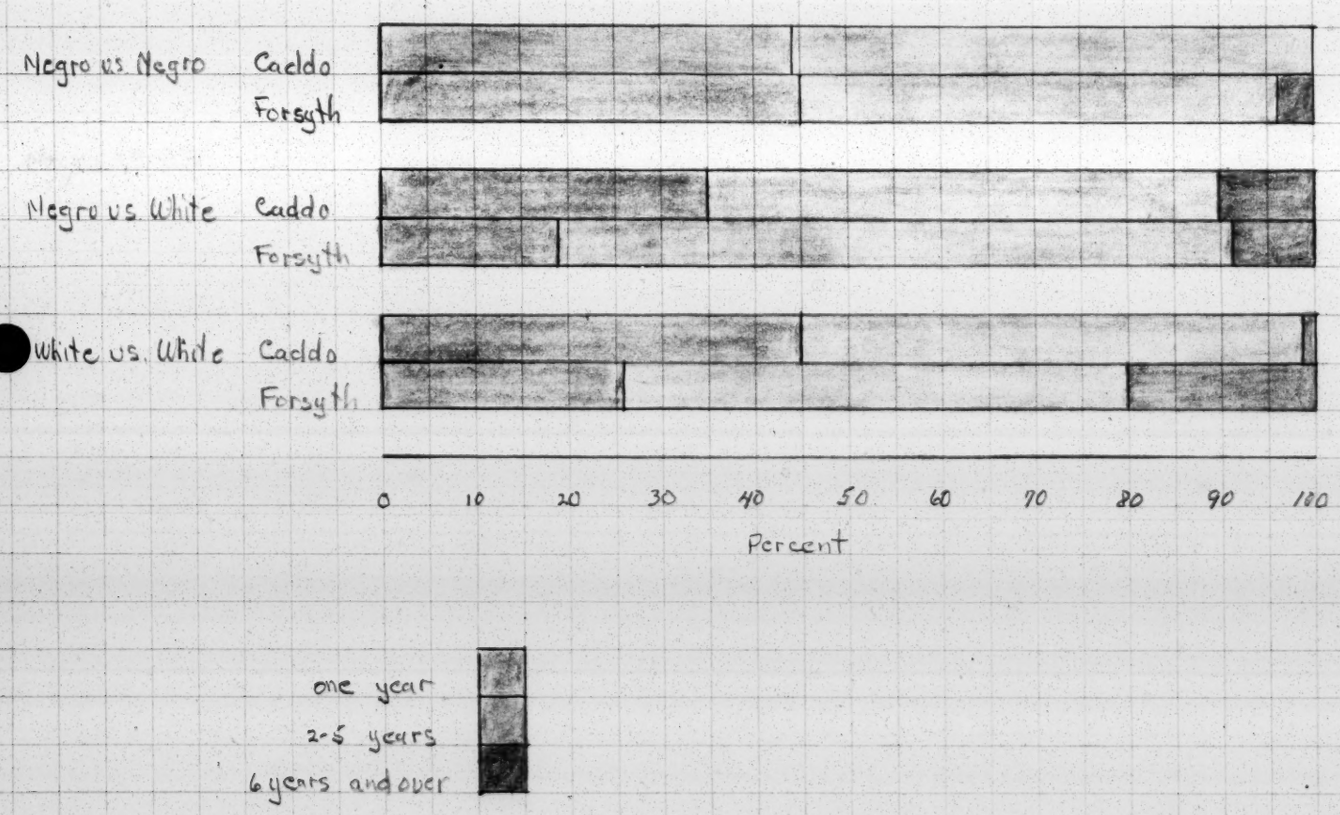


Figure G

Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against Property - Caddo and Forsyth Counties - by class of Offender - Adverse Party



It appears however, from a study of Table 6 and Figure H that for the total sample where crimes against the person are concerned Negro offenders tended to receive the heaviest penalties. By far the greatest numbers of crimes against the person were committed by Negroes against other Negroes. Of the 191 such cases 33 percent received a penalty of less than one year. On the other hand, of the 54 such cases in which whites were involved against other whites, over half (52%) received penalties of less than one year. Tables 6 & 7, Fig H

Although there are too few cases of murder to justify placing much confidence in the findings of this study, it appears that in cases where Negroes murdered other Negroes there was a greater likelihood that the sentence would be other than a life or death sentence. In cases where whites were involved as the murdered person, the sentence was almost always life or death. Thus, not only does it appear that Negro property is receiving less protection from the law than is white property, but the Negro person is also receiving less protection. In one county a field worker reported a clerk of the court as having said "I never heard of a nigger getting the death penalty for killing another nigger in this County".

Because of the small number of violent crimes in the sample and the extreme dispersal in the length of sentences, the figures on mean or median length of sentence do not provide a stabel enough measure to be satisfactory for purposes of analysis. These figures have been computed but

not included in this report.

Table 6.

Percent Distribution of Sentences by Class of Offender for Crimes Against the Person - Total Sample

| | Total | | Length of Sentence - Percent | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | Less Than One Year | 1-5 Years | 6-10 Years | 11 Years and Over | Life and Death |
| Negro vs. Negro | 191 | 100 | 33 | 34 | 17 | 09 | 07 |
| Negro vs. White | 18 | 100 | 33 | 45 | 22 | 00 | 00 |
| White vs. White | 54 | 100 | 52 | 24 | 07 | 06 | 11 |

Table 7.

Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person Caddo ~~County~~ Parish, Louisiana

| | Total Number | Total Percent | Terms of the Sentence-Percent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Less than One Year | 1-10 Years | 11years and Over | Life and Death |
| Negro vs. Negro | 93 | 100 | 52 | 37 | 04 | 07 |
| Negro vs. White | 6 | 100 | 67 | 33 | 00 | 00 |
| White vs. White | 31 | 100 | 71 | 13 | 03 | 13 |

Figure H

Terms of the Sentence - Crimes Against Persons - Class of Offender
Adverse Party

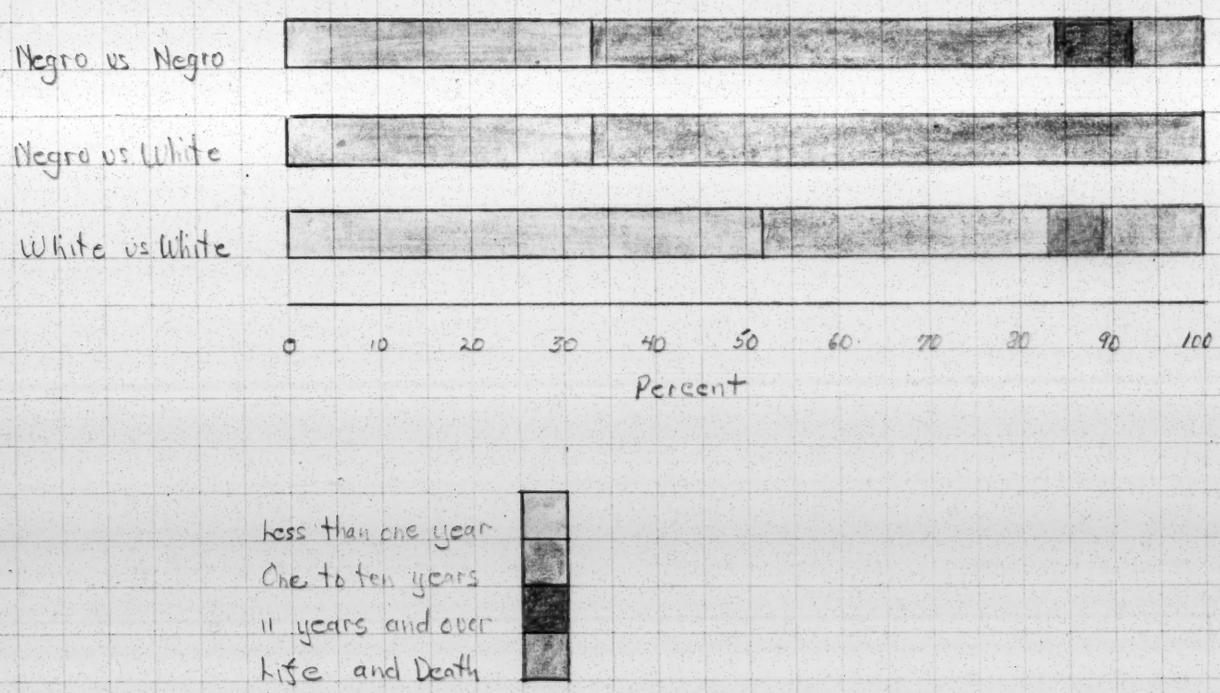


Table 8.

Percent Distribution of Sentences for Crimes Against the Person - Forsyth County, North Carolina

| | Total | | Terms of Sentence - Percent | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Percent | Less than One Year | 1-10 Years | 11 Years and Over | Life and Death |
| Negro vs. Negro | 46 | 100 | 15 | 78 | 07 | 00 |
| Negro vs. White | 6 | 100 | 17 | 83 | 00 | 00 |
| White vs. White | 7 | 100 | 00 | 100 | 00 | 00 |

Sentences Under One Year

Due to the special considerations concerning the cases in which the sentences received were under one year a special analysis of these sentences was done. The following tables represent the findings from this analysis. (see p. 24 A 1)

Table 9.

Crimes Against the Person - Distribution of Sentences Under One Year for Two Classes of Crime by Class of Offender Total Sample

| | Total | | Length of Sentence - Percent | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | Number | No Jail Sentence | 0-6 Months Sentence | 6-12 Months Sentence |
| Negro vs. Negro | 100 | 63 | 30 | 48 | 22 |
| White vs. White | 100 | 28 | 50 | 39 | 11 |

Note: Chi Square was 3.6901 with 2 degrees of freedom. This is significant at between the 101 and .2 levels of confidence.

insert p 8

The findings in Table 9 indicate that there is a mild relationship between harshness of penalty and the race of the offender. However, it is not high enough to be considered statistically significant. The relationship is such that Negroes tend to receive harsher penalties than do whites for crimes against the person in this penalty category. tab 9

before 10

Table 10.

Distribution of Sentences Under One Year for Crimes Against Property - by Class of Offender - Total Sample

| | Total | | Length of Sentence-Percent | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | Number | Under Six Months | Six Months And Over |
| Negro vs. Negro | 100 | 20 | 45 | 55 |
| Negro vs. White | 100 | 32 | 50 | 50 |
| White vs. White | 100 | 40 | 52 | 48 |

Note: Chi Square of .3000 with two degrees of freedom. This is significant at the .8 to .7 levels of confidence.

In the case of the sentences under one year for crimes against property there seems to be no significant bias in the sentencing procedure; in fact, the correspondence between the distribution of sentences for the three classes of offenders calls for comment. This agreement could be attributed to chance or it might possibly reflect the operation of a constant factor such as an emphasis, on the part of the judges, on equal penalties. It seems likely that if this movement were to be showing some sucess it would be in this

type of crime that it would first become evident.

SUMMARY

We can now turn to a brief over view of the findings from this analysis. In brief, there is evidence of not inconsiderable racial bias in the legal processes of passing sentence on convicted felons in the six counties studied.

In general the Negro offender was less likely to receive the lighter types of sentences including suspended sentences and fines. On the other hand, the whites who committed crimes against Negroes tended to receive a disproportionately high percentage of suspended sentences.

If consideration is given to the protection offered to the adverse party in the cases studied it is apparent that here again the Negro received less than his share of protection from the courts.

In the case of both crimes against the person and crimes against property the Negro offender received harsher treatment at the hands of the court than did the white offender. This was particularly marked in crimes against property where the crime involved a Negro offender and a white as adverse party.

In an analysis of two of the counties in the sample - Caddo ~~County~~ Parish and Forsyth County - one can see a somewhat different pattern of sentencing. In Forsyth County the Negro offender appears to receive penalties quite similar to those given to white offenders in that area. On the other hand Caddo ~~County~~ is marked by a high degree of differentiation in the sentencing procedure in this respect. The

tendency there was to give the Negro offender higher penalties than were given to the whites. This was particularly marked in cases where the adverse party was white.

In general these findings are consistant with those reported in the studies by Johnson and Garfinkel cited above.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Two major conclusions as to methodology can be drawn from this study. Each of them has implications for further research in this area. The most important conclusion - and one that may seem trite - is that this is an area of exceding complexity. Not only is the administration of the law itself a highly specialized field, but the process of such administration in a rapidly evolving caste structured society makes the research problems seem almost insurmountable.

On the basis of this consideration of the complexity of the problem and of the number of variables to be measured and/or controlled, the second conclusion is drawn. It is this. A further investigation in this area should be made based upon an understanding of the importance of a wide variety of factors which enter into the administration of justice. It would be advisable to control as many of these variables as possible in the introductory stages of the research process. Therefore, the most suitable technique for the early investigation will be the case method. One particular area, preferably one county, might be choosen in which to carry on a case study. In this way some of the following variables could be controlled: differences in the law itself, differences in the processes leading up to the

final conviction and sentencing, differences in the social structural characteristics from one area to another (i.e. differences in the caste structure), and differences in the general socio-economic characteristics of the population being studied.

It seems probable that one of the primary variables which should be studied in this area of equal penalties is the class-status variable. It is possible that a legitimate bias exists in the administration of justice. Such a bias, when pointed out to a jurist would be defended as basic in our system of law. It is probable that in sentencing a convicted criminal the judge takes into account factors other than the simple criminal act itself. Thus, he may be concerned with the probabilities that any given prisoner will return to his community as a law abiding citizen. If these probabilities are different, or are thought to be different, for different socio-economic groups then it is likely that differences in harshness of sentences will be related to them. In other words, if the incidence of recidivism were higher among the members of the lower socio-economic class then a judge would be likely to take this into account in the sentencing of these people. He would defend this practice in the light of the norms of the existing legal system. Thus, in order to establish bias in the sentencing process, it would be well to plan to take into account this factor of socio-economic differences and match the Negro and white portions of the sample on this variable.

A major focus of such a case study might well be on the

situational definitions hypotheses of Garfinkel and upon the factors which pose and modify these definitions.

APPENDIX A.

Investigator _____

2. County:

_____

3. No. _____
As shown on docket

4. (a) Offender's name:

_____

(b) Adverse party:

_____

5. Dates:

Comm. crime _____

Indictment _____

Sentence _____

1. Dates following records are consulted:

Docket _____

Indictment _____

List other records, if consulted, such as:

Veterans or Selective Ser. _____

School _____

Voting registration _____

Marriage license office _____

National Guard _____

Local prison, jail or chaingang _____

_____

_____

6. Description of parties:

| | Sex | Age | Race | Mar. Stat. | Lit. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Offender . . . | | | | | |
| Adverse party | | | | | |

7. Offense as defined by:

Warrant _____ Indictment _____

(Guilty Plea) (Verdict): _____

_____

8. Property involved: Value _____ (Source info.) _____

Nature _____

9. Terms of sentence: _____

_____

_____

10. Notes and remarks: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## APPENDIX B.

### The Sample

The sample design used in this study included three major variables or dimensions. These were (1) an areal dimension - six southeastern counties in as many different states, (2) a temporal dimension - sentences passed in the five year period from 1949 through 1953, and (3) a sample of courts in each county. The latter aspect of the sample design was included to insure the fairly complete coverage of felonies for which convictions were secured in each county.

Some estimate as to the representativeness of the sample in these three dimensions may be made. The following table represents the distribution of useable cases which were finally included in the total sample.

Table 11.

Frequency and Percent of Cases of Convicted Felons by Type of Crime for Six Southeastern Counties

| County | Total Sample | | Type of Crime: Against Persons | | Type of Crime: Against Property | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Totals | 1267 | 100 | 402 | 100 | 865 | 100 |
| Bartow, Ga. | 117 | 09 | 29 | 07 | 88 | 10 |
| Bamberg, S.C. | 52 | 04 | 26 | 06 | 26 | 03 |
| Ahala, Miss. | 71 | 06 | 36 | 09 | 35 | 04 |
| Montgomery, Ala. | 168 | 13 | 48 | 12 | 120 | 14 |
| Caddo, La. | 616 | 49 | 197 | 49 | 419 | 48 |
| Forsyth, N.C. | 243 | 19 | 66 | 16 | 177 | 20 |

Obivously, the six counties are not equally represented in the sample. The three rural counties of Bartow, Georgia, Bamberg, South Carolina, and Ahala, Mississippi, add a total of ninteen percent of the cases to the sample. Even more striking is the fact that Caddo County provided almost half of the total number of cases. Whether or not these unequal returns from the six counties represents some under-enumeration of cases in some of the counties cannot be established but we may conclude that our findings are based largely on the returns from Caddo and the other urban counties.

Table 12 indicated the distribution of crimes in the time dimension. Here it may be noted that the sample seems to be biased in the direction of having more of the cases reported for the earlier years, 1949 and 1950. Sixty-six percent of the total number of cases reported in the sample were recorded in these years. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that some of the field workers experienced difficulties in securing and recording all the data required and thus,recording the data from the earlier years, biased the sample in this direction.

Table 12.

Number and Percent of Convicted Felons in Six Southeastern Counties by Year of Trial

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 1267 | 100 |
| 1949 | 507 | 40 |
| 1950 | 284 | 22 |
| 1951 | 175 | 14 |
| 1952 | 141 | 11 |
| 1953 | 145 | 11 |
| Unknown | 15 | 02 |

It is difficult to assess the importance of this bias in the sample. However, if there is any reason to believe that the conditions of sentencing in the courts have changed during this period then the bias may be important. It is reported that one of the communities under investigation in this report recently experienced a community self-survey. One of the foci of this self-survey was on the problem of the courts and equal penalties considerations. It may be that the sample fails to represent adequately this change.

The final consideration in this section is concerned with the selection of the courts from which the data were to be gathered. The investigators consulted the records of the superior courts in each of the counties studied. In addition, in the urban counties, the city court records were consulted. In view of the fact that a rather large proportion of the sentences studied were under one year, it is probable that a large number of non-felony cases have been included in the sample. The state laws generally define a felony as any crime which is punishable by a minimum of one year in the penitentiary or a fine of $500.00 or both. Thus, the above mentioned cases probably include some non-felonies.

In most states simple assault is not considered a felony although the actual distinctions along this line are not clear. The only way to remedy the problem of the inclusion of these cases in the sample would have been to delete them. This procedure would have shrunk the size of an already too small sample and would have rendered statistical testing of

the findings virtually impossible. In view of the fact that all of the cases in which the offense was known to have been a misdemeanor were removed at the outset of the analysis, it is felt that there was justification for including these under-one-year cases in the analysis.

In treating the sample for analysis it was discovered that in a number of cases a man had been tried and convicted of several crimes at a single trial. Some of the field workers treated each count as a separate trial, even though a composite sentence had been passed. In order to minimize the bias from this source each man was included in the sample only once unless he had been tried for two different crimes on two separate dates.

Appendix C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
WAlnut 7963

INSTRUCTIONS TO RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

1. The left hand corner of each schedule contains a space for your name and for the dates on which you examine each set of records containing information about the case described on the schedule. The docket and the indictment and certain other public records are listed. If you consult additional records, list them separately, in all cases noting the date you examined each record. It is important that we have a record of each source that is consulted, and that we know when you consulted each source.

2. Fill in the county on each schedule, giving abbreviation of state after county, as "Bartow, Ga."

3. In the space after "No." enter the number of the case as shown on the docket or calendar kept by the clerk of the court.

4. The offender's name will appear in the docket book, though the name of the adverse party may not. If there are several offenders involved in the same case (all entered under one indictment), fill out a separate schedule for each person who pled guilty or was convicted. Personal data is needed for each individual, and a different disposition may be made of each person's charge. The name of the adverse party may appear on the indictment. If not, consult other records listed on questionnaire.

5. Spaces are allowed for the date the crime was committed, the date of the indictment and the date of the sentence. You may not be able to secure all these dates, but should attempt to do so, particularly as to sentence.

6. In the table provided for "Description of parties,"
   a. Indicate race or color by the letter N for Negro, W for white. This information may not appear in obvious form on the docket or indictment.

There is sometimes a coding system on indictments whereby a "c" for colored or "n" for Negro, likewise a "w" for white, indicates the race of the offender. This code letter may be found in the corner of the indictment or in some other relatively obscure part of the indictment or other documents. You may get race only through prison records.

b. Sex may be indicated by M for Male and F for Female.

c. Age at time of sentence is desired. If age should appear n warrant, indictment, or other record incdient to trial, allowance may have to be made for lapse of time until imposition of sentence. Indicate source of information as follows: Warrant - 20 yrs. (War.), indictment - 20 yrs (Ind.), prison or chaingang records - 20 yrs. (PR) or (CGR), verbal statement - 20 yrs. (VS). If other records are used indicate likewise.

d. Marital status is indicated by Married, Divorced, Single, Widowed, or Unknown. Status at sentence is desired.

e. Literacy is indicated by illiterate, 3rd grade, 2 yrs high schools, grad. high school, 2 yrs. college., AB degree, etc.

Note that less information is sought for the adverse party. If the adverse party should be a partnership or copporation, as may happen in cases of larceny, embezzlement, etc., write under "Race", "white partnership," "Negro corporation," as the facts may justify. You then omit "Age" and "Sex" for the adverse party.

7. Under "Offense as defined by", it may be noted that the warrant may describe the crime in one way, the indictment in another and the plea or verdict in still another. For example, the warrant may charge assault and battery with intent to kill, the indictment assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature, but the verdict may be guilty of simple assault, or there may be a plea of guilty of simple assault. Each step should appear in the schedule.

If there is more than one count in the indictment, the most serious should be taken. For example, a murder indictment will often have a separate count

charging carrying a concealed or unlawful weapon. The latter may be ignored unless it appears in plea or verdict. If abbreviations are used, please make them sufficiently full as to be intelligible. State either the "Plea" or the "Verdict" in the case. If the offender enters a guilty plea, strike out the inapplicable word. State the plea or the verdict in the space provided completely as it is ascertained from the indictment: "Guilty of assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature," or whatever the form.

8. There will be no entries regarding "Property involved" except in crimes against property, such as burglary, housebreaking, larceny, embezzelment and breach of trust. In any event there will be no entry except where the nature or value of property involved appears.

   Actual value, if established, is desired. This may appear in verdict, testimony, indictment or warrant -- in descending order of significance. Give source , as verdict, testimony, etc. Frequently the only obtainable figure will be "more than $20".

   In larceny cases the nature of the property may appear, as government bonds, automobile, hog, etc. This nature should be reported.

9. State the terms of the sentence fully, including suspension, if any, or other conditions. Use numerals instead of written words to conserve space.

10. Under "Notes and Remarks" write any information of significance not otherwise disclosed, or comments on records used.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The study will be limited to:

A. Homicide, including murder, manslaughter, involuntary manslaughter, murder in the first degree, murder in the second degree and all other offenses in which death has resulted.

B. Felonious assault, including assault and battery with intent to kill, assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature, simple assault, mayhem and assault with a deadly weapon.

C. Sex offenses, limited to rape, assault with intent to rape and indecent assault upon a female.

D. Crimes against property, including burglary, house breaking, larceny, embezzlement and breach of trust.

For your convenience an alphabetical list of these crimes is attached.

The period to be covered (using dates of imposition of sentences) begins January 1, 1949 and ends December 31, 1953.

The court records involved will be those pertaining to the state courts of general criminal jurisdiction. In some counties there may be additionally a county court having general criminal jurisdiction. If so, its records also will be examined. We will undertake to give you the titles of the relevant courts in the counties you will study. Courts of mayors, recorders, magistrates, justices of the peace, etc., have no jurisdiction over the crimes with which we are concerned.

SUGGESTED METHOD OF WORK

1. First consult the court criminal docket or calendar, by whatever name called. Cases are listed in chronological order, according to the date on which they were heard. Turn to the point where imposition of sentence is January 1, 1949, or the next subsequent date. That will be your starting point.

2. Take the column of the docket headed "Crime" or "Offense" or some similar term and go down this column carefully until you find "Murder," "Larceny" or one of the other crimes in which we are interested. Transcribe to your schedule all the information revealed by the docket. Continue in this manner, entering all those crimes with which we are concerned, one to a schedule, through December 31, 1953. If the verdict is "Not guilty" or the case is nol prossed (mistrial), transferred to an inferior court or placed on the contingent docket, disregard the case. Fill out schedules for all cases transferred to a higher court or court of equal jurisdiction. An inferior court is usually a court of magistrate, justice of the peace, mayor, or recorder. A higher court or court of equal jurisdiction will probably

be a county court or superior court. You may findthat the docket enteries are in highly abbreviated form. The "Crime" may be described as "a to m" or "L of A" meaning "assault with attempt to murder" and "larceny of automobile". If this is true, master the "code" for recording items in the docket before attempting to fill out your schedules. A general term such as "felony" may be used on docket. A more specific charge will be found in other records.

3. The docket will not begin to yield all the information in which we are interested. But it will probably give the number of a roll or file in which are kept the warrant, indictment, bond, testimony, coronor's report , correspondence. The docket number itself may be the file number. Systems of filing the pertinent records very, but you will be able to trace the cases appearing on the docket to these records. The file or roll will fill in some gaps. But there may remain many others.

4. Some of the remaining questions may be answered by consulting the records suggested in item 1 on the schedule. In some states there will be records in the state department of prisons or attorney general's office. Unanswered questions should be held and grouped to be answered by one trip to the necessary department or institution. Trips to state institutions or archives outside your assigned county must be cleared in advance through the Atlanta office.

5. After all records have been consulted there will probably remain certain unanswered questions, particularly as to the adverse party. You will have in hand the name of the offender, the crime, the date of crime and sentence and probably the name of the adverse party. Files of local newspapers around the date of the crime may give you additional answers, although this will probably be true in only the more spectacular crimes. We suggest that these be consulted and that the sheriff, clerk or other court officials may give from memory facts which nowhere appear on the public records. Newspapers, and persons outside the family of persons involved should be

consulted last, as they are generally less reliable. Please indicate any source outside official records upon which you rely, as "newspaper," "court official", "member family," etc. in the space for notes. If you feel the matter needs some comment, as when relying on a person who strikes you as vague or unsure, make a note of this also.

We are aware that, after all sources have been exhausted, in many instances you will not be able to supply all the information desired. We ask that you exhaust only the reasonable possibilities.

6. Please fill out all schedules in duplicate, using a good, clear carbon. Print with a pencil, as you will have to make erasures. When you have completed a schedule or entered all the information that can be gotten the original can be mailed to the Atlanta office. We ask that you mail the first few you complete immediately, so that we can see how much of the information you are able to secure. After that, you can mail a batch at the end of each week. Carefully preserve the carbon copy so that, if necessary, correspondence may be easily conducted.

7. Bear in mind that you have access to these records through the courtesy of their custodian. He should be informed that at any time he or any one else wishes to examine the records which you are examining, his prior claim will be cheerfully recognized.

8. Lawyers using the clerk's office will generally be glad to be helpful. Do not hesitate to ask for their advice or information.

9. Please advise the Atlanta office immediately as to how you may be reached by mail, telephone or telegraph.

10. Keep accurate records of any expenses directly related to the research project, including travel to your assigned county, any trips back to Atlanta for conference or trips to prisons and other institutions, authorized by the Atlanta office. There will also be incidental expenses, such as stamps, carbon paper, envelopes, etc. which come under the research budget. You may send itemized bills to the Atlanta office and be reimbursed

for these necessary expenditures. Telephone calls and wires to the Atlanta office can be made collect. All your personal expenses -- room, food, laundry, recreation -- must be taken care of by the stipend which the Atlanta office will send you every week.

Upon completion of the work we will pay transportation charges back to Haverford or your places of residence, assuming such places involve substantially no more expense than the trip to Haverford.

11. You will be expected to work a forty hour week. It is contemplated that your services will be required for a minimum of four weeks, not necessarily in the same locality.

5/15/54

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CRIMES

Assault, aggravated

Assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature

Assault and battery with intent to kill

Assault, felonious

Assault, indecent, upon a female

col 23 Assault, simple

Assault with a deadly weapon

Assault with intent to rape

Breach of trust with fraudulent intent

Breaking and entering

Burglary

Embezzlement

Homicide

Housebreaking

Larceny

col 24 Manslaughter

26

Manslaughter, involuntary

28

Mayhem

Murder

Rape

NOTE: If the crime is described on the docket as "misdemeanor," the case is of no interest to this study. If, however, the crime is described as "felony," the specific description of the offense should be obtained from other pertinent records to see if it falls within the scope of the study, since "felony" is a general term descriptive of many offenses.

## APPENDIX D.

### Some Observations by the Field Workers

In view of the fact that several serious difficulties were experienced by the field workers in the process of data collection for this project, and with an eye to future research ventures in this area, this appendix has been complied to indicate some of the major problems in this regard. The problems specifically mentioned by the field workers may be listed as follows:

a- orientation to the field situation

b- the heavy load of cases to be recorded

c- the multiplicity of sources of data

d- the lack of adequate data.

A brief comment on each of these points is in order. One of the field workers reported that he encountered hostility and suspicion upon entering into contact with one key community representative. This individual questioned the field worker's authority to see his records and made it exceedingly difficult to obtain the required data.

Another field worker reported that the number of cases he was required to record was so large that at the rate he was working it would have taken him several months to complete the assignment. An additional problem which complicated the data collection process was that the records from which data were to be gathered were scattered over the community and were under the control of several authorities. In some cases it was

necessary to work back and forth from one set of records to another which proved to be a complicated and time consuming process. In one or two instances the field worker was not authorized to use a source of data and therefore could not gather the required information. Again, adequate data on some of the schedule items were not available; a fact often not known until the field worker entered the community.

Some of these difficulties are expressed in the following excerp from a letter to Dr. Mitchell from Otis Johnson dated July 1, 1954.

"Our general system on the project started with the judgement docket from which we got the file number, defendent's name, date of sentence, and whether the defendent pleaded guilty or was tried and found guilty. With the file number we then found the packet containing the warrant, indictment, usually the prison committment, and a number of other papers connected with the case. This gave us all the information we needed with the exception of the sex, age, and race of the adverse party, and the martial status, literacy, and previous convictions of the defendent. Refering to the alphabetical list of past offenders, we then found previous convictions.

At this point our troubles started. We were not allowed access to the draft records, and the V.A. said their records would be of no help. Marriage records are indexed chronologically so that they were of no help. Voting registrations were not available to us unless we hired a member of the Board of Elections to be with us all the time and the helpfulness even then was doubtful. The school records for the county (except the city) are only available back to 1947, and in the city school records only about one person out of ten was listed when I went over about sixty persons we were interested in. County tax records are kept for all those people paying taxes on property or paying a poll tax (which is just a head tax on every adult male with no penalty for non-payment.) These gave sex, age, and race (all by code), but even the ratio of those listed to those looked up was about one to four or five. Apparently there are many people avoiding the poll tax. As a last resort we turned to Hill's City Directory for the years 1947-1948, 1949-1950, and 1953, but although the older ones (not 1953) gave marital status and race, many persons live outside the city limits. In order to make sure we had the right person, we had to refer back to the warrant for the address of the offender and adverse party.

As a result of all this you will find many blank squares under age, sex, race of the adverse party, and marital status of the offender. In no records at all could we find any mention

of literacy."

Another problem not specifically mentioned by the field workers, but indirectly inferred from their letters, involved the definition of legal terminology and specific crimes to be included in the sample.

There are several suggestions for future research in this problem which may be derived from these experiences. First, the number of decisions and time consuming investigation and clearing of sources for data could be reduced if the director of the project were to visit each community prior to the fieldworker obtaining the required information concerning sources and also the necessary clearances. This could save hours of unproductive field work and in addition aid in the preparation of the schedule itself. Some estimate of the number of cases might be made, thus providing the basis for an estimate of the ammount of field work time required in each community.

This information would make it possible to draw up a set of instructions for each community to be studied. These could be made available for use by the field worker.

Some preliminary experience in the data collection might be planned to train the field workers and also to test the research instrument which has been developed. During this period an actual trial run might be arranged in some easily available community and carried out under the guidance of the project director..

data is given in Appendix D. Appendix C provides a discussion of the sample finally achieved in the study.

## FINDINGS

### Data Analysis

A total of 1267 cases were secured from the total number of cases submitted by the field investigators. An analysis of the distribution of these cases by the various sampling dimensions is included in Appendix C.

In view of the fact that the primary emphasis of the analysis in this study has been to estimate the bias in sentencing which was exercised by the courts in the six counties under consideration, one of our main problems was to determine a measure which could be used for this purpose. Two measures have been used in the study. These include: (1) the mean or average sentence, and (2) the per cent distribution of sentences by class of offender. In cases of crimes against persons, the mean number of years of sentence was not an adequate measure due to the wide dispersion of the sentences and also to the difficulty of assigning any number of years to life and death sentences. We experimented with the use of the median in these cases, but the small frequency of cases rendered this measure unstable.

In all cases where major breakdowns have been made, Chi square was used to test the significance of differences.

### Type of Crime

In general, it was impossible to break the sample down both by the class of offender and by the type of crime committed. The specific crimes listed do not (except in the case of burglary and larceny) include enough cases to make such an analysis fruitful. The general procedure was to break the type of crime down into two classes. These were: (1) crimes against the person, and (2) crimes ~~against property. This procedure seems to be satisfactory both from the point~~

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| Dr. Guy B. Johnson<br>University of North Carolina<br>Chapel Hill, North Carolina | Professor of Sociology, University<br>of North Carolina; former Executive<br>Director of Southern Regional Council |
| President David D. Jones<br>Bennett College<br>Greensboro, North Carolina | |
| Mr. Z. A. Looby<br>419 Fourth Avenue, N.<br>Nashville, Tennessee | Attorney |
| Rev. M. W. H. Marmion<br>1910 12th Ave., S.<br>Birmingham 5, Alabama | Episcopal Rector |
| Mr. Armand May<br>P. O. Box 1535<br>Atlanta 1, Georgia | Business Executive |
| President Benjamin E. Mays<br>Morehouse College<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Vice-President, Federal Council of<br>Churches of Christ in America |
| Dr. E. A. McDowell<br>Southern Baptist Theological Seminary<br>Louisville, Kentucky | Professor, New Testament Interpretation |
| Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara<br>222 East Harris Street<br>Savannah, Georgia | Atlanta-Savannah Diocese,<br>Catholic Church |

| Members | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| Mr. L. D. Milton<br>Citizens Trust Company<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Bank President |
| Dr. George S. Mitchell<br>63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Executive Director of the<br>Southern Regional Council |
| Bishop Arthur J. Moore<br>Wesley Memorial Building<br>63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Bishop, Methodist Church |
| Mr. Alfred Mynders<br>Chattanooga Times<br>Chattanooga, Tennessee | Editor |
| Dr. N. C. Newbold<br>State Department of Public Instruction<br>Raleigh, North Carolina | Director of Negro Education |
| Dr. Howard W. Odum<br>University of North Carolina<br>Chapel Hill, North Carolina | Head, Department of Sociology<br>Former President of SRC |
| The Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara<br>222 East Harris Street<br>Savannah, Georgia | Atlanta-Savannah Diocese<br>Catholic Church |
| Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.<br>Lousiville Municipal College<br>Seventh and Kentucky Sts.<br>Louisville 3, Kentucky | Professor |
| President F. D. Patterson<br>Tuskegee Institute<br>Tuskegee, Alabama | |
| Dr. Raymond Paty<br>State Capitol<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Chancellor, University System<br>of Georgia |
| Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick<br>802 Hillsboro Street<br>Raleigh, North Carolina | Bishop, Episcopal Church |
| Mr. John G. Pollard, Jr.<br>Belle Isle Farm<br>Lancaster County<br>Somers, Virginia | |
| Mrs. W. H. Ratliff<br>Sherard<br>Mississippi | President of Southeastern Jurisdiction<br>of the Womans Society of Christian<br>Service of the Methodist Church |

| Members | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| Mr. Edgar W. Ray<br>Tampa Daily Times<br>Tampa, Florida | Editor, Tampa Times; Chairman of Tampa Urban League |
| President Jacob L. Reddix<br>Jackson College<br>Jackson, Mississippi | |
| Dr. Ira De A. Reid<br>Atlanta University<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Head, Sociology Department Atlanta University;formerly Associate Executive Director of SRC |
| Mr. G. D. Rogers<br>1416 N. Boulevard<br>Tampa, Florida | President, Central Life Insurance Co. |
| Dr. R. L. Russell<br>Wesley Memorial Church<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Retired Methodist Minister; Director Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation |
| Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer<br>1525 Robinson St.<br>Jackson 26, Mississippi | Lutheran Minister; Chairman of Mississippi Division of SRC |
| President J. W. Seabrook<br>Fayetteville State Teachers College<br>Fayetteville, N. C. | |
| Mr. Philip Shulhafer<br>2636 Dellwood Drive, N. W.<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Business Executive |
| Mrs. Alice Spearman<br>Algene Acres<br>Newberry, S. C. | Former Social Worker, Executive Secretary of South Carolina Division of SRC |
| Dean Thomas S. Staples<br>Hendrix College<br>Conway, Arkansas | |
| Mr. Edgar B. Stern<br>840 Union Street<br>New Orleans, La. | Cotton Factor |
| Mrs. A. M. P. Strong<br>Box 503<br>Marianna, Arkansas | Formerly president, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers |
| Dr. J. G. Stuart, M. D.<br>2030 Taylor Street<br>Columbia, S. C. | |
| Miss Florence Sytz<br>Tulane School of Social Work<br>New Orleans, Louisiana | Professor |

| Members | Notes |
| --- | --- |
| President Harold L. Trigg<br>St. Augustine's College<br>Raleigh, North Carolina | Formerly Associate Executive Director of SRC |
| Mr. J. M. Tydings<br>Lincoln Institute of Kentucky<br>Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky | Business Manager, Lincoln Institute, Chairman, Kentucky Division of SRC |
| Dr. Forrester B. Washington<br>Atlanta University School of Social Work<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Director |
| Mr. Carter Wesley<br>Houston Informer<br>P. O. Box 3086<br>Houston, Texas | Pfesident and Publisher, the Informer Newspapers; Third Vice-President of SRC |
| Mr. John H. Wheeler<br>Mechanics and Farmers Bank<br>Durham, North Carolina | Vice President-Cashier |
| President Goodrich C. White<br>Emory University<br>Georgia" | |
| Miss Josephine Wilkins<br>Forsyth Building<br>Atlanta, Georgia | Director, Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia |
| Mr. Aubrey Williams<br>Southern Farmer<br>Montgomery 1, Alabama | Publisher |
| Mr. Paul D. Williams<br>3320 Gloucester Road<br>Richmond, Virginia | President SRC; Vice President, Mentzer-Bush Publishing Company, Director, Catholic Committee of the South |
| Mr. Marion A. Wright<br>"Tip Top"<br>Linville,Falls, N. C. | Retired Attorney; former chairman of South Carolina Division of SRC |
| Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.<br>Journal and Guide<br>Norfolk, Virginia | Editor and Publisher; first Vice-President of SRC |
| Mrs. Warren Zeuch<br>Vero Beach<br>Florida | Active in Civicc and Episcopal Church Affairs<br>Secretary-Treasurer of Florida Division of the SRC |

## List of Fellows of Southern Regional Council

1. W. Barton Beatty, Jr.
   Moorland Branch, Y. M. C. A.
   2700 Flora Street
   Dallas, Texas

2. William Y. Bell, Jr.
   American Council on Race Relations
   32 W. Randolph Street
   Chicago 1, Illinois

3. Dr. T. Ruth Brett
   Box 445
   Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

4. Paul Clanton
   14th and Pine Streets
   Pine Bluff, Arkansas

5. Chester Cowart
   610 W. Duval Street
   Jacksonville, Fla.

6. J. H. Daves
   404 Commercial National Bank Bldg.
   Knoxville, Tennessee

7. Dr. Dorothy Dickins
   Mississippi Experiment Station
   State College, Mississippi

8. Jerome A. Drolet
   St. Matthias Church
   3924 General Taylor Street
   New Orleans, Louisiana

9. S. E. Duncan
   State Dept. of Public Instruction
   Raleigh, North Carolina

10. Merl Eppse
    Tennessee A. & T. College
    Nashville 8, Tennessee

11. John R. Ewbank
    Philander Smith College
    Little Rock, Arkansas

12. Abbott L. Ferriss
    Box 925
    Chapel Hill, N. C.

13. John Hope Franklin
    North Carolina College
    Durham, North Carolina

14. Miss Eva L. Frazer
    121 East South Street
    Raleigh, North Carolina

15. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr.
    Pulaski Heights Christian Church
    Hillcrest and Spruce Streets
    Little Rock, Arkansas

16. Charles G. Gomillion
    Box 31
    Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

17. Miss Louise H. Hagner
    132 Hemenway Street
    Boston, Massachusetts

18. Miss Josephine Hamilton
    Chattanooga High School
    East Third Street
    Chattanooga, Tennessee

19. Mozell C. Hill
    Department of Sociology
    Atlanta University
    Atlanta, Georgia

20. Robert M. Hughes
    15 F Pine Circle, N. E.
    Atlanta, Georgia

21. Cyrus M. Johnson
    Box 1208
    Raleigh, North Carolina

22. R. E. Jones
    A. & T. College
    Box 68
    Greensboro, North Carolina

23. Howard J. Kester
    Penn School
    St. Helena Island
    Frogmore, S. C.

24. Miss Flemmie Kittrell
    Home Economics Department
    Howard University
    Washington, D. C.

25. Mrs. Nathan Lantor
    Box 528
    South Boston, Virginia

26. John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work, N. C. State
Board of Charities and Public Welfare
Raleigh, North Carolina

27. Roscoe E. Lewis
Box 101
Hampton Institute, Va.

28. Howard G. McClain
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

29. Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 12½ Street
Hickory, North Carolina

30. Ernest E. Neal
Director Applied Education
Bishop College
Marshall, Texas

31. W. H. Pipes
Alcorn A. and M. College
Alcorn, Mississippi

32. John F. Potts, Director
Avery Institute
Charleston, S. C.

33. Harry W. Roberts
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

34. Allyn Robinson, Jr.
P. O. Box 1532
Raleigh, North Carolina

35. Asa T. Spaulding
North Carolina Life Ins. Co.
Durham, North Carolina

36. George Stephens
48 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

37. Robert A. Thompson
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

38. Jackson Valtair
5201 Belmont Street
Dallas, Texas

39. V. L. Wharton
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

40. Harry Williams
Institute for Research in
Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

41. Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly
537 Palmetto Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

42. Mr. G. D. Wilson
3344 Grand Avenue
Douisville, Kentucky

43. Leo J. Zuber
302 First Federal Building
44 Pryor St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
of the

KENTUCKY CHAPTER, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

1. NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Kentucky Chapter, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

2. PURPOSE

The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Kentucky Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in Kentucky, in the endeavor tompromote a greater unity in Kentucky in all efforts toward State and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in Kentucky on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

3. MEMBERSHIP

Membership shall be open to all individuals and organizations who subscribe to the purpose of this organization.

4. DUES

(a) The annual dues for individual membership in the Kentucky Chapter shall be $1.00.
(b) The Annual Dues for individual membership in the Southern Regional Council, Inc. shall be $2.00.
(c) The annual dues for local organizations shall be $5.00.
(d) The annual dues for state wide organizations shall be $10.00.

5. OFFICERS

(a) The officers shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Second Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

(b) The officers shall constitute an Executive Committee.

6. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

(a) The officers and at least six other representative persons chosen by the Executive Committee and in addition thereto delegated representatives from affiliated State wide organizations shall constitute the Board of Directors. At the annual meeting in 1946 and every year thereafter the six representative persons mentioned above shall be elected by the membership of the Council.

(b) All state wide affiliated organizations may appoint a member to represent them on the Board of Directors, and such appointment by the organization shall constitute membership on the Board of Directors.

7. MEETINGS

(a) An annual meeting of the Council shall be held each year. The date and place to be fixed by the Executive Committee.

(b) The Board of Directors shall meet at least four times a year at the call of the Chairman.

8. QUORUM

(a) A Majority of the officers constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

(b) A majority of the Board of Directors constitute a quorum of said Board.

(c) A majority of those present at a general meeting constitute a quorum, providing that the number present shall not be less than fifteen (15) members.

9. COMMITTEES

(a) There shall be the following Standing Committees:

Membership
Finance
Publicity

(b) The Board of Directors shall create other committees as the need for same arises.

10. AMENDMENT

This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended by the Board of Directors at any called meeting provided written notice of the change has been sent to each Director at least ten days before the meeting at which the change will be voted upon.

PROPOSED BY-LAWS

of the

MISSISSIPPI DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

The purpose of the Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council is: (1) to assemble information on social, economic, educational, and civic conditions in Mississippi; (2) to formulate constructive programs for social progress; (3) [illegible]on educational activities through publications, press, radio, and co[illegible] (4) to combat the causes of racial friction and to promote a spi[illegible]rstanding and cooperation between the races; (5) to work for such progressive changes as will result in the greatest good for all pepple in the state; (6) and to cooperate with other agencies in the attainment of these objectives.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members Members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of Mississippi.

Section 2. Dues Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council. It is understood that one-half of the dues remitted by Mississippi members shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Mississippi Division.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

## ARTICLE IV

### Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time, at such place as may be designated by the Executive Board. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Board at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than 5 per cent of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

## ARTICEL V

### Executive Board

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Board of not more than 25 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice Chairmen, the Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. The members of the first Executive Board elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of one-third expire in two years, one-third in four years, and one-third in six years. Each Executive Board member elected at such annual meetings shall hold office for a term of two years, and shall be eligible for re-election except that he may not serve more than two consecutive terms. The Chairman of the South Carolina shall be Chairman of the Executive Board. During the intervals between meetings of members, the Executive Board may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Board shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the South Carolina Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman of of any five members of the Board.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of 12 members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Board.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Board the remaining members of the Board may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than twenty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of businesssat all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as maybe provided by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than 12 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, and the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be ex officio members of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee ellected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of four expire in one year, four in two years, and four in three years. At each subsequent meeting, four members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve a term of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the state division shall be the Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the membefs.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the Mississippi Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of a committee.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of seven members, including ex officio members, shal constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Committee the remaining members of the Committee may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

ARTICLE VI

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, and a Secretary-Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of thes e offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee. The Chairman and first Vice Chairman shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. Advisory Committee. An Advisory Committee may be set up by the Executive Board to function in such ways, at such times, and for such duration as its discretion may seem best.

ARTICLE VI
Officers

The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, a Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Board. The Chairman and first Vice Chairman shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VII
Finances

Section 1. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the South Carolina Division shall be signed by the Treasurer.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and send a copy to SRC.

Note: $1.00 of the dues of each SRC member in South Carolina will be returned to the Treasurer of the South Carolina Division. Likewise, any contribution earmarked by South Carolina members for use in South Carolina will be returned.

ARTICLE VIII
Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

## ARTICLE VII
## Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Division shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and shall send a copy of the report to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council.

## ARTICLE VIII

## Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

| City or County | Uniformed Policemen | Plainclothesmen | Policewomen |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alexandria, Va. | | | 3(School) |
| Cape Charles, Va. | 1 | | |
| Hampton, Va. | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| NANSEMOND COUNTY, Va. | | 1 | |
| Newport News, Va. | 6 | | 3(School) |
| Norfolk, Va. | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| NORFOLK COUNTY, Va. | | | 2 |
| Petersburg, Va. | | | 1 |
| Portsmouth, Va. | 2 | | |
| PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY, Va. | 2 | | |
| Richmond, Va. | 16 | 3 | 2 |
| Roanoke, Va. | 3 | | |

T O T A L S

| States | Cities | Counties | Uniformed Men | Plainclothesmen | Policewomen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 143 | 22 | 618 | 92 | 112 |

DRAFT

Dear Kurt:

It has been nearly three years since we worked together on the board of the Dade County Council on Community Relations. Half-a-dozen times I have thought of writing you and telling you of my work with the Southern Regional Council.

I have been in charge of the field work of the Council, with special emphasis on coordinating our affiliated state organizations. These state Councils on Human Relations cover the South from Virginia out through Texas, and from Florida up through Kentucky. In each, an integrated Board of Directors plans program, raises funds, and directs the over-all activities of professional staff.

In spite of current difficulties, ~~We~~ still ~~am~~ are convinced we can build a democratic society in the South; that once we are over the orthodoxy of segregation and the obstacle of racism this region can be the most democratic in the nation. Certainly, we shall prove here within the next decade that a democratic ~~form of~~ our form of government, ~~such as ours~~, is capable of granting first class citizenship to all its people or we shall have dashed the hopes of mankind ~~against the rocks of anachronism.~~

The eyes of the world are upon the United States asking, "Dare we follow?" Two-thirds of the faces, from which those eyes look, are non-white. Their answer will depend on how we solve this great question of our generation. ~~I for one am~~ We are thankful to have even a small part in the solution of this problem.

The forces of opposition to desegregation, the unquestionable Law of the Land, can and do make great shows of strength in certain Southern States. Indeed, they control some of our State governments. But there is an increasing swell of sentiment for obedience to law and order.

The Southern Regional Council faces its task honestly and realistically. We know the job is not an easy one; we know it cannot be done overnight. We recognize we are the one region-wide, integrated, professionally staffed organization dedicatedly working for a society which will accord to each individual reward comensurate with his labor, and recognition of his dignity as a child of God.

In addition to the difficult task of working this out, there is also the problem of financing the work. Indeed, without financial backing it cannot be carried on. Although we received a husky grant from the Fund for the Republic, it constitutes only about a third of our total budget. The rest must come from lesser grants from other foundations, businesses, organized labor, and church groups. We are enjoying considerable aid from these other sources but need to raise some $40,000 from "unforeseen" sources annually.

Would our work fall within the area of interest of the Food Fair Foundation? To help determine this, I am enclosing some material on the Southern Regional Council. We would hope that the Food Fair Foundation would consider a grant of $5,000 annually

for three years. This is based on the size of grants from foundations of comparable size.

If you need any more information I will be glad to supply it.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

# A COMMUNITY AUDIT

This schedule has been designed to secure certain basic information about your city. Will you kindly answer to the best of your ability the questions listed herein?

Name of City_____

I. Race Relations

A. How would you rate the present state of race relations in your city?

Excellent_____ Good_____ Fair_____ Poor_____

B. Are White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan or other pro-segregationist groups active in your city? Please supply us with as much information as you can.

C. Can you identify any constructive counter programs on the part of your community leaders?

II. Employment and Industrial Relations

A. Would you say that there is a high level of general employment in your city?

B. To what extent are Negroes employed in the major industries in your city?

C. How do you rate the practices and policies of Labor Unions in your city with respect to fair employment practices?

D. Are most Unions integregated or segregated?

E. How do you rate the policies and practices of industrial management in your city on the utilization of Negroes in their work force?

F. In those plants and business establishments where Negro labor is utilized, how would you describe the work situation? Integregated___ Segregated___

III. Education and Training

A. How would you evaluate your city's reaction to desegregation issue?

B. If there is any move toward integregation of schools in your city, please evaluate present progress.

C. Have there been enacted laws or ordinances designed to defeat or delay compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions?

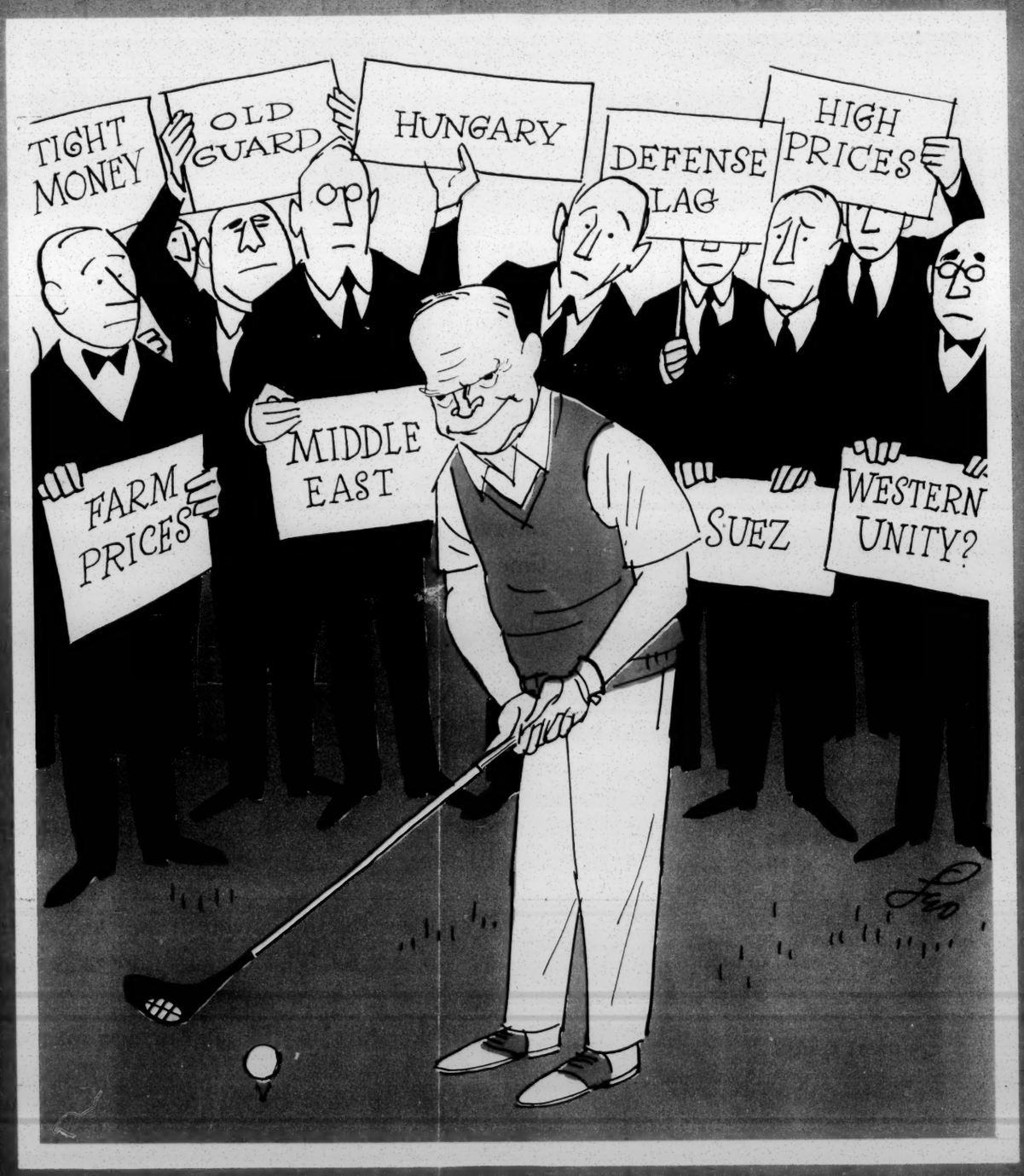
IV. Recreational and Cultural Opportunities

A. Will you evaluate the recreational and cultural facilities in your city?

B. To what extent are segregation laws applied to the use of major public and private facilities?

FEBRUARY 1957 15 CENTS

# DEMOCRATIC DIGEST




## The Real State of the Union

FBR Fla -

March 4, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. Ninetieth Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

This is to follow up Fred's letter to you dated February 26th.

I discussed with the principals of the Fund for the Republic, including two lawyers, the propriety of our accepting and passing on the Malcolm Ross matching award to the Dade County Council. I am afraid their unanimous opinion was in the negative. The stumbling block seems to be the fact that the Dade County Council not only doesn't have tax-exemption, but has been denied tax-exemption by the Internal Revenue Service. Thus our passing on the grant would be in the nature of a clear subterfuge.

We would be both willing and able to pass the money on to the Florida Council, earmarked for use in the Miami area. But under no circumstances could the ultimate recipient of the money, either through us or through the Florida Council, be the Dade County Council on Community Relations.

I am sure you understand that this is not as I would wish it personally, but it is a simple matter of legal restrictions which we have no choice but to observe. Although the lawyers who advised you may have given another interpretation, I am bound to be guided by the opinion of those officers of the Fund with whom I have discussed the matter.

Let me know what you and Mr. Ross finally decide.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Copy Fla
(5)

712 Park Drive
Daytona Beach, Florida
Telephone CLinton 3-2669

March 4, 1957

Rev. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. 90th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Reverend Doggett:

I certainly appreciate the many nice things said of me in your letter of March 2, and the interest and consideration manifested in my future. I felt certain that you, as well as many others, would be very sorry about the difficulties that have arisen.

For some time now, as you know, Bill and I have been unable to work together harmoniously, and as I stated in my letter of February 21, this was a primary factor in my being prompted to consider other employment. Of course, the adverse and apathetic leadership on the part of our officials in the State, the increasing quietness and withdrawal of so many outstanding and expected champions of good human and/or race relations, and the difficulties surrounding a private human relations agency, such as ours, in effectively implementing and achieving a "modern day" program were also prompting factors.

Therefore, my leaving the Council is not my primary concern now. In that serious and damaging accusations have been made against me by Bill and, as I learned recently, two members of the Executive Committee, I feel that it would be personally harmful to leave the Council and the State without clarifying this situation. Therefore, I would appreciate it if you would provide an official Board and/or Executive Committee meeting for this purpose, and allow me the privilege of being heard.

Whereas I know most, if not all, of Bill's accusations, I am not sure about the ones made by Herbert Davidson and Marshall Taxay, nor the grounds for them. In that I cannot recall ever really working with these gentlemen or having made a speech with them in the audience, it is very difficult for me to understand the basis for their unfavorable attitudes and opinions about my abilities, performance, and character. According to information I have received, they have stated that they were "tired" of me and that I was damaging" the Council with my remarks. I attempted to talk with Mr. Davidson in regard to this but he refused to discuss the matter with me. This causing me to feel that he is bias and partial in his attitude toward me. If it is because I am a militant foe of segregation--untinged with any traces of "uncle Tom"--I want it known. And if this is the basis for a decision that I leave the Council, it is one that I will be very proud of.

As I think I told you in my letter of February 28, Bill informed me that he, Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Taxay had a conference on February 26 which was decided that I should not be in on. Also that other members of the Board who reside locally should not be invited, as Bill once suggested, because they might be contrary to decisions desired--to get rid of me, I suppose. If this were a personal conference, I would not be surprised at the attitude, but in that it was suppose to be a discussion of details in regard to moving the office to Miami, I considered it to be official. And according to the January 15 Board meeting, as I remember it, I was suppose to be in on the planning.

If the above mentioned information appears somewhat "shady" to you, I assure you that it also appears that way to me. Moreover, in that the situation is such a detailed one, I think it would be almost impossible for the Executive Committee to come to an impartial decision without the complete facts being presented by both sides. My request to be heard is not intended to imply that I am challenging the Executive Committee's authority to make such a decision, for I realize that this is truly one of its major functions. However, I would feel very badly if a decision as important as this one was not impartial and based on complete and objective facts.

In that you informed me that you were polling the members of the Executive Committee, I am taking the liberty of sending them a copy of this letter. It does in no way reflect my faith in your ability and willingness to solve this situation impartially.

Sincerely,

Howard D. Roberts

Copy to members of the Executive Committee

FBR
Fla

March 4, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. Ninetieth Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

I have your letter just received concerning the unfortunate staff problem that has arisen within the Florida Council. I am sorry that Fred is not in town, so that I might find out if he has any late information on this of which I am not aware. I do know that both Fred and I have received letters from Howard Roberts asking us for help in finding suitable employment opportunities, and that Fred has made several concrete suggestions to him. As respects the relationship between the SRC and the Florida Council, the situation is this: the Florida Council has the full and exclusive power to employ or discharge any staff member. SRC has required that its approval be secured in the case of a prospective employee, but there is no comparable approval required in the case of prospective discharge of any employee. Therefore you are free to handle this as you see fit.

As to the question of a month's termination pay, we have no precedent among the state organizations to go by. That being the case, I feel obliged to be guided by SRC's own employment regulations. These prescribe that an employee must be given a minimum of two-weeks notice, and if we were discharging someone effective immediately, we would have to pay such an employee two weeks salary. Thus I think I am empowered to agree that two weeks salary, in lieu of notice, may be paid out of the subsidy from SRC. Informally, I would agree with your feeling that a period of a month should be allowed in a case like this, and I am wondering whether you could not handle it by giving him two weeks notice and paying him the additional two weeks salary after he leaves duty. This, too, you may handle as you see fit.

The Florida Council will be entitled to employ a secretary for the remainder of the fiscal year, such secretary to be paid by SRC out of the Florida allocation. The salary rate on which the remaining monthly payments would be made is $2500 per year. This is in conformity with the agreement made with other states which do not have an associate.

I hope this explanation of policy as we interpret it gives you what you need to proceed. On a less official plane, we are not at all indifferent to the human problems involved here, and we share with your Executive Committee its concern about these difficulties. If the matter can be worked out without firing Howard and thus prejudicing his employment record for the future, I should think that would be highly desirable, both from his point of view and from the point of view of the Florida Council. Has anybody discussed this with him? This merely expresses my personal sentiment. I feel sure that you and the other officers will handle the matter in the best possible fashion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

(?)

March 15, 1957

Mr. Thomas Dreier
1011 Brightwaters Boulevard
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Dreier:

My apologies for not answering sooner your letter dated March 1st. This reaches you I know several days after the meeting that you mentioned.

The reason for the delay was my hope that I might improve my understanding of the situation in St. Petersburg through the inquiries of Fred Routh, who by the way asks to be warmly remembered to you. Unfortunately, Fred and I both have been travelling and have not yet had a chance to learn more about the question of the junior college which is so perplexing to you and to the good people in that area. Fred says he will follow through, and you may expect to hear from him further at an early date.

The trouble is, of course, that it is easy to take a position on a local problem when one is at a distance and need not consider all of the human factors involved. I can say that, in principle, we are in favor of integration of existing facilities rather than the creation of new facilities for Negroes only. In most cases that I can think of we would stand firmly by this principle and would recommend this course to anyone who consulted us. We too recognize that in some specific situations the prospect for integration may be very long range and a valid case might be made for meeting an urgent short range need through a separate facility which can later become integrated through legal action. Such examples have arisen particularly in the field of medical care, where it has been a question of getting quickly the facilities needed to treat Negro patients, coupled with the recognition that integrated facilities are not likely to be achieved quickly. Thus about all anybody at a distance can say is that the obviously desirable course of pressing for integration of public facilities may in special cases be temperate, according to the following

factors: (1) the urgency of the need to be met, (2) the chances of achieving integration within a reasonable time, and (3) the effect that establishment of a separate facility would have on perpetuating segregation. (Obviously if the effect would be to make future integration more difficult, that is a powerful deterrent to the expedient course.)

All this is very abstract, I know, and I lay it out only to let you know how we approach such questions. I emphasize again that without detail knowledge of the St. Petersburg situation, I can't consciously judge the positions taken by different groups in the community. Certainly I would agree with your statement that "at least a few of us must take an uncompromising stand for complete integration, etc." It would be a sad day when nobody remained in a community to keep alive the basic legal and moral principle which must ultimately prevail.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

bc: FBR

FBR-Pers

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

20 March 1957

Dear Mr. Routh:

Under separate cover we are furnishing the published accounts in response to your request. Herein we are enclosing a brief and more recent account as appearing in the NAIRO Reporter of February 1957.

The contributions of our Armed Forces personnel to the strength of our nation should not be forgotten. It has been observed by some that the outstanding victory in the Korean conflict was the victory over segregation in the Armed Forces.

In responding to your request we are able to point to these achievements as having a direct bearing upon current progress in the area of concern of the Council. At the same time we remind of the services and sacrifices of those who made possible integration in the Armed Forces.

As we maintain contact with your work, we hope that all continues to go well.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Enclosure

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Pers.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

19 March 1957

Dear Mr. Routh:

The second paragraph of yours of March 15th treats a basic question in education which has probably been with our nation from its founding.

In the Armed Services we can take just pride in assuring you that our program of integration has extended to all such programs as you mention as long as they are on base. We have been successful in underwriting safeguards for this program without untoward incident.

We have built up, at the same time, considerable experience, some favorable and some unfavorable, as regards off-duty-off-post courses conducted through other agencies. While such are beyond the purview of the military, we will be happy to give you the benefit of our experiences with a view to providing for all service personnel, educational opportunities of the type treated in your letter.

I think therefore that the Council need not be concerned about assembling further specific examples. Through other channels we have been furnished with adequate materials so that we are ready whenever you or your representatives wish to go further into this matter. A conference seems to be indicated rather than the extended correspondence which would otherwise be indicated.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

MEMORANDUM

April 16, 1959

To: Members of the Council
Chairmen and Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

From: James M. Dabbs
President, SRC

Re: Resignation of Frederick B. Routh

- : -

This is to share with you the enclosed letter from Fred Routh, who will be leaving the staff of SRC on June 1 to accept a new and important position in the human relations field. His leaving is a matter of keen regret to all of us, although we rejoice in the recognition, advancement, and opportunity represented by his new post as director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.

During Mr. Routh's five years with SRC, he has won the affection and admiration of people of good will throughout the South. And he has earned a nationwide reputation as one of the most gifted and creative professionals in intergroup relations work. As much as we regret his departure, we should recognize that his selection for the new position is a tribute both to him and to SRC.

We will advise you promptly, of course, when a staff replacement has been chosen.

- : -

C O P Y

C O P Y

April 9, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is one of the most difficult letters I have ever had to write -- not because I have labored long over the wording but, rather, because of the anguish I experienced in reaching the decision to leave the South and the staff of the Southern Regional Council at this time.

I have been offered and have accepted, effective June 1st, the executive directorship of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). This position carries with it a considerable professional advancement and a substantial salary increase.

In addition to the problems centering around the desegregation controversy in the South, I believe that America's unfinished business includes making democracy work in the large industrial centers. Michigan is such a center. Add to this the novelty of not only having state government on your side for a change but, indeed, being a part of state government!

As you know, I turned down a similar offer two years ago because I felt that with the then-recent change in SRC's executive directorship my leaving would have weakened the Council. Since that time, under Harold Fleming's able leadership the Council has grown in twenty-league strides in effectiveness and financial undergirding. It is today the single most effective race relations agency in the field. I therefore believe that my leaving now will be less disruptive than at any time since I came with SRC.

My nearly five years here have been productive and happy ones. Working with the Council, particularly with Harold, has been professionally and personally rewarding. Frankly, I hate to leave; but this new opportunity is too great to turn down.

My interest in the work of the Council will continue; my affection and admiration for its staff and Board will remain undiminished; and much of my heart will remain at 63 Auburn Avenue. In the years that lie ahead I wish you and the Council every success; and I shall always be saddened when I think that I no longer have an active role in helping guide its destiny.

Respectfully,

/s/ FRED

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

MINUTES
Family and Child Care Meeting
April 28, 1955 - 3:30 P.M. - Conference Room
173 Walton St., N. W.

PRESENT:

W. Neal Baird, Chairman
R. A. Thompson
Charles Mathias
Lorraine Jennrich
Leon Elkin
Wellborn Ellis
Mrs. G. E. DeLorme
Mrs. Charley Mae Lowe
Lucile Wilson
Mrs. Mary W. Athearn
Mrs. I. F. Sterne
Mrs. Louis Regenstein, Jr.
Mrs. William W. Higgins
C. W. Leathers
Mrs. Malcolm Bryan
Helen Oppenlander
Lamar Clements
Kenneth Wasser

John R. Scanlon, Staff

Mr. Baird called the meeting to order and brought before the group the composition of the Steering Board for a clearer understanding. He explained that it had been decided that the Planning Division Steering Board would be composed of lay people, with professional people as consultants. He stated that out of the five persons selected by the Section at it's last meeting, he, Mr. Charles Mathias, and Mrs. Malcolm Bryan, had been selected as the official representatives to the Steering Board, and Miss Lorraine Jennrich as consultant.

Mrs. Bryan stated that since she had not been present when her name had been added to the list of nominees for board representation, she would like at this meeting to have some action on her nomination. Mr. Baird stated that he did not think this was necessary, but that he would entertain a motion from the group.

Motion was made, seconded and carried that the Family and Child Care Section approve the appointment of Mrs. Bryan as one of the representatives to the Planning Division Steering Board.

In further discussion regarding the procedure for selecting representatives to the Steering Board from the Sections, question was raised as to whether the new plan of selection is in accordance with provisions of the Constitution of MACS. Mr. Scanlon stated he did not believe there were provisions in the Constitution which would negate this procedure.

Members of the Section expressed concern that there was no definite policy or ruling in regard to the composition of the Steering Board, and after some further discussion, motion was made seconded and carried that the Family and Child Care Section recommend to the Planning Division Steering Board, and to the Executive Board of MACS through the Steering Board that each Section elect its own representatives to the Planning Division Steering Board.

Mr. Scanlon stated that in the last minutes of the Family and Child Care meeting Mr. Wellborn Ellis was misquoted and that the minutes of this meeting would correct the error. (See attached.) Apology for the misquote and corrections of it were also made publicly by Mr. Scanlon.

Mr. Baird brought the Day Care Report before the meeting, and stated that it had been approved by the Family and Child Care Executive Committee, and by the Steering Board. Mr. Scanlon stated that the remodeling of Egan Homes is being accomplished in accordance with standards of the Child Welfare League of America, and this day care center will probably begin operation about July 1st.

Mr. Baird then brought up the report on Foster Home Placement of Juvenile Delinquents. This also had been approved by the Family and Child Care Executive Committee and Steering Board, although it was not the final report.

Mr. Baird stated that a new study being done by the Family and Child Care Section was on the Un-Wed Negro Mother problem. Mr. Scanlon asked that the group take a few minutes to read over the progress report (see attached.) He stated that those who were appointed as a research committee had accepted this appointment. He added that Grady Hospital and other agencies will cooperate as far as records and volume of work are concerned. He stated that at present it is felt that there are funds available to establish a home, but that a complete study is needed to establish a statistical basis for need. Mr. Baird stated that the problem is how to go about finding out about the problem. Mr. Scanlon stated that the juvenile courts, welfare departments and all private agencies concerned with this problem would be contacted. He doubts that the high schools would be able to furnish any information. Mr. Ellis asked what the age limit is at Florence Crittenton. Miss Oppenlander stated that it was 14 to 40.

Mr. Baird stated that the Planning Division had established a set policy for agencies to bring problems for study before the Planning Division Steering Board. After discussion on the subject, Mrs. Athearn asked what would happen if a private citizen should want something done about a problem. Mr. Scanlon stated that it would be handled separately. Miss Jennrich asked if the Steering Board would decide what problem was the most important. Mr. Scanlon said that the Section concerned with the problem would be the one to decide. Mr. Thompson suggested that perhaps a research committee could be established to help decide priority, but this, after discussion was felt to be unwise.

Mr. Scanlon stated that most of the agencies had returned the questionnaires on the Mileage Study, and that as soon as they were all in, the information would be compiled.

The Section agreed to continue meeting as they had done for the past year, with the entire Section meeting quarterly and the Executive Committee meeting once a month.

Meeting was then adjourned.

Correction of Family and Child Care Minutes
of January 18, 1955

In the January 18th, 1955 minutes of the Family and Child Care Section meeting, Mr. Wellborn Ellis of the Fulton County Department of Public Welfare, was unfortunately misquoted. This office wishes to apologize for the misquote and amend the minutes to read as follows:

On page three of the report under Old Business, the first paragraph should read,

"The Committee feels that this problem should be a part of the Department of Public Welfare foster home program. The Director of the Fulton County Department of Public Welfare feels that he does not have enough trained staff to assume this added responsibility or enough funds currently allocated to administer this specialized program. The Director has stated, and the Committee feels it quite realistic, that if he were to undertake the problem of foster home placement of juvenile delinquents, at least one year's advance notice would be needed to secure additional staff, find homes, etc. This would be contigent on additional funds from county sources."

We hope that this clears up any confusion or misconception of meaning caused by the poor reporting of the previous meeting.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,Atlanta, Ga

C
O
P
Y

Office of the President
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

July 25, 1955.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your letter of July 20 and the memorandum enclosed have greatly interested me. I hope that we may have an opportunity to discuss this proposal in conversation, but, in the event that we do not, I give you my ideas on paper.

First of all, let me say that I think that the general idea has great merit and that the memorandum presents the idea adequately. I think it is highly important that all Southern attorneys giving advice on civil rights matters, as well as their clients, should be fully informed of all of the latest developments on that front. The proposed service seems to make it possible for both attorney and client to become informed at a minimum of effort and expense.

Below I jot down certain random observations in the knowledge that perhaps few, if any, of them should be included in the memorandum. I merely wish to be sure that they are not overlooked by Mr. Yarmolinsky and his associates.

1. All of the cases reported by the service should be carefully analyzed by syllabi digesting the cases, I think it is important that these syllabi should use the digest key numbers used by West Publishing Company. Such use will make it possible for the practicing attorney to proceed from the case before him to all other cases reported by West on the precise point.

Each case and the cumulative indexes should use the key word index system employed by American Law Reports. (The words should be something like schools, parks, playgrounds, golf, restaurants, etc.). If the reported case dealt with one of these areas, the lawyer could go the ALR digest and find a host of similar cases on the same subject matter.

2. Where the reported case is taken from an established reporting service, such as West, and the syllabus has already been printed, that syllabus, of course, would be adopted. But, where the case has not yet been printed, the proposed service would have to furnish a syllabus. My suggestion would be that an arrangement be worked out with the deans of law schools by which they would furnish the syllabus in cases affecting their respective states. They would have to be given a deadline and the

right reserved to ignore them if the dead line should not be reached and, in any event, to modify, amend, or reject the furnished syllabus, if in the opinion of the Director (herein after discussed) the syllabus was not adequate. I think that such procedure would serve the valuable purpose of enlisting the interest of the deans, while giving the service public confidence in its impartiality.

3. I think the service would have to be directed by a highly competent person. I would suggest that the West Publishing Company may grant a leave of absence to one of its most capable men to serve as Director. It will be highly important that the syllabus of each case be expertly written. Few lawyers or deans have had experience in that field. It is the sole occupation of the West man.

4. Presumably the service would cover only cases decided by the federal courts and the courts of last resort of every state. Decision should be reached now on that point. All of such cases are ultimately printed by West. The proposed service might wish to publicise cases before West prints them. Hence, it might be well to have the deans of all law schools and the Directors of all state divisions of SRC under obligation immediately to notify the Director of the reporting service of any decisions in their respective states falling within the civil rights field. Similarly, Shephard's Citations ultimately prints all statutory and constitutional changes. In the interim before printing the law school deans and the state directors of SRC divisions may be requested to advise the Director of the reporting service of such changes and new enactments.

5. I raise, without answering, the question of whether or not the service should print opinions of the attorney general of the United States and the attorneys general of the Southern states as they relate to civil rights. I see ne especialfreason for printing the opinions of the attorney general of the United States, since they are printed and are accessible. However, the opinions of state attorneys general do not have that dignity. I am sure the service would print some very poor opinions, if it undertook to print them all. However, I do feel if an attorney general knew that his opinions were to be printed and subjected to public scrutiny and the critical attention of other attorneys, he might be impelled to make his opinions conform more nearly to well established legal principles.

6. I should like to see the service broad enough to report all cases dealing with alleged malfeasance of peace officers, including conspiracy to deprive a person of his civil rights.

7. I hope the service should include the furnishing upon bona fide requests from proper sources of mimeographed, photostated or printed copies of opinions, some nominal charge to be made for such service. I have in mind that some time after a case has been reported some lawyer will hear of it and write in for a copy.

8. It seems to me that the ideal administrative set-up would be a Director, as noted above, and an editorial board of Southern law professors from several institutions. The final authority would rest in the Director. It would be of value to him to have a board to which he might turn for advice. It would have value to the service if it had behind it the weight of Southern legal scholarship. Having several Southern institutions thus represented in the project would have the great advantage of relieving the enterprise of the liabilities which might arise from the possibly injured pride of institutions other than a single one having complete authority for the result.

In the South there are several Negro professors of law who have received their professional training at Harvard and other highly reputable universities. In my opinion there should be representation from this group on the advisory board. The recognition will be well deserved; it will tend to establish fraternity between white and Negro law professors, and it will reassure the Negro community as to the integrity of the reporting service.

9. Finally, I should like to see serious consideration given to having all of the publications of this service run as a supplement to New South. I realize that there will be differences of opinion on this point and that there may be arguments of considerable merit against it. I will rely upon others to advance such arguments but will list at least some points which dispose me to make the suggestion.

a) While designed primarily to aid lawyers and public officers, the matter which the service presents will be of compelling interest to everyone living in the South. While New South lacks a great deal of pretending to reach all Southerners, it does go to a significant number of people whose interest in the subject matter is established by their subscription to New South. To have the printed material in the hands of every reader of New South would insure that the material received thoughtful consideration from a substantial number of people having capacity to influence public opinion.

b) New South has a ten year history. Fund for the Republic would be using an established Southern agency toreach Southern people. It seems to me that such a course would be less likely to fall under the curse of "outside interference" than would be the plan of having the Fund use and subsidize a completely new agency.

c) By a grant already made the Fund has indicated a wish to see SRC continue in full vigor. The valuable Southern School News occupies a field closely parallel to our own.The proposed service, if handled by a new group, would also occupy a field closely parallel to our own. While I am sure that the Fund is genuinely concerned with strengthening existing organizations with purposes such as ours, I point out the possibility that the maintenance of yet another separate agency having purposes only slightly divergent from our own may narrow the scope of our usefulness. Obviously, SSN was called into existence and the legal reporting service, if established, will be called into existence because of the emergency created by the school integration decisions. Presumably, when that emergency has passed, there would no longer exist solid reasons for maintaining either service and they would both be discontinued.

On the other hand, SRC antedates by many years the integration decisions and has essential purposes far broader than assisting the implementation of such decisions alone. Discriminations in a host of other fields than education will afford for many years to come compelling reasons for the continued and and vigorous existence of SRC. I think, therefore, the part of wisdom would be not to allow the existence of an emergency in any degree to minimize the expansion of the SRC's usefulness in its continuing role in Southern life. On the contrary, the project under consideration offers the happy opportunity for meeting a present emergency and at the same time strengthening SRC for the performance in the future of other equally important services to Southern people.

d) Upon the assumption, which I think entirely proper, that the Fund wishes to strengthen us, I think that for the proposed service to be handled under our auspices would undoubtedly have that result. Every judge, lawyer and public official in the South would come to look to us for answers to the questions which bedevil him. Since we would service such people at no, or a minimum of cost, I think we may reasonably expect in the future to draw considerable strength from such beneficiaries. I think it would add enormously to our prestige in the South if we could furnish that type of service.

e) If the argument should be advanced that, since we are already involved in the integration fight, the findings of our service might be suspect, I think the answer would be that we had a thoroughly objective, impartial and expert Director, and a board of Southern advisors (the law professors) whose reputations would lift their conclusions above suspicion. As a footnote, I think it would be a happy circumstance if the man secured from West should be a Southerner who had received his legal education in the South.

My apologies for writing at such lenght.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright

MAW:EJG/vc

July 20, 1955.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a memorandum describing a proposed legal reporting service on desegregation under consideration by the Fund for the Republic. As you will see, it is completely independent of the Council's program and approach. However, in the process of formulating it, Adam Yarmolinsky, a consultant to the Fund in legal matters, sought the advice of Morris Abram and myself, and now he asks that we solicit confidential views of other appropriate persons. You are obviously highly appropriate.

I would greatly appreciate any comments, criticisms, or suggestions that you might find time to send me. You will understand that for obvious reasons, the Fund wishes to explore the idea discreetly.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc
Enc.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1 East 54the Street
New York 22, N.Y.

MEMORANDUM ON PROPOSED REPORTING SERVICE
FOR LEGAL PROBLEMS OF DESEGREGATION

This memorandum will present for comment and criticism the results of preliminary consideration of a proposal for a legal reporting service dealing with problems arising out of the United States Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases. The service would be prepared and distributed in the southern states.

The Need

Lawyers who find themselves consulted on desegregation problems may have had almost as little experience in the relevant fields of law as their bewildered clients. Novel questions of administrative and constitutional law immediately arise, e.g., questions of complex distinctions between spurious and genuine class suits, or of the exercise of federal equitable jurisdiction, or of the weight to be accorded to administrative findings. These problems are not ordinarily encountered in the day-to-day practice of the lawyers who advise and represent southern school boards and local government units; nor are counsel for pupils, parents or taxpayers experienced in these matters, except as they specialize in desegregation cases. Drafting a workable set of regulations for a school board that contemplates integration will present new and perplexing difficulties for the local lawyer.

There appears to be a felt need for some service that will provide data for the resolution by orderly processes in the proper forum of the host of problems arriving in the wake of the Supreme Court decision.

The greatest need for a service of this kind is probably among the small town and country lawyers upon whom local school boards will rely for continuing advice. It might also be useful to courts and judges to inform them of the ways in which their brethren have worked out the problems with which they are struggling. The

service should also find its way into the hands of the local school board members themselves and county commissioners, state legislators, PTA officers, and interested citizens generally. Because of the relative novelty of most of the problems for the lawyers themselves, it should be possible to prepare the test in such a way that it would be intelligible to laymen, while lawyers would not feel that it was over-simplified. The experience of the North Carolina Institute of Government indicated that materials can be prepared for use both by lawyers and by even high-school-educated laymen.

A legal reporting service would not have its primary usefulness where the parties are already committed to litigation. For the lawyers who bring anti-segregation lawsuits, it might only be a supplementary source of information, since their efforts are in almost every instance centrally directed and planned. There is some question, however, whether the central direction can keep up with the proliferation of lawsuits that now seems likely. On the other hand, it would serve to inform the opponents of desegregation about the success or failure of various defensive tactics used in other cases. It might have its greatest usefulness at the stage of litigation where the parties were discussing settlements and reviewing the available practical alternatives. Primarily the service would be designed to inform lawyers and laymen alike, so that they could more intelligently meet the problems that they must eventually face, and so that they will be encouraged to see these problems as appropriate for resolution by legal techniques.

## The Method

The service would have to provide necessary background on the fundamental problems and principles in the fields of law touched on in desegregation cases. It would also have to provide up-to-date information on current developments. These two purposes could be served by a looseleaf volume with periodic (monthly or quartely) supplements, the body of the volume to be revised annually or semi-

annualy to take account of current developments, and the whole to be covered by a topical index, reissued monthly.

The backbone of the service would presumably be a compilation of the opinions in leading cases on school segregation and relatedissues, presented in full text, and then discussed under a series of topical headings summarizing the existing law. The topical headings would include such fundamental matters as exhaustion of administrative remedies, class suits, and the function of the amicus curiae.

Reported cases on equalization and desegregation in courts or original jurisdiction would make up at least an equal part of the volume. The reports would include relevant background information, taken from the report in the case, on such matters as ratio of white to colored students, per pupil school expenditures, degree of urbanization, and the like, even where they were not mentioned in the opinion. These decisions would also be analyzed under topical headings. This material would make up the bulk of the monthly supplements, and, as the service continued, it would accupy a relatively larger part of the text.

A section on statutes and regulations would cover the school laws of the states and a sampling of local ordinances and administrative regulations. A separate section might be developed on budgetary practices. The service would also call attention to the relevant legal literature and the supplements might contain summaries of significant law review articles.

Discussion of the proposed service began on the assumption that it would be prepared and distributed by a commercial publisher of legal services. This assumption has now been tentatively rejected. A commercial publisher would not undertake such a project, even with substantial foundation underwriting, unless it could hope to make it eventually self-supporting. The readership of small-town lawyers and laymen described above would not be a promising market for what is essentially a big city

law office tool.

Further, the professional interest of the typical lawyer-subscriber would be sporadic rather than continuous, and he would probably not be prepared to pay more than a nominal fee for any publication.

Distribution of the service might have to be without charge at first, and after a n initial period a nominal fee might be instituted, as with the Southern School News.

Lastly, the kind of analysis of trial court records required in reporting desegregation cases would be somewhat outside the experience and training of the staffs of these publishers.

Prelimina y consideration was also given to the possibility that the Southern Education Reporting Service might be interested in undertaking the service as a supplement to or section of the Southern School News. It was felt, however, that some of the important advantages accruing from the publication of a legal service would be lost in merging it with the SSN, and that the savings would not be compensatory, since the service would have to be prepared by a staff with legal training. The experience of SERS would undoubtedly be most helpful to the publishers of the service, and arrangements might be worked out to use the SSN correspondents as stringers to furnish up-to-date leads in new cases and other local developments.

The best institutional arrangement so far considered for the publication of such a service would be as an adjunct to a southern law school, where the basic research and writing could be accomplished by research associates under the direction of a senior faculty member.

The actual writing could probably be done on a part-time basis by persons pursuing graduate studies or teaching part-time in the school. A great deal of the basic research has been done in the course of the Ashmore study, and much time would

saved by access to the research manuscript, which we understand goes wall beyond the scope of the published material. Most of the material for periodic supplements could be gathered by mail, but staff members would have to do a limited amount of traveling. A small full-time clerical and administrative staff would be necessary. The exact nature of the arrangements would, of course, depend on the needs and desires of the participating school. In any event it would probably be desirable to create a small working advisory committee, which would be particularly important in the initial stages of the project.

Adam Yarmolinsky,

Consultant

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30 July 1956

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

May I acknowledge with thanks your letter of July 23rd about the Fisk Institute, and say that we greatly appreciate your cordial cooperativeness in this venture.

With warm regards, believe me to be

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

Past Speaking Engagements

October 11, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Lowell L. Giffen
Chairman, Program Committee
Fellowship House of Knoxville
2303 Highland Drive
Fountain City, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Giffen:

Greatly wish I could, but I'm tied down. Can send you a better guy in the person of Fred Routh, known already to many of your people. But it will cost his travel and a bed for him to sleep on; he's a moderate man when it comes to running pup travel bills.

December 4th Fred will be there. I've given him your letter. If you need further contact with him, telephone here is WAlnut 1821.

I greatly praise what Fellowship House is doing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc + incoming to FBR ✓

2303 Highland Drive
Fountain City, Tennessee
October 9, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 10 1956

Dr. Dr. Mitchell:

The Fellowship House of Knoxville will conduct its fifth annual public forum series, entitled "Units for Unity," on November 19 and 27 and December 4. Since you appeared on the first program of the first series, you are generally familiar with the nature and objectives of our forums. Also, I believe Dr. William Cole talked with you about the possibility of obtaining Dr. Carmichale for one session this year. Incidentally, we have contacted Dr. Carmichael and find his schedule is already too full this fall to appear on our program.

Fred? Dec 4

The Planning Committee would like to devote the third session, scheduled for Tuesday, December 4, to a critical analysis of the recent Congressional hearings on school integration. We would like to hear something of the motives of the hearing, some of the myths and fictions which were given prominence, and some of the conclusions reached.

Could you designate a member of the Southern Regional Council to speak on this subject, including a question period? Also, since the Fellowship House has very limited financial resources, we would like to know if the Council normally assumes the travelling expenses of its representatives for speaking engagements. If not, we will assume the expense. We could also provide guest accomodations for the speaker's stay in the city.

✓ Yes

We would appreciate it if the Council could make this fine contribution to our program. If either of the two previous dates would be much more convenient or even some other date in the general period, we would try to make an adjustment in our schedule to accomodate the speaker. The meetings will be held this year in the auditorium of the Knoxville Public Library. We would make more detailed arrangements about the content of the program and other matters directly with the speaker.

We would be happy to hear from you at your earliest convenience. If you need to call me, I can be reached at TVA, Knoxville 2-7181, Ext. 366.

Very sincerely yours,

Lowell L. Giffen

Lowell L. Giffen
Chairman, Program Committee

# WELCOME TO FELLOWSHIP HOUSE

## WHAT IS FELLOWSHIP HOUSE?

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE, a volunteer group of men and women who believe that brotherhood is a way of life, welcomes into membership all those who are committed to American ideals of human dignity. Founded in May, 1950, Fellowship House operates under a non-profit charter of incorporation issued by the State of Tennessee.

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE sponsors projects which strive to eliminate racial and religious barriers in the local community and cooperates with other organizations and agencies whose principles are those of the Fellowship. It is a participant in the Recreation Division of the Council of Community Services.

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE has no house as yet. It seeks to bring together in an atmosphere of common purpose people of all national, racial, and religious origins. It holds its meetings in churches and civic buildings.

### AFFILIATION

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE is loosely affiliated with fourteen other volunteer interracial and interfaith groups. Directed by one of its founders, Miss Marjorie Penney, the first Fellowship House is located on Brown Street, in Philadelphia. This House, which began its work in 1930, has a large farm in the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. Fellowship Farm is open to individual members of Fellowship House of Knoxville as a retreat and vacation spot.

### OTHER FELLOWSHIP HOUSES

- Baltimore, Maryland
- Brooklyn, New York
- Chester, Pennsylvania
- Cincinnati, Ohio
- Kansas City, Missouri
- Media, Pennsylvania
- Morristown, New Jersey
- New York, New York
- Paterson, New Jersey
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- Reading, Pennsylvania
- Washington, D. C.
- West Chester, Pennsylvania
- Wilmington, Delaware

# COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

## UNITS FOR UNITY

Units for Unity is a series of four or more public forums held each fall on consecutive Monday evenings. In these sessions Fellowship House audits Knoxville on its progress in human relations.

## THE SUMMER DAY CAMP

The whole idea of Fellowship House of Knoxville grew from the desire of a small group of parents to bring their children together in spite of the local pattern of segregated living. The first project sponsored by Fellowship House was its 1950 two-week summer day camp. Now the camp is held annually for children from 4 to 12 years of age.

Here children find an opportunity to play together and to appreciate one another as individuals. Each year the camp has been fortunate in having an excellent staff of counselors, some of them teen-agers with real promise of future community leadership.

## SURVEY PROJECTS

From time to time Fellowship House appoints committees to gather facts and information in areas of special interest to the organization. One project, for instance, investigated employment opportunities in Knoxville.

## FOREIGN VISITORS

Fellowship House is one of the local groups asked to assist in entertaining the many foreign visitors who come here to study the Tennessee Valley region.

# CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP

## MEETINGS

The full membership of Fellowship House of Knoxville meets monthly from October through May. In addition to regular business meetings, the programs are varied: dinners, guest speakers, special movies, or music may be included during the year.

## NEWS LETTER

Fellowship House of Knoxville distributes a news bulletin informing members about their Fellowship activities. Called "The Window," the news letter is also sent to leaders in the community who are interested in knowing about Fellowship aims.

## DUES

Annual membership dues for Fellowship House of Knoxville are payable May 1 and fall into three categories:

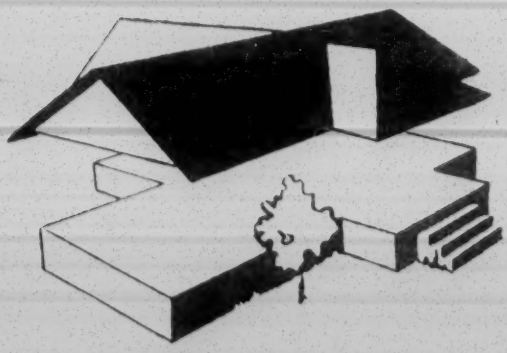
Regular Membership .....$1.00 per year
Contributing Membership 2.50 per year
Sustaining Membership .... 5.00 per year

Further information may be obtained by writing

**FELLOWSHIP HOUSE OF KNOXVILLE, Inc.**

**P. O. Box 725**

**KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE**



**A HOUSE WITHOUT WALLS**

1956

# NEWSLETTER

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Vol. 2 No. 1

## ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING CALLED EARLY !!!

(See Page 6)

THE TRUTH ABOUT SEGREGATION

From a sermon by John C. Fuller, Minister,
Unitarian Church of Orlando - Also on our Board!

About 20 years ago there was built in New York City a very tall skyscraper. It was discovered after the building had been finished that it extended on one side a foot onto the ground belonging to its neighbor, an immigrant cobbler. Word of this soon got around and the city was divided pro and con

What could be done? Could the skyscraper be moved? The owners refused. Could someone buy off the cobbler? He was insistent upon his rights. Neither party to the case would budge, and the cobbler sought long his legal rights in court after court. Soon his followers organized the National Association for the Advancement of the Cobbler. This Association helped him appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

After hearing both sides and deliberating for three years, the Supreme Court finally spoke. All it said, however, in its great decision, was that the very tall skyscraper and the cobbler presented a great problem, but that the skyscraper was in the wrong. The Court did not say what was to be done. Thereupon both sides launched again into controversy, the politicians and newspapers chiding the Nine Old Men; and the National Association for the advancement of the Cobbler was labelled subversive. "Why is it going so fast?" People asked.

A year later the Court finally said what was to be done; that the skyscraper was to be moved "with all deliberate speed," taking into account the enormity of the job. An early start was ordered. "Good Faith Compliance" was required of the owners. In the end it took 15 years before the thing was cleared up." (Footnote - Page 2)

**********

Atlanta, Georgia
August 16, 1956

Dear Mr. Doggett:

Nothing heartens us more than progress in program and sound administration in a State Organization. We get them both from your Florida Council on Human Relations.

George Mitchell, Exec. Director, SRC.

WHAT DID WE ACCOMPLISH LAST YEAR ??????????
(Oct. 1, 1955 - Oct. 1, 1956)

1. Established our state headquarters in Daytona Beach.

2. Created ten new local Interracial Councils on Human Relations and affiliated two already in existence. We are now represented in Bradenton, Cocoa, Daytona Beach, Ft. Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Tampa, and West Palm Beach. (St. Petersburg will probably affiliate.)

These groups have -

Surveyed attitudes toward segregation in one community to provide a factual basis for working and planning.

presented a plan for de-segregating our public supported schools and universities.

brought to Miami and Daytona Beach for consultation experts and experienced people from already de-segregated communiti

interested a contractor in housing for Negro citizens in Bradenton.

provided a meeting ground for those who would meet the issues of the day on a rational, rather than emotional basis.

demonstrated that white and Negro Floridans can work together harmoniously, discovering the answers to their own community needs.

3. Worked at easing tensions in Delray Beach, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee. In none of these communities have we been as effective as we can be - each continues to challenge us.

4. Been a resource for other groups -- our people and materials have been used all over the state, and the staff has participated in meetings of various sorts with religious and civic groups on more than 100 occasions, giving a <u>better than twice a week</u> opportunity to bring the influence of the council to bear on local situations.

5. We sponsored a conference which brought together representatives of groups concerned with human relations from around the state. The need for a closer working relation was recognized and provision made for continued effort in that direction. Working together, each agency can do a more effective job.

Footnote from Page One --
("Modest John" requested that we acknowledge his debt to the NEW REPUBLIC for the idea he expanded in his sermon reproduced in part on page one. What John does with an idea, tho, is amazing!)

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

### INCOME:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Loan | | $ 200.00 | |
| Grant - Fund for the Republic | | 12,500.00 | |
| Memberships & contributions - Dade County area | | 2,336.32 | |
| Contributions: | | | |
| Southern Regional Council | $1,324.25 | | |
| Organizations | 209.00 | | |
| Individuals | 734.96 | | |
| | | 2,268.21 | |
| Memberships | | 1,162.00 | |
| Subscriptions to New South | | 646.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 12.03 | |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | | $19,124.56 |

### DISBURSEMENTS:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accounts payable Oct. 1, 1955 | | $ 383.97 | |
| Sala ries | | 12,500.00 | |
| Expenses, Dade County | | 2,336.32 | |
| Travel | | 489.01 | |
| Subscrip tions to New South | | 595.50 | |
| Office Expenses | | 1,195.60 | |
| Printing, Subscriptions, etc. | | 464.92 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 237.43 | |
| TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS | | | $18,202.75 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accounts Payable Oct. 1, 1956 | | | |
| Travel | $1,181.89 | | |
| Rent | 45.00 | | |
| New South | 50.50 | | |
| Lights, Telephone, etc. | 51.13 | | |
| John B. Orr | 40.00 | | |
| Ditto Machine | 80.00 | | |
| Loan | 100.00 | | |
| Total | $1,548.52 | | |
| Balance in bank Oct. 1, 1956 | | $1,152.45 | |

(The above figures are taken from the audit performed by Derby and Greene, Certified Public Accountants, Daytona Beach)

PLEASE READ THE NEXT PAGE CAREFULLY

*This page is the key to the future!*

**WHAT DO WE NEED FOR THIS YEAR? (Oct. 1, 1956 - Oct. 1, 1957)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries: | | |
| Executive Director | $5,000.00 | |
| Associate Director | 5,000.00 | |
| Secretary | 2,500.00 | |
| Total | | $12,500.00 |
| Travel | | 2,500.00 |
| Indebtedness | | 1,548.52 |
| Office Expenses: | | |
| Rent | $ 540.00 | |
| Postage | 400.00 | |
| Supplies | 400.00 | |
| Lights | 77.00 | |
| Telephone | 300.00 | |
| Total | | 1,717.00 |
| Equipment . . . . . | | 300.00 |
| Printing . . . . . | | 350.00 |
| Literature, Newspapers, etc. . . . . | | 150.00 |
| Audit . . . . . | | 175.00 |
| Miscellaneous . . . . . | | 285.00 |
| Grand Total | | $19,525.52 |
| Carry over to start next year | | 474.48 |
| | | $20,000.00 |

**WHERE MUST THE MONEY COME FROM?**

The financial assistance from the SRC is on a diminishing basis and we are in the last phase of that assistance.

This means:

(a) We will receive less this year than last, and have already become responsible for the salary of our secretary. Consequently, whereas the total budget has been increased very slightly, our share has increased decidedly.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Last year | SRC | $12,500 |
| | FCHR | 4,088 |
| | Debts | 1,548 |
| This year | SRC | 10,000 |
| | FCHR | 10,000 |

(b) On October 1st, 1957, we will become entirely selfsupporting. Thus we must raise $500 more than we will spend this year in order that some funds will be available for the beginning of the next year.

On the next page the Mayor of Clinton, Tennessee, says that what the FCHR does is the thing needed most, according to their experience

## Clinton Tells South How to Avoid It

# *Voice of Experience Speaks on Racial Strife*

CLINTON, Tenn.—(UP)—Why did it happen to Clinton?

Townspeople and their leaders are able now to look back on the nightmare of violence over racial integration that filled their tree-shaded streets first with mobs and then with militia and tanks. The Clinton people have thought of some answers.

These add up to Clinton's advice to other communities facing the Supreme Court's mandate to end racial segregation in public schools:

1—Don't waste any time or any opportunity for educating people—all the people you can reach—about the coming change.

**Mayor W. E. Lewallen said, "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." Events, he observed, have scuttled the old Southern maxim that the less said about race relations, the better.**

2—If you can help it, don't give troublemakers too convenient a target.

D. J. Brittain Jr., principal of Clinton High School, said he thinks integration might have come peacefully to East Tennessee if it had been started simultaneously throughout, say five counties. But his school, under Federal Court order, took the plunge alone—the first state-supported white high school in Tennessee to admit Negroes. "We were right up there to be shot at," Brittain said. "All the violent opponents of integration, not only in the area and even the state, but all over, could concentrate their fire on us."

3—If outside agitators arrive on the scene, stop them before they get started.

**Lewallen, Brittain, Sheriff Glad Woodward and every private citizen of Clinton who was interviewed assigned major blame for the crowd violence to outsiders—especially cavernous-eyed John Kasper of Washington, D.C., executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council.**

The sheriff granted that it isn't easy to stop agitation without infringing on guarantees of free speech. Authorities tried to stop Kasper's literature distributing and emotional haranguing by charging him with trying to incite a riot. The case failed for lack of evidence. Kasper later went to jail for contempt of Federal Court by violating a restraining order, but the fuse by then was burning short and the explosion came in Clinton almost at once.

Kasper is out on $10,000 bond, pending appeal.

4—Be prepared.

Clinton, a peaceful town of 4,000 where whites and the Negro minority of less than 10 per cent always had kept on good terms, had only nine men in its city police force. The county sheriff's office mustered eight. The crowds that gathered ran into the thousands. Clinton now is organizing a volunteer auxiliary force, to be trained and equipped for crowd handling. The police and sheriff's forces are to be strengthened by six more full-time men each.

**Clinton residents discussed almost unbelievingly what has happened in their town and in nearby Oliver Springs—the breathless night before the guard was called in when a mob rushed volunteer peace keepers on the courthouse lawn; the fights, stonings, telephoned threats and deep abiding animosities. Over and over, they said they never thought integration would fire such passion here, of all places.**

East Tennessee is, of course, in the South. Its metropolis is Knoxville, 20 miles southeast of here. But, as one resident put it, "this isn't Dixie."

This is territory that has consistently sent Republicans to Congress, that was a Civil War stronghold of Union sentiment in Tennessee, that has relatively few Negroes and, thanks to Tennessee Valley Authority and the atomic installations at Oak Ridge, has acquired much recent population from all parts of the country.

And, now, with its backward look filled with no little shame, Clinton is returning to normal. Its 800 students (including a dozen Negroes) are returning to school, and the National Guard has thinned its control force to a token detachment of 50.

## Kentucky Adds Troops

**STURGIS, Ky. —(UP)— National Guard troops and state police deployed reinforcements in western Kentucky Sunday, expecting new outbursts of race trouble at two small mining communities with the reopening of school Monday.**

**Another tank battalion of the Kentucky National Guard, equipped with one light tank, was moved into the trouble area — Sturgis and nearby Clay — Sunday night.**

**At least five Negroes say they will attempt to return to Sturgis High School Monday under the protection of the guardsmen. Two Negroes are due to try it again at Clay.**

* * *


# The Miami Herald

Monday, September 10, 1956 No. 283 *Florida's Most Complete Newspaper* 46th Year 68 Pages 5 Cents

A Latin American Edition is Published Daily



***Read the Advice of***
**THE MAYOR,**
**Clinton, Tennessee**
***Then Ask Yourself,***
"What Can We Do In Florida??"

THE ANSWER—

The Florida Council on Human Relations
Central Office—324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT—
The Southern Regional Council

"An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no racial tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

Ralph McGill

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

Asheville Citizen

The FCHR (SRC Florida Affiliate)

"Its success and usefulness can be unlimited"

Daytona Beach News Journal

"Best vehicle for solving interracial problems."

I. H. Burney, Jacksonville

WILL YOU INVEST IN FLORIDA'S FUTURE?

Without financial assistance our effort cannot progress. With it, many things become possible.

We Need $10,000.

*Send Contributions to:*

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

# Annual Membership Meeting

**January 15th, 1957**

Bethune-Cookman College

Daytona Beach, Florida

Beginning at 10 AM

Reviewing our efforts: Exec. & Assoc. Directors
Treasurer's Report

Looking ahead: (Mr. Killian and Mr. Routh have been asked to do the following - they haven't had time to reply)

Role of Local Councils:
Lewis Killian, FSU

How it looks from SRC:
Fred Routh

Adjourn for lunch 1:00 PM

Beginning at 2 PM:

Objectives to be adopted:
Miami delegation
Executive Director

Financial Outlook: Chairman, Finance Committee

Dues and Local Councils: Committee report

Recognition of retiring Board Members

Election

Adjournment -- 5:30 PM

**********

Some very important decisions will be made at this meeting -- and <u>you</u> should help make them. The future of the Council depends on how well we plan for it. We can make an historic contribution to our state if we will.

(Do you plan to come? A note will be appreciated)

Fla

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

MONTHLY REPORT FOR JANUARY, 1957

STAFF ACTIVITIES:

Daytona Beach- Bill convened a Community Committee for Brotherhood Week, seeking to extend the observance and to make it more effective than it has been here.

Howard was a member of a nucleus considering a Community Self-Survey, and helped issue an invitation to community organizations for further discussion at a February meeting.

Both Bill & Howard accompanied the local president of Nat. Council of Negro Women and the Vice Pres. of the Ministerial Assoc. for a conference with the Industrial Relations Director of the local Chamber of Commerce, inquiring into possible improvement of employment opportunities in conjunction with newly established local industry.

Orlando- Bill attended the Membership Meeting of the local council at which the results of their survey were reported by Prof. Robert Greenfield, Rollins College, Release of the survey material has been committed to the FCHR & SRC.
The Orlando Council has done an outstanding piece of work, and deserves much credit. (Remembering our long-suffering Board members there- they were the spark plugs !)
Subject of the survey- "Opinions of Negro Citizens in Orlando, Fla., toward segregation in housing, employment, schools, health and recreation facilities."

THE ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING:
Held on January 15th at Bethune Cookman College

Dr. Fred Routh, of SRC, was the principal speaker. The next Newsletter will contain some of his thoughts.

Exec. & Assoc. Directors reported:
We have- organized
begun to communicate
We must- become solvent
apply for tax exemption
adjust organizationally
We can- adopt the "Miami project"
promote interagency co-operation
support local councils
explore possibilities of "Youth Board"

The President of our Dade County affiliate, Miss Alice MacVicar, presented recommendations that the FCHR participate in the effort to focus community forces in Dade County for de-segregation, moving our state office to Miami to facilitate this effort. These recommendations were adopted by the membership.

The urgent need for increased financial support was discussed, and members attending contributed over $260 on the spot !

New Board Members- The Hon. John B. Orr, Miami
The Rev. Canon Robert McCloskey, Jax
Mr. Seymour Samet, Miami

New Chairman of the Board- Mr. Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach
Re-elected President of FCHR- The Rev. Caxton Doggett, Miami.

---

HAPPENINGS IN THE STATE:

GOVERNOR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS BRINGS CRITICISM- - - - FROM BOTH SIDES !!

Reaction of segregationists has convinced some integrationists that it must have been a good speech after all ! Certainly some very positive statements were included, but we are in agreement with the St Petersburg Times in whiching that "the Governor had gone a step further to outline a positive program permitting the state to move toward the inevitable."

TALLAHASSEE -

On Jan. 1 integrated riding was reported.
On Jan. 2 the Gov. halted bus services temporarily, due to violence. (Rocks were thrown at the house of one Negro leader, & shotguns were fired into the store of another.)

Service was resumed, and with it came a new plan whereby drivers assigned seats to riders

Meanwhile students had become quite active, and a crackdown from the Board of Control resulted. One student was not allowed to register for the 2nd semester at FSU after he urged the election of the Rev. K.S. DuPont, Vice Pres. of Intercivic Council, to the City Commission.

The Daytona Beach Evening News (HMD) came to the defense of "The Spirit of Youth", suggesting that it was a mistake for FSU authorities to take such a "nervous Nelly attitude" toward student participation in testing the new bus seat assignment ordinance. Amen and amen !

SCHOOL ASSIGNMENT LAW

A US District Judge's ruling that Virginia's pupil assignment plan is "unconstitutional on its face" only brought re-affirmation of confidence in Florida's law from our Atty Gen's office. Our law is being challenged in a suit brought by Atty Holland, West Palm Beach, but will not be heard for several more months due to an overflowing docket.

MIAMI, STATE, BUS SEGREGATION LAWS STRUCK DOWN !

Judge Choate, Miami, surprised everybody with a sudden ruling, citing the High Court decision in Alabama. His decision has been mired down with an appeal by the city, but it is one more indication that Federal Judges are consistant in upholding the Supreme Court, and that segregation is on the way out !

KLAN IN CHURCH

The East Side Baptist Church at Mulberry unexpectedly played host to a band of Ku Kluxers this month, and was sharply criticized by the Tampa Tribune for not turning the rabel out !

GOLF

In Fort Lauderdale a decision seems near on use of Municipal Course facilities by Negroes. In Miami a suit is being brought for similar use of the Miami Municipal Course.

ANOTHER PAT ON THE BACK FOR THE ORLANDO COUNCIL

Our Orlando Council formed a committee to bring Negro and white clergymen together. A luncheon meeting at the Unitarian Church was very favorably reported on the front page of the Sentinel !!! This effort will continue until it reaches its logical conclusion.

Footnote to all Board Members-

If'n you know anyone whose views are in accord with the FCHR and who is not yet a member please take aggressive action to remedy that situation. We must sizeably increase our membership for survival's sake !

P S -- We've lost our secretary, so don't blame any mistakes in the report on her- we did it ourselves !

Job Applications

# FURMAN UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED 1826

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT

Feb. 25, 1957

Dr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Routh:

Thanks very much for your letter of Feb. 21 regarding my interest in the human relations field.

I have had some correspondence with Dr. Dan Dodson at New York University, and it is possible that I may be able to work out some type of study there.

Sometime soon I hope to get to Atlanta and talk with you and Dr. Fleming.

Thanks again for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

Wm F Bagwell

William F. Bagwell

Past Spk
Eng

March 20, 1957

The Reverend Mr. John Fuller
First Unitarian Church
Orlando, Florida

Dear John:

We have received your check for my expenses in coming to Orlando. I am glad that you all thought it was worth while for me to come at such a cost.

Were there any letters-to-the-editor or editorial comments about Pat's story on my speech? If so, would you please forward us copies of them? If you have material you want returned we have a reproducer and can make copies for our files and return the originals to you.

I hope your stop-over in Atlanta will be concurrent with one of my stop-overs in Atlanta. Actually, I'm not out of town quite that much.

Again, many thanks for everything.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

September 18, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: Commission Chairmen

FROM: John G. Feild, President, NAIRO

SUBJECT: Eleventh Annual Conference Program

As you will discover when you receive a more expanded newsletter within the next few days, this year the program committee and the Board have determined that the individual Commission sessions will be held immediately following a General Session on the subject, "The Implication of Population Movement on Intergroup Relations." The Commission sessions are to be viewed as an extension of discussions around this general thesis, with particular reference to the problems and issues that arise in the more particular area of each of the Commissions.

It will, therefore, be the Commission Chairman's responsibility to decide upon the specific areas for more intensive discussion, the personnel who will be asked to make presentation, if any, and to invite those personnel, if any. It may be that the Commission Chairman will want to develop some type of written material, with or without the help of others on the Commission, for discussion at this session. It may be that you will want to use a panel format. It may be that you will want to ask members of your Commission for suggestions which will result in a detailed discussion outline.

In any event, the purpose behind this procedure is to break down the total discussion groups from a large general session into smaller, more manageable discussion units. It is also hoped that in this fashion perhaps some attention will be given to the role which the Commission might play in the interim period between conferences in collecting and distributing information; establishing study or discussion groups; etc.

Please give this your best thinking after you have reviewed the total conference format and will you forward to me, at your earliest opportunity, some indication of the format you intend to follow. I would hope that you will have all of your specific arrangements made for your Commission's session no later than November 1. We will not attempt to list any personnel for these sessions other than the Commission Chairmen.

Cordially,

John G. Feild

JGF:sig
afscme52
cc: A. Aronson
G. Culberson
J. Lassoe
R. Marks

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

11-25-57

FBR -

Frances Pauley called to say she & Don Hollowell are charged with drafting bylaws or some guiding rules for the Greater Atlanta Council. She wants the Model State Bylaws, but wonders if we have any copies of local such. Also points out state bylaws make no provision for local affiliation.

She would be glad to meet up here with you in the next two weeks to work this out.

Please handle.

HCF

FBR - Pers.

Dear Fred

Many, many thanks for coming down. It was certainly highly worthwhile for all of us. Hope to see you soon, if I am in Atlanta, & you are too.

John Fuller

SRC AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

## Florida Council on Human Relations

Mr. Paul Finner - Chairman
930 West Park
Tallahassee

Mr. W. C. Taylor - Vice-Chairman
Undertaking Establishment
Belle Glade

Mr. I. H. Burney - Treasurer
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville

Mrs. Nathan Starr - Secretary
~~1326 N. W. 10th Ave~~ 209 Boulevard
Gainesville

Mr. William K. Williams -Exec. Dir
324½ Beach Street
Daytona Beach

Mr. Howard D. Roberts - Assoc. Exec. Dir.
324½ Beach Street
Daytona Beach

---

Mr. Gordon Bigelow
Route 4, Box 80
Gainesville

~~Mrs. Rosabelle C. Bond~~
~~2333 14th Ave.~~
~~St. Petersburg~~

~~Rev. H. F. Brockington~~
~~P. O. Box 1138~~
~~Ft. Pierce~~

Mr. E. K. Brash
Live Oak

Miss Sara Lee Creech
632 W. Palm Beach Rd.
Box 842, Belle Glade

~~Mr. John Cochrane~~
~~202 E. Grant St.~~
~~Ocala~~

Mrs. Theodore Darrah
389 E. Lyman St.
Winter Park

Dr. Ira P. Davis
1036 N. W. 2nd Ave.
Miami

Rev. Caxton Doggett
(Methodist Minister)
376 N. E. 90th St.
Miami

Mr. Thomas Dreier
(Publisher)
1011 Brightwaters Blvd.
St. Petersburg

Dr. Winston Ehrmann
(Prof. of Soc.)
University of Fla.
Gainesville

Rev. John Fuller
First Unitarian
Central at Rosalind
Orlando

Mr. William Gay
312 Lamara Way
St. Petersburg

Rev. Edward T. Graham
356 N. W. 9th St.
Miami

Dr. Godfrey W. Hawkins
1018 N. W. 2nd Ave.
Miami

Rt. Rev. Henry J. Louttit
458 Virginia Dr.
Winter Park

Miss Alice McVicar
2971 S. W. 2nd Ave.
Miami

Rev. E. J. Montgomery
Box 866
Presbyterian, Lake City

Dr. Ellwood C. Nance
President
University of Tampa
Tampa

Rev. J. B. Nichols
914 N. Bayln
Pensacola

Rev. Ernest Marble
4822 3rd Ave. So.
St. Petersburg

Mrs. Harley Price
1561 Yancey St.
Tallahassee

Mr. Lee J. Price
505 Dyal-Upchurch Bldg.
Jacksonville

Mrs. Marie Roberts
2501 N. W. 46th St.
Miami

Mrs. Warren Zeuch
2238 Ponce de Leon Circle
P. O. Box 878
Vero Beach

Mrs. Dorothy C. Tomlin
1815 5th St. No.
St. Petersburg

Rabbi Marshall Taxay
507 5th Ave.
Daytona Beach

Rev. S. M. Weeks
~~721 N. W. 8th St.~~
~~Gainesville~~
611 N. First St.
Birmingham, Ala.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Paul F. Finner - Chairman
930 West Park Ave.
Tallahassee

Mr. W. C. Taylor - Vice-Chairman
Undertaking Establishment
Belle Glade

Mr. I. H. Burney - Treasurer
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville

Mrs. Nathan Starr - Secretary
1326 N. W. 10th Ave.
Gainesville

Mr. M. L. Kidd
Fla. A & M Univ.
Tallahassee

Mr. Hollis Rinehart
(Attorney)
815 Ingraham Bldg.
Miami

Mr. Herbert Davidson
(Editor)
News-Journal
Daytona Beach

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
(Attorney)
1312 Barnett Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville

cab
10/6/55

Central Village, Massachusetts
August, 1956
Memorandum to: Mr. Fred Routte
From: H. Harry Giles

Late in July I learned that the Center for Human Relations Studies has been merged with other activities at the University. The new organization is to be called "Center for Field Services and Human Relations Studies". It will be headed by Dr. Dan Dodson.

My own assignment for the coming year is in teaching and research.

It is with mixed feelings that I relinquish the direction of the Center into which I poured the best nine years' effort of which I was capable. The obstacles and hardships of creating, sustaining, and bringing about a distinctive program of professional training and research have occupied so much of my every thought and feeling! The steady increase in number and quality of students and in productive research have given a sense of fruition, now and to come, as a result of all the effort.

As my administrative part in the building of a professional institute is brought to an end, I have a heightened sense of the meaning to our time of the devotion and skill which so many staff and student members of the Center contributed to its building.

On the personal side, it is teaching, research, and writing which are most rewarding and to which I look forward. I expect to continue also some part of the consultant work which has taught me much, and which, I hope, has spread the usefulness of the Center idea.

Since this is a major change in my outlook and assignment, I wanted you to know of it. Since my facilities are limited, I hope you will pardon the somewhat impersonal form of what is intended as a personal communication to you.

ab

Ga-

7BR

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Meeting of Executive Committee

Reverend Samuel Williams, Presiding
January 31, 1957

A G E N D A

1. Minutes

2. Prayer

3. Purpose of Meeting

4. Organizational Aims and Objectives of Council

5. Organizational Structure and Activities of Council

   Committee Activities

   a. Education
   b. Communication
   c. Public Services
      (1) Transportation
      (2) Health
      (3) Library

6. Suggestions for Extending Influence and Program of Committee
   Discussion: Questions and Remarks

7. Appointment of Subcommittees

   a. Winter Meeting of Membership
   b. Nominating Committee _____

8. Time-Place of Next Meeting of Executive Committee

9. Benediction

Officers--

Reverend Glenn Canfield, Chairman
Mrs. F. P. Drake, Co-Chairman
Reverend Samuel Williams, Co-Chairman
Mrs. Bettye Gloster, Secretary
Reverend James Weldon, Treasurer

2-14-57

7

Georgia Council of Churches
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

OF VITAL CONCERN TO EVERY GEORGIAN, ESPECIALLY EVERY CHURCH MEMBER

About February 7th, House of Representatives Bill #143 was introduced. The bill is aimed at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations. To get the full import of HR 143 please read all of the following, especially paragraphs three and four. As the bill now stands any person(s) or organization could be investigated almost without cause.

HR #143 was referred to the State of the Republic Committee and is still in Committee but may be voted out very soon for action by the House and Senate.

An effort is being made to get the State ofthe Republic Committee to hold a hearing on Bill #143. If a hearing is granted it is essential that many, many, persons concerned about Constitutional procedures etc., be present. Expressing your concern regarding the purpose of the bill to your representatives and senators is extremely important.

The resolution (to become a bill), as worded, does not mention the NAACP or any other organization by name. It's stated purpose is "to create a joint interim committee of the House and Senate to investigate and hold hearings relative to the need, or lack of need, for legislation regulating and governing corporations, associations, organizations and other groups which seek to influence public opinion or encourage or promote litigation;.....to authorize said committee to issue subpoenas and require testimony; to prescribe misdemeanor punishment for failure to respond to any such subpoena, or failure or refusal of any witness to any question, without cause;....."

According to the Attorney General, the General Assembly is "reliably informed" that certain corporations and organizations are "fomenting strife and encouraging and promoting litigation", and that these (unnamed) organizations "have Communistic affiliations and backgrounds which have been withheld from the public" and are receiving funds from "well meaning but misguided zealots and liberals who are not aware of the subversive character of such organizations". The resolution recommends that the committee in its investigations collect evidence as to the need for legislation requiring these organizations " to register as lobbyists and divulge information to the public concerning their officials, memberships, finances, and other information..."; amendments to the Subversive Activities Act; and possible amendments to the State Income Tax Laws with respect to taxing donations to such organizations.

The resolution, as drawn, authorizes investigation of all groups "which seek to influence public opinion or encourage and promote litigation." It is possible to interpret this to include every group which in any way appears in the public eye as seeking to influence public opinion. Therefore, every kind of civic group, church group, labor union, religious group, newspaper, radio and television station, and even commercial advertisers are susceptible of investigation. Similarly it authorizes investigations of every kind of trade or industrial association since all such associations insofar as they act as defense agencies for their trade or industry to greater or lesser extent encourage or promote litigation in the State. Furthermore, the resolution makes an interesting equation of influencing public opinion with lobbying.

In essence, this resolution, which ostensibly seeks to impede one particular group, would require the whole state to abandon basic constitutional liberties which have been traditionally held by Americans ever since the Constitution was adopted. Obviously. if anyone who seeks to influence public opinion must submit to exhaustive examination, to register as lobbyists, and to disclose basic information as to finances, receipts, membership, etc., the result would be to make Georgia a complete police state. Certainly it means that every civic organization must recognize that if this resolution is passed, it will endanger the constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of association. Similarly, every religious group and newspaper, for which there are no exceptions, can be subjected to the kind of dragnet investigation and hostile scrutiny which can serve only to destroy freedom of religion and freedom of the press.

2/14/57

Ga-

WINTER QUARTER MEETING OF THE GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

March 12, 1957 - 8:00 P. M.

Place of Meeting: Main Auditorium of the Life Insurance Company of Georgia
573 West Peachtree, N. E.

Presiding - The Reverend Samuel Williams, Pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, First Vice-Chairman, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

AGENDA

1. Prayer .....Reverend Homer McEwen, Pastor
Congregational Church

2. Panel Discussion - 20 minutes -
Moderator.....Dr. Paul M. Rilling, Project Director
Southern Area Council, YMCA

The Implications of Good Human Relations :

a. Government
1. Mr. Hamm Lokey, Attorney at Law
2. Mr. Muggsy Smith, Fulton County Representative

b. Business and Industry
1. Mr. Phil Hammer, President, Hammer and Company Research Associates
2. Mr. Owen Ray Moore, American Security Insurance Company

c. Social Services
1. Mr. Warren Cochrane, Executive Secretary, Butler Street YMCA

d. Religion
1. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President, Gammon Theological Seminary

3. "Buzz Session" - 10 minutes
Group Leader.....Mr. Art Levin, Southeastern Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League, B'Nai B'Rith
a. Reports..... 3 minutes each
b. Discussion..... 5 minutes

4. Report of Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations Activities

2 Minutes

a. Education ..... Mr. Dudley De Groot, Emory University

b. Public Facilities ..... Mr. Joseph Golden, Atlanta University

c. Communications ..... Mr. Whitney Young, Special Consultant

5. Report of Nomination Committee ..... Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College

6. Outline of Fund Raising Campaign ..... Mr. T. M. Alexander
Executive Vice-President, Southeastern Fire Insurance Company

7. Announcements ..... Reverend Samuel Williams

8. Adjournment

*******

Duplicate

State Florida "Gr"

April 18, 1957

Mr. and Mrs. William Greenleaf
3238 College
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Sue and Bill:

This is not a bread and butter note, but a vote of thanks for the wonderful time you showed me while I was in Jacksonville. I particularly enjoyed the beer and gab-fest in the evening at your house.

I thought the meeting most worthwhile and hope it gave the N.E. Florida Council the needed shot in the arm.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

RECEIVED SEP 16 1957

Talk with JHF

# Tennessee Council on Human Relations

AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

416 Twenty-first Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

CLARENCE L. HUGHES
OFFICE MGR.

September 13, 1957

420 JACKSON BLDG
CHATTANOOGA 2, TENN.
TELEPHONE 7-9781

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Nashville members of the Board of the Tennessee Council recently had a meeting in which we set up our Finance and Membership Committees and discussed plans to start a drive for funds and members. It was agreed that a letter be written to the Southern Regional Council to explain what we had done and to ask for some financial help in getting started.

Dr. A. C. Miller, our president, left town soon after the meeting and I was unable to find out if he had written about this matter. After talking with some of the Board members about the urgency of explaining our position to you, I am taking the responsibility of writing this letter. John Hope, who was at our meeting, told us that your Executive Committee was to meet in a few days that that this request should be presented to them.

Of the $500 granted to the Tennessee Council in June, we have used all but $137 for office rent, a Board meeting in June, and for moving. At the June Board meeting Fred Routh reported that there was $2600 of the prorated sum which SRC granted us for this year and which we have been unable to use because we did not have an Executive Secretary or a full quota of officers. This, we understand, will not be available after October 1. Would that money be available to us now for the expenses of setting up our campaigns? We will have such expenses as telephone (which we have not previously had), stationery, postage, office rent, and a part-time secretary. We know, of course, that the $836.26 owed to Mrs. Bonita Valien will come out of this, plus $50 to Virginia Grantham for secretarial work.

We feel that we have gotten over the major hurdles. We have secured a fine group of officers -- Dr. A. C. Miller, as president, Dr. Hugh Morgan, Rev. William A. Dennis, and Rev. J. A. McDaniel as vice presidents from Middle, East, and West Tennessee, Mrs. Matthew Walker as secretary, and Mr. Walter Sharp as treasurer. Mrs. John T. McCall is chairman of the Membership Committee and Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald of the Finance Committee. Both committees have three members each and are planning to add more. Also we have moved to a more spacious office which rents for less than the other one.

Now that we have gone this far we would like very much to get started immediately. In view of the regrettable happenings here in the last week we believe that this is urgent and that we can accomplish something of value if we can just get off the ground.

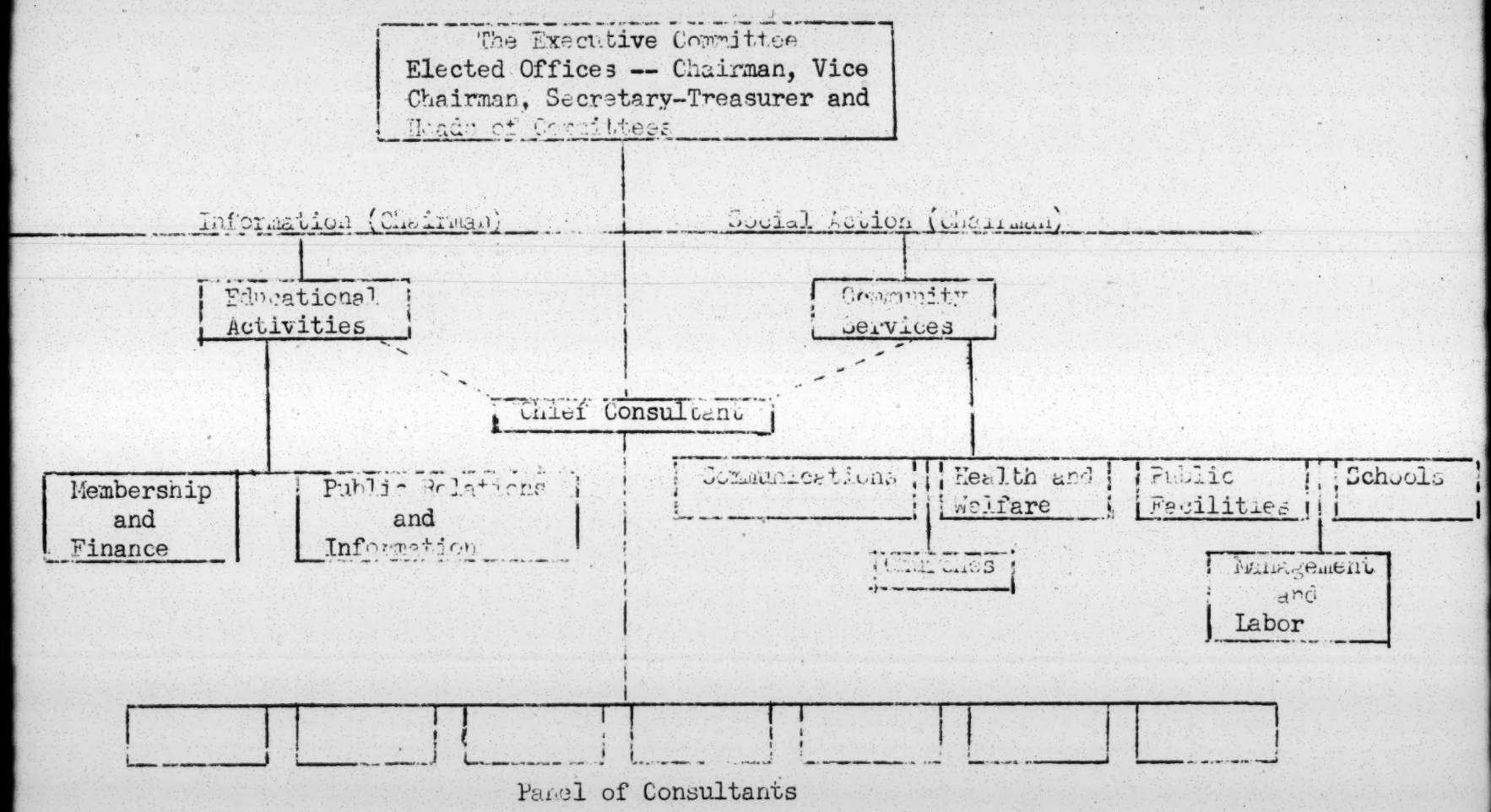
Sincerely yours,
Virginia Grantham
Office Secretary

Fred -

Mozell Hill brought this by - asked ~~that~~

for your criticism.

SUGGESTED ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ATLANTA COUNCIL



Ga

# Toward a Fair

# and

# Balanced View

Sometimes we are so close to a problem that it is difficult to see it calmly and clearly. And yet, it is often these very problems which we must try hardest to view without passion since we alone, as those directly concerned, can finally work them out. The points and suggestions raised below represent the effort of a group of Southerners to bring at least a degree of calmness and clarity to a problem in human relations which, for too long, has been left in the hands of agitators and extremists. If some of the questions raised below touch the minds and consciences of our fellow Southerners, perhaps at least the first step will be taken toward easing the fear and hostility which disturbs us all.

## 1. Do White Southerners Have A Right To Be Judged As Individuals?

There is hardly a corner of modern Georgia which could not offer the finest human examples to disprove the old picture of the white Southerner as a shiftless, prejudice-ridden "Tobacco-Roader". Yet, one of the greatest hindrances to understanding and progress is the persistence of the belief that most Southerners are race-baiting bigots with a Bible in one hand and a gun in the other.

*Suggestion*: We might try discovering and giving due credit to the words and deeds of white Southerners which make for a truly Christian relation between Negroes and whites. We might further try to see that such positive stories get as much display and attention as are provided for stories of interracial strife and tension.

## 2. Do Negro Southerners Have A Right To Be Judged As Individuals?

Surely no fair-minded, thinking person would suggest that Atlanta-born concert artist Mattiwilda Dobbs, or Ralph Bunche deserves to be automatically branded as unintelligent, immoral, lazy, low-calibre — simply on the basis of color. And yet, this kind of judgment, and worse, is being made about thousands of hard-working, upright Negroes in Georgia and throughout the South. It happens every time we say, "Negroes are no good — they're all alike," or "Know one Negro and you know them all".

*Suggestion*: We might begin by asking ourselves how many Negroes, other than our servants or the criminals we read about, we actually know in our own communi-

ties. We might try to discover the positive contributions which Negro citizens have made and are making to our state and to the world. We might try hard to see each Negro with whom we come in contact — as each of us wants to be seen — as a separate and distinct human being.

### 3. Will Name-Calling And Hatred Improve Health Standards Or Lower The Crime Rate Among Negroes Or Any Other Group In The South?

It is unfortunate, but true, that those farthest down on the social and financial ladder generally have the poorest overall health record and the highest crime rate. Like the question of educational standards, these are serious matters. Too serious to be left in the hands of those who are interested only in converting them into easy headlines, or votes, or racial violence. Sooner or later we have to decide whether we are satisfied to publish figures, point accusing fingers, and blame all our unsolved problems on "an inferior race", . . . or whether we are just and reasonable enough to dig down to the roots of our troubles and begin working them out harmoniously.

*Suggestion*: We might try to find why fewer Negroes die where adequate hospital facilities exist, or how more Georgia-born Negro doctors can be induced to return to our Georgia towns to practice, or what lesson is to be found in the differences between crime and literacy rates which exist between Negro Southerners living in our worst slums and rural shacks, and those whose living conditions are more nearly adequate.

## 4. In The Long Run, Will It Really Help Us Or Our Children To Make Ours A State In Which Only One Opinion Is Permitted On Certain Questions?

Unless Hitler and Stalin were right, and Jefferson and Washington were wrong, free men have nothing to fear from the open expression of conflicting opinions. By the same token, we endanger ourselves and the hearts and minds of our children when we permit only the ideas that a dominant majority, or minority, wants to hear. The danger signs are already up in too many of our Southern communities. If in the future, there are still states in which American children and adults can act and think independently without fear of economic pressure, threats or force — then the children, white as well as black, whose parents have chosen the other road for them may grow up to find themselves crippled in a way none of us would like to see.

*Suggestion*: We might try to exercise, or at least to permit, the basic American "freedom to disagree" in the church, or club, or lodge to which we belong. We might try to encourage our newspapers, our political organizations to insure a fair hearing even to those with whom we disagree. Finally, we might, once in a while, speak up for what we ourselves feel to be right — even at the risk of somebody's coolness or displeasure. For no matter how we appear to others, there remains the inner looking glass, and beyond that, the eye of God.

* * * * * * * *

IF YOU SHOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON, DISAGREE WITH, DISCUSS FURTHER ANY OF THE POINTS OR SUGGESTIONS RAISED ABOVE, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH *THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,* 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES - STATE AND LOCAL

Earl D. C. Brewer, Emory University

August, 1954

## Meeting the Situation in Local Communities

This brings us to the major constructive task of study. It is to make suggestions to individual persons or groups in cities or counties in the area of discussing, organizing, planning, and acting to meet the pressing problems of intergroup relations. The material is based on a review and evaluation of the documentary study of local human relations agencies and it is prepared in a question and answer form with the thought that it might be useful as a guide for discussion by any group interested in initiating, planning, or reviewing action in this field.

It is strongly urged that concerned citizens of both races, especially school people and parents, in every town, city, and county in the South come together in appropriate public buildings or churches to discuss the situation and make plans to meet the future in keeping with religious principles, democratic ideals, the law of the land, and common sense. The following questions and suggestions may prove useful as such groups think, talk, and plan for immediate and long run action in this field.

1. What is the local situation? Every local community or county is different from every other one. Each has its own peculiar problems, history and experience in Negro-white and other intergroup relationships. The ratio of Negroes to whites differs widely, the extent of prejudice and lack of communication and understanding varies, and past development in the human relations field ranges from little to much from place to place. This means that interested citizens or groups will need to study their own community and to evaluate its particular problems in relation to the Supreme Court Decision on public schools and other areas of human relations.

What has been the experience of the community in organized groups dealing with intergroup relations? Has there been a local interracial committee, or a local group of members of the SRC, or a local chapter of NAACP, church group, school group, YWCA, official agency or other type of human relations group? If so, what are such groups doing and planning?

Is there need for a citizens' committee or council on community relations (or human relations) to bring together the leadership and rank and file membership of both races to face the situation?

Most of the citizens' and mayors' councils in the country have arisen in local communities in times of tension, violence or threat of violence. They were developed quickly to deal with particular crisis situations. Later, they expanded their activities to treat the basic causes of intergroup tensions and to build for positive good will and constructive community relations.

2. What are the main types of such groups and what is needed in the South? There are three basic forms of organized agencies in the human relations field.

(1) Local chapters or units of national agencies, such as the NAACP, Urban League, the social action committees of churches, or the local YWCA.

(2) A citizens' council on community relations on a private or quasi-official basis, such as the Dade County Council on Community Relations or the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations, or the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati.

It is proposed here that the second type of agency, the citizens' council on community relations, can serve to bring interested citiznes and responsible agencies of both races together to face the school situation and other intergroup problems in the South. Such a council would not compete with existing agencies but serve to strengthen them, and it might be a first step toward a resolution or legislation setting up the public type of agency.

Even so, there would be continuing need for the citizens' council since experience in other cities and counties has been consistent at the point that mayor's committees and official commissions do and can move only as far and as fast as legislation, public opinion, and private agency prodding push them.

Further, one of the principal differences between cities, counties, and states in the South and in other parts of the country is the lack, generally speaking, of human rights legislation or ordinances. Due to this fact and the prevailing political climate in many places built on traditions, folkways, mores, which institutionalize and sanction discrimination, it would not be considered wise to agitate for official and public committees or commissions dealing with human relations without the most careful preparation by a citizens' council and the performance of a continuing "watchdog" function by the private agency.

3. What are the steps in organizing a council and getting started in the human relations field? There are two concerns here; one is to call together persons concerned with the problems of human relations, especially the public school situation and the other is to organize a council for continuous work in the field. Both of these concerns are kept in mind in these suggestions.

Step One. The initiative can be taken by any interested citizen.

Step Two. Call together a few other persons to discuss the matter. This informal discussion group should include both Negroes and whites and might meet in an appropriate public building, church, etc.

Step Three. After talking over the situation and studying this manual, the small group should issue invitations, by word of mouth or letter, to a larger group of leaders for a meeting to discuss community relations problems, especially the public school situation, and the possibilities of setting up a council. A representative of the Southern Regional Council or of the state council might be secured for this meeting. To this meeting should

be invited members, if any, of the local interracial committee or local members of SRC. These persons could form the nucleus of interest and information around which to move ahead. Also, other interested leading citizens and heads of organizations and agencies concerned with these problems should be invited.

Step Four. Hold the "invitation" meeting to discuss further the problems of community relations and preliminary organization. The purpose of this meeting would be to discuss the needs and purposes of such a council and to inform a larger number of citizens of the possibilities of organization. One result of this meeting should be a decision to appoint a temporary committee to explore further the details of organizing a council. Another result should be to keep before the group in an exploratory manner the public school situation or whatever problem in community relations was most pressing. Another decision of this meeting might very well be to appoint another temporary committee to prepare for a fuller discussion of the tension situation at the next meeting.

Step Five. The temporary organizing committee would make a fuller study of the possibilities of setting up a council. It might get in touch with a larger number of citizens and all the appropriate agencies with invitations to an organizational meeting. At the same time, the other temporary committee might prepare for a panel discussion of the school problem, or some other, as a part of the program for the organizing meeting.

Step Six. These two committees would hold the organizing meeting. Here one-half the period would be given to the community relations problem and the other half to preliminary organization. This later step should be very simple and flexible. Perhaps the selection of a continuation committee authorized to set up the necessary details of organization, after agreement on principles, would be sufficient. The purpose of this council is to better community relations, not to build an elaborate organization.

Step Seven. The continuation committee would arrange for a simple statement of by-laws and the Council would be formally and officially organized at the next meeting, with charter memberships.

It is strongly urged that local citizens' councils, representing both races, be formed before tensions become acute and lay the groundwork for a constructive approach on a continuing basis to the problems of intergroup relations before critical stage is reached in the new situation in the South.

4. What are the purposes of a citizens' council? Obviously, each local group will want to hammer out its own purposes. These items may serve as an "anvil" for the discussional process.

(1) To deal with immediate intergroup problems of tension and difficulty in the local community.

(2) To carry on, in cooperation with others, a self-survey or study of community problems in this area.

(3) To concentrate on the major problems of the local community, such as school integration, while laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing, employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strengthen the work of all cooperating agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations.

(5) To cooperate with all public agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To provide common meeting grounds and channels of communication for all persons and agencies of both races in dealing with community problems and in efforts to make the community a better place to live for all its people.

(7) To press for anti-discrimination ordinances, placing the full weight of local government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals

as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(8) To work for a public and official county or municipal Commission on Community Relations (or Human Relations) and, where one exists, to support it and urge it to full activity.

(9) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the community aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(10) To work in cooperation with various state agencies, especially the new office established by the Southern Regional Council.

(11) To form a permanent citizens' city or county council to give continuing leadership in this important field of human relations in the changing South.

(12) Above all else, to start where the community is and to move it in the direction which, under God and democracy, it ought to go in providing equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion, or nationality background.

5. Who should be involved in such a council? It should be clearly understood that this is not the place for "radicals" or "subversives" on the one hand, and "reactionaries" and "stand-patters" on the other hand. Rather, this type of council should be composed of leading liberal citizens of both races who are concerned about and responsible for the best interests of the total community and its future. Members of the local interracial committee or of the SRC might well form the nucleus of such a council. Persons likely to be interested in the immediate issues growing out of the Supreme Court Decision are public school officials and teachers, PTA leaders and parents and patrons of the schools. Other persons in the community would include leaders in the fields of religion (clergy, lay and, especially, lay women), civic clubs, business, labor, agriculture, industry, health, welfare,

recreation. Also, such public officials as county commissioners, mayors, city councilmen, public school superintendent, sheriff, police officers, agricultural agents, judges, social welfare workers, city planners, parks and recreation officials and others who have public responsibility which involve intergroup relations. Not all these types of persons or agencies are to be found in every local community or county. Also, individuals or agencies not in sympathy with the purposes of the council should not be "pressured" to join. Care should be taken that Negroes and other groups are adequately represented on the council.

It is suggested that organizations and agencies interested in human relations, as well as interested citizens, become members and participants in the Council.

6. What should be the program of activities of the council? Naturally, this will depend on the local community situation and problems, the nature of the council, and the resources (finance, status, leadership) available to it. Any concrete program should be developed gradually and tailored to the needs and possibilities of each community. Therefore, only general suggestions can be made here for discussion.

(1) In the light of the purposes of the council, the focus of all phases of its program would be on efforts to secure equal rights and opportunities for all citizens of the community without bias or discrimination based on racial, religious, and ethnic factors.

(2) Activities should concentrate on the central areas of discrimination, rather than attempt to cover the "waterfront". It will be found that work in any vital field sooner or later involves all others of significance for human relations.

(3) Critical areas of tension may differ from community to community, but it is likely that the field of public school education in the face of the Supreme Court Decision outlawing segregation will be of immediate concern

in most cities and counties of the South for some time to come. This would likely be the place to start in the program of a new council.

(4) Regardless of the particular field of human relations which happens to be of most immediate concern, the perspective and prospects for the council should be laid in such a way as to enable it to deal with intergroup relations at other points as they become critical. This should be done not only on an emergency but, also, a continuous basis.

(5) As the documentary evidence from other groups shows there are certain recurring areas in which programs of activities will need to be developed in the long run. These are (a) Public schools and education, (b) Employment and job opportunities, (c) Housing, (d) Law enforcement and legislation, and (e) Public accommodations in various fields, such as transportation, recreation, and health facilities. In these and other areas recurring problems of discrimination arise and programs must be developed to deal with them.

7. What are the principal methods of action and work? Informality and flexibility of approach should dominate work for better human relations, especially on the part of private agencies without the force of law. The following methods may be discussed in determining which ones are useful and workable in any particular group..

(1) Informal group discussion in the council and in all committees and sub-groups of it is the most important method in involving members in the process of understanding the problems, setting goals, deciding on methods, and committing themselves to action. The methods of small group discussion should be understood and utilized.

(2) Quiet, friendly, behind-the-scenes conversations between the "right"citizens or officials and individuals members of the council about concrete problems are among the most valuable and widely used methods of getting things done in this field. It is especially helpful in private agencies with little or no paid professional help but with leading citizens

as members.

(3) Work through members who are employed in other agencies. For example, there may be discrimination in the handling of county welfare cases because of race but the matter may be partially or completely corrected because the welfare worker is a member of this group discussing the matter and proposing solutions.

(4) Assist in coordinating and strengthening the human relations work in member agencies. This may be done through human relations committees in member agencies, by having representatives of these agencies in group discussions of problems and ways of meeting them, by rendering direct intercultural educational services to the agencies as requested and as resources are available, and by serving as a clearing house for these agencies. For example, officials and teachers from Negro and white schools may be members of the council or the county or city school board may be represented in it. The assistance of the council may be available to these leaders as they face problems of interrelationships, integration, and intercultural education.

(5) Special discussion groups, workshops, and training groups may be stimulated or sponsored by the council. This might be done with parents and teachers regarding school problems. It could be done with police officers in the matter of handling intergroup relations in law enforcement. The leaders of Negro and white churches might come together for a study of religion and human relations and its implications for the practices of their churches and for the total community life. Other examples of specialized education and training efforts will suggest themselves in various communities.

(6) Another approach along this line but with community-wide implications would be a citizens' conference on civic unity or community relations. Here public meetings, attended by all groups in the community, with addresses, panels, and discussions would draw the attention of the entire community to its situation and obligations. This is one way to get an open airing of these things with its public opinion making and publicity values. Some

communities hold such conferences annually.

(7) The calm gathering of facts about community situations is needed everywhere. Research and study are universal methods of these councils. Local or nearby colleges or universities, as well as other local agencies, may have workers who can assist in this job. However, one of the best approaches is the community self-survey. Here citizens with little expert help find out the facts for themselves. The Southern Regional Council has pioneered in this field and help is available upon request.

(8) Publications and publicity are important methods in educating the citizenry. The findings of self-surveys, reports of committee work and other affairs of the council, stories of experiences in other localities, use of newspapers, radio, television and other media -- all these efforts help create a public opinion within which human relations can be improved.

A mimeographed newsletter circulated to individuals and agency members and, by subscription to others, is helpful. The Community Reporter of the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations is a good example.

(9) Efforts should be made to get Negro representation in all community-wide endeavors and especially on the public boards and institutions. Perhaps the first move should be to secure Negro members on the school board and Negro police officers where needed. Through education and persuasion, Negroes, whites, and all other citizens should be encouraged to vote. Election of Negroes to school boards and city councils has already been done in many cities of the South, and this council should lend its support to such efforts.

(10) Several councils give citations and awards to individual citizens and organizations or agencies of the community who have rendered outstanding service during the year in the field of better community relations.

(11) Studies should be made in the field of human rights ordinances with appeals and pressure for enactment by local governments.

(12) Again, through education and persuasion, efforts should be made to get mayors and commissioners to back up such ordinances through the establishment of public commissions on community relations (of human relations).

(13) A final suggestion about methods would be to work closely with the state council on human relations which is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. The professional leadership of this state council will be available to assist in local community plans and actions.

8. What about the organizational structure of the council? These suggestions are made for a private or quasi-official human relations agency in the county or city. Decisions will have to be made on several items of organizational structure. Simplicity and flexibility should guide the organizational set-up.

(1) The name may vary from place to place, but one suggestion would be Council on Community Relations.

(2) Membership should be composed of individuals, private groups, and organizations, and public agencies interested in better community relations. Persons from both races and all other groups of the community should be eligible for membership.

(3) Each member, whether as an individual or as a representative of an agency, would have one vote in the council as a whole.

(4) An executive committee should be selected by the council to carry on the program. Each agency or organization should be represented on the executive committee and an equal number of individual members.

(5) In the beginning the executive committee might carry the total program with ad hoc or temporary committees appointed as needed. However, it is likely that standing committees will be necessary as the council grows into its task. These might be set up as required for the program rather than attempting to perfect an organization in the beginning. The executive

committee could be given the authority to name temporary or standing committees as and when necessary, provided that standing committees should be approved at the next meeting of the full council.

(6) Standing committees may eventually be needed in some or all of these fields: Public schools and education, employment and job opportunities, law enforcement and legislation, housing, public accommodations, research and self-survey, publications and publicity, membership and finance, and others. New groups should be cautioned against setting up any of these standing committees unless and until needed, and they should be discarded if they do not fanction or if their particular job has been completed. The committee structure should be as simple and as flexible as possible to get the job done.

(7) It is suggested that there be three types of memberships in the council, individual membership, agency membership, and sustaining membership with the understanding that either individuals or agencies may become sustaining members. The annual dues for each type of membership would need to be decided. The membership rates of the Dade County Council on Community Relations are recommended for consideration.

(8) Provision should be made to receive additional gifts and grants for the purposes of the council.

(9) It is strongly urged that the local council be affiliated with the state council which, in turn, is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. As an affiliate of the state council, interlocking memberships and dues might be worked out.

(10) If possible, the local council might employ a part time or full time professional worker, use volunteer professional help from local agencies and use volunteer citizen assistance. Also, the council may call on the professional services of the state council office and the Southern Regional Council.

## Meeting the Situation in the States of the South

The final part of this section contains, in briefer compass, some suggestions regarding the organization and activities of state agencies in the field of human relations. It is anticipated that the primary use of this material will be the guidance of the SRC staff in planning and setting up state offices, including the orientation of state staff personnel.

More complete details of the organizational structure could be developed for the state councils, but it appears that these matters should grow out of SRC staff discussions and the situations and leadership in each state.

This section should be read in connection with the material on local councils since many recommendations which apply at both levels are not repeated here.

## The Need and the Situation

1. The situation, needs and problems, will vary from state to state. These differences should be taken into account in setting up each state organization and plans tailored to meet the problems and possibilities in each state.

2. The experiences of the state interracial commissions indicate that the health and vitality of the work in the state and in local communities is largely dependent upon professional leadership in the state organization.

3. This experience is supported by that of states with public human relations agencies. Like the Illinois Commission on Human Relations, many other states have seen this work go forward and the number of local city and county agencies increase under a competent and adequate state staff and program.

4. The situation is such in most of the states of the South that human rights legislation and public human relations agencies are a long way in the future. The advances in these areas in the Federal Government, Supreme Court Decisions, and in most of the northern and western states have left the states of the South largely untouched. The recent Supreme Court Decision on

segregation in public schools is the most direct challenge to state governments in the field of equality of opportunity for all citizens regardless of race. As evidenced by the reactionary political developments in some of the states and the quandry in other states as to public opinion, procedures, and patterns in the public school field, there is an immediate and pressing need for the mobilization of liberal citizens and agencies and the projection of educational and action programs to aid the states, and all the people of the states, in meeting this situation. Experience in other states, also, points to the need for public human relations agencies to have the support and prodding of private agencies. This means that there will be a continuing need for the type of agency contemplated here.

5. On the basis of these experiences and this situation, the SRC plans to help establish and support professional human relations leadership in each of the southern states.

Types of Agencies

Here, again, there are three types of state agencies dealing with human relations.

1. State or regional offices of national organizations, such as the NAACP, Anti-Defamation League, religious organizations, especially women's groups, etc.

2. Private state organizations dealing with human relations on a co-ordination and service basis, such as the California Federation for Civic Unity, and state interracial committees.

3. Public state agencies set up by legislature and finances by public funds, such as the Illinois Commission on Human Relations.

In view of the situation in most of the southern states, it is obvious that the first and second types of agencies must carry the load of human relations work until state legislatures and governors feel the pressure of public opinion to make this the business of the state as it should be.

Also, since "straight-line" private agencies are largely without paid and professional leadership in this area, there is need for a private coordinating and service agency with professional workers to focus and strengthen the human relations activities of the state.

This is the type of state agency proposed here, and it will be called a state council on community relations (or human relations) in this document.

## Purposes

Naturally the state council will have the same type of purposes as the local councils except at the state level.

(1) To help work out any immediate intergroup problems or tension and difficulty at the state level or to assist any local council with such problems, such as the public school situation.

(2) To assist local councils with research and self-studies into human relations problems and to make a survey, in cooperation with appropriate state agencies, of these situations in the state as a whole.

(3) To concentrate at the state level on the major issue of school integration and equality while, at the same time, laying the foundation for dealing with discrimination and lack of equality of opportunity in housing, employment, law enforcement, and public accommodations.

(4) To coordinate and strengthen the work of all cooperating private state-wide agencies and groups concerned with intergroup relations by serving as a clearing-house and a channel of communication for all persons and agencies of both races.

(5) To cooperate with all public state agencies and officials in reducing tension and increasing good relationships.

(6) To work for anti-discrimination and human rights state laws, placing the full weight of state government behind efforts to implement democratic ideals as expressed in the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, and Supreme Court Decisions.

(7) To work for a public and official Governor's commission on community relations (or human relations) and to cooperate with one, if and when established.

(8) To use research, discussion, intercultural education, and public relations methods to make and keep the state aware of its opportunities and obligations in human relations, especially in the public school field.

(9) To stiumlate, organize, and render service to local county and city councils on community relations throughout the state.

(10) To work for a permanent and self-supporting state council on community relations.

(11) To labor for the best interests of the state, within the bighest democratic tradition, and to help make it a better place for all its people to live in freedom, equality of opportunity, and in the pursuit of happiness.

MEMBERSHIP

The state council is an instrument of liberal and outstanding citizens of both races and of agencies devoted to better human relations. It is not an organization for reactionaries and "stand-patters" or for radicals and subversives.

The members of the state interracial committee or the state division of SRC might well make up a nucleus around which to form the council.

The council should be made up of individual members, state agency memberships and local council memberships. Annual dues for each class of membership would have to be determined with the understanding that individuals, agencies, or local councils could become sustaining members by the payment of an appropriate sustaining membership annual fee. The agency memberships should be open to private and public agencies involved in human relations problems. No individual or agency not in sympathy with or interested in the purpose of the state council should be urged to join.

## METHODS AND PROGRAMS

The methods of work and the program of activities would be similar to those recommended for the local councils. The major difference would be that these would operate at the state level, that professional workers would be available to carry on the activities of the state council, and one of the main jobs would be service to the cooperating agencies and, especially, to the local councils.

The state council staff and members of the executive committee, after reviewing the needs and problems of the state in the field of human relations, would plan a definite program of action to carry out the purposes of the council.

The advice of the SRC and its central staff would be available to state staffs in planning and carrying out programs. Also, the experiences and special talents of state council workers would be an asset to the SRC in its total operations. The closest cooperation and consultation would benefit human relations work through the region.

In developing definite programs and deciding on specific methods for the state council, a critical review of the suggestions made for the local councils is recommended.

## ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The suggested type of name of organization is a private, permanent, membership state council on community relations (or human relations).

The council would be composed of all individual members, agency members, and local council members. It would be made up of Negroes and whites, as well as all other persons and groups interested in joining and in harmony with its purposes.

There should be a central committee selected by the council and composed of one representative of each member agency, of each local council, and an equal number of individual members, plus the officers of the council. The

central committee, along with the council staff, would make and carry out the policies and programs of the council.

The committee structure should be simple and flexible and develop as the program demands. Temporary committees could be set up for special purposes until the need arose for standing committees. These might eventually be needed in all the areas suggested for local councils and, perhaps, some others.

The officers of the council, chairmen of standing committees, and the staff would make up an executive committee to supervise the activities of the council and to act on all matters between meetings of the central committee and the council as a whole. The entire council should meet at least annually, and perhaps in connection with a state-wide conference on community relations. The central committee should meet semi-annually or quarterly and the executive committee on call of the chairman.

The council office should be located in the capital city of the state unless there is adequate reason to the contrary.

Decisions should be made about membership fees and the way left open to secure grants and subscriptions in support of the council program. The state council should gradually assume full responsibility for the total budget of the council in accordance with arrangements with SRC.

## STATE COUNCIL STAFF

The staff of the council should consist of professional and clerical persons of both races.

The duties of the staff would include the following items:

(1) To lay the ground work for the organizational meeting of the council and it initiate its organization..

(2) To start work on pressing problems in the field of human relations in the state, especially the public school situation.

(3) To set up and administer the affairs of the council office.

(4) To answer calls for service on the part of public or private agencies

dealing with human relations.

(5) To initiate and answer calls to assist in organizing local city or county councils on community relations.

(6) To assist local councils in self-surveys, discussion groups, policy making, program acticities, and in other ways.

(7) To work with executive and central committees for a permanent organization of the state council on a self-sustaining basis within a given period of time.

(8) To represent the council and its interests in meetings over the state as invited.

(9) To serve as a clearinghouse for individuals, agencies, and local councils in the field of human relations. This would be done through correspondence, information, publications, and in other ways.

(10) To work with the executive committee in developing and carrying out a continuing and comprehensive program of activities in keeping with the purposes of the council.

(11) To cooperate with the staff of SRC to life the level of human relations work in the region and to join with them in various enterprises of mutual concern.

(12) To participate in an annual meeting and planning conference on a regional basis.

(13) To refrain from purely political activities, such as endorsing particular candidates in the state or local communities.

(14) To cooperate in setting up standards of membership and to assist in screening individuals and agencies who apply for membership.

The qualifications of the staff should include the following:

(1) The clerical staff should be of a high quality and experienced enough to carry on office routines in the absence of the professional staff in view of the amount of travel involved.

(2) The professional staff should include one Negro and one white worker

in each state, or as close to that arrangement as possible.

(3) The professional staff should have formal training, including graduate work in the social sciences, education, social work, or related fields. Training in intergroup relations and community organization would be important.

(4) The professional staff should have several years experience in teaching, educational administration, public administration, character building agencies, or in agencies dealing with human relations or social action. Experience in community organizations and public relations work would be important.

(5) The following minimum requirements for persons undertaking work in the field of intergroup relations has been suggested.

A basic minimum without which no one should undertake to work in this field is:

a knowledge of the facts concerning race (biological), free from folk superstitions and generalizations regarding a relation between race and culture of "inevitable" stages in the cultural evolution of races;

a knowledge of minority communities and their relation to the larger community; the physical basis of the community life, its organization and cultures, and the various relationships and contacts at different levels;

an understanding that race prejudice is not instinctive and a knowledge of the agencies and institutions that perpetuate stereotypes and attitudes;

an acceptance of variation in the structure of race relations without perpetuation of static concepts of a "natural pattern" and with appropriate definitions of each situation and sectional variations;

a knowledge of the dynamics of intergroup relations and of the nature of tensions and conflicts as social situations - unrest, frustration, desire for status, etc. - not explained by any one isolated factor such as the economic;

an understanding of one's own economic, social, and cultural background as it determines one's outlook, "role" and philosophy about the ends to be achieved - complete and unqualified integration of all monorities into the total American community;

an imaginative and scientific approach, free from dependence upon cliches, such as mores, caste and class, frustration, "scapegoat", and based upon the accumulation of knowledge of processes and techniques, recorded and tested;

a defined relationship between the intergroup organization and the community itself, other agencies and institutions with the emphasis upon cooperation rather than competition and with avoidance of extranious issues; and

a constant realization that the situation isone of social change, never static, and influenced by various factors, each significant and related to others.

A training conference for all state staffs should be held by SRC as soon in the year as possible.

The success and permanence of this program will depend largely upon the adequacy of the organizational structure of the state councils and on the qualifications, experience and training of the professional staff, the wisdom with which the programs of activities are developed, and the skills used in performance of activities planned in this crucial and critical field of human relations.

ks
9/1/54

1-31-1950 ?

write letter urging compliance

Memorandum

To: George S. Mitchell; Harold Fleming; C. H. Parrish; and Fred Routh
(copies to Misses Ruth Alexander and Florence Irving; and G. S. Alexander)

From: John Hope II

ok'd by { JH II / CH - FBR

Subject: Plans for state workshops

I I am attaching a suggested draft of an initial letter which I propose to send to each state director and state chairman. This can be a memographed with the names and addresses filled in and should be mailed on Tuesday, January 31, if possible.

II I am also attaching a highly tentative schedule for state workshops for your consideration and candid criticism and subsequent adjustment. The main purpose of this schedule is to give you something to start from. From the dates suggested, you will realize that your suggestions should reach me at the earliest possible date, preferrably on or before Thursday February 2. As soon thereafter, as soon as possible I shall make contact with at least the first four or five organizations in whose state we wish to hold workshops and with the consultant team chosen for these in order to determine their ability of carrying out these plans. On basis of this information I will prepare a final schedule for our guidance in putting rush programs into operation at the earliest possible moment. Some of these contacts, no doubt, will be made by long distance telephoning in order to expedite matter.

III I suggest that Fred and Harold, and perhaps Florence Irving, determine the major points of information to be included in Briefing Statements regarding each state situation for use by the consultants relying as fully as possible on data already available in files of the Atlanta office and from staff located there. In this way, the process might be standarized and handled by Miss Irving in a more or less routine manner ~~under~~ in chronological order ~~under~~ of our needs. It might expedite matters if tentative rough draft was prepared by Miss Irving and then circulated to Fred, Harold, C. H., George and to me for any additions and changes that are needed. Then the final draft might be prepared for distribution to the consultants

IV I have just received a revised copy of the consultant expense statement form from Gabe which as I understand it is adjusted to fit the bookkeeping procedures now in use. This form is quite satisfactory to me and I suggest that you take a look at Gabe's copy and add your approval and make any further suggestions that seem necessary.

I expect to see Fred and C. H. in Nashville Monday, January 30th about these and related matters.

ROUGH

Putting Tentative Agenda State Workshop, SPC

Friday night 6:00-7:30 p.m. dinner-workshops staff with state council staff and executive committee.

8:00-10:00 p.m. meeting of workshop staff with state council staff and executive committee

informal orientation and inventory-taking session. Consultants should ascertain clear picture of major problems of council so as to be able as to handle them as the central issues of the following day's session.

Saturday workshop-- council Staff and Board

9:00-9:15 a.m. registration

9:15-9:20 introductory remarks by state council shairman, announcements if any by state director, presentation of an introductory orientation remark by assistant director for program/

9:20-9:30 a.m. summary statement of parent situation in twelve southern states with emphasis on positive developments by Routh or Parrish.

9:35-introduction of consultants by chairman (assistant directo for program) focusing attention upon problems of the state.

9;35-9:40 three statements (about two minutes each) by consultants stating two or three central issues as seem by them from orientation and briefing statements ending with quiry as to whether these are the issues and if not what they are.

9:40-11:00 a.m. open discussion based primarily upon questions from state staff and board members to consultants and their responses if convenient and appropriate case illustrations which bring out major points given their state staff members might provide an effective "group-breaker" (it should have been emphasized by the chairman that after the preliminary ~~fkfkfkffff~~ introduction, all participants in the workshops are as the same equal statusx, likewise, that the central staff member (Parrish or Routh) will take note

through the day and give a critical primary statement at the end.)

11:15 a.m. coffee break

11:15-12 (noon) continuation of discussion preparatory to planning session.

12:30 p.m. beginning of planning session

the planning will last about two hours and will be under the leadership under the state director. The purpose is to project the specific elements of a program for the next twelve months ( six months?) considerations such as the following might be expressed: the main element of such a program, the order of importance of each, and the approximate allocation of time and effort to each of these; objectives, methods, and strategies in carrying out each element; as far as possible, the division of responsibility and labor involved in implementing each staff and Board member participation; contribution of other organizations, agencies, ~~fkfkfkfkfkfkfkf~~ (pro and con) that might be made; and the roll if any of the central office should play in the implementation of the various elements of this program.

12:30-1:30~~xxxxx~~ p.m. lunch

1:30-2:30 p.m. complete program plan

2:30-3:00 critical review of program plan by consultant and central staff members

3:00-4:00 p.m. discussion and final revision of program plan

emphasis of this discussion should be on specific guidance on ~~xxx~~ how each of the program elements can be carried out with maximum efficiency and effectiveness with the available resources at hand and within the social, political, and economic invironment in which the state organization is operating. Workshop staff should confine its statement to answers to specific questions from Board and Staff as far as possible.

4:15 p.m. critical summary and comment by central staff members

4:15-4:45 p.m. Random comments, etc. from floor, e.g., board member particularly, state chairman, state staff, and others

4:45 p.m. adjournment

(ROUGH DRAFT TENNESSEAN QUESTIONAIRE TO STATE DIRECTORS AND ASSOCIATES DIRECTORS)

QUESTIONAIRE

STATE INFORMATION SCHEDULE

FOR USE OF CONSULTANTS

IN CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

A. PROGRAM--MAJOR SCOPE AND TECHNIQUES

I. What would you term the major underline aims of goal which governs your day-to day programs planning and development, e.g., changing racial attitudes, eliminating race prejudice, changing practices and pattern of Negro-White relations, etc.? Please comment

_____

_____

_____

II. Approximately what proportion of your time is now spent in promotion and organizational work? ___%; and in strictly program activities? ___%.

III. What are the general program areas of Intergroup Relations in which you are (a.)now working? (b.)feel that you ought to work in the immediately future (in the next year)? Rank these in DESCENDING order giving "reason to guess" as to the porportion of program time (not organization, money raising, membership getting, etc.) used in each. (INSERTION A-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF PROGRAM AREAS)

IV. Comments on the reasons for your present program emphasis(e.g., first and second ranking areas of emphasis) and on suggested future emphasis if this differs from the present.

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Are there any major program areas where you are not working which you feel warrant major emphasis now but where you feel strong obstacles or restrictions which, in your opinion--

(a) the SRC central office can significantly allay or deter, or eliminate through close cooperation or coordination with you? (list them)

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) other organizations, institutions, etc. can help eliminate? If so, list these areas, indicate the major obstacles, and, if possible, suggest means by which they can be weakened or eliminated.

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. What general types of program (for action) techniques has your organization used and which of these, by a large, do you find more and less effective? Please check the types listed below which you are now using, add any in use that are not listed under"other" and arrange them the ascending order of their importance to you, i.e., most important, I; II; etc.

INSERTION B CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF MAJOR TYPES AND TECHNIQUES

B. PROGRAM ~~XXXXX~~ LIMITATIONS ~~EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL~~

I.

(a) Are there organized opposition groups (~~fifl~~ e.g., pro-segregationist, ~~dfff~~ white supremacy, pro-state rights, etc.) operating in your state? yes ____ No ____.

(b) If so, list their names and addresses, and as far as you now know the names, official positions, and addresses of the officers and other leaders.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(c) Indicate as far as possible your opinion as to whether each of these organizations is local, county-WIDE, ~~state-wide~~, regional, or national in the scope of its operation.

_____

_____

_____

(d) Which ~~iflghy~~ of these is now concentrating in their programs or propaganda on issues other than public school ~~ddsegregation~~ ~~or~~ the Desegregation And Decision?

_____

_____

_____

(e) Indicate as far as is available (from their printed statement; ~~features~~ speeches, interviews, etc. of their officials, newspaper account; etc.) statements ~~of~~ of their objectives, goals, policies, and plans of operation. (use quotations and state sources as far as possible and enclose copies of pertinent materials where readily available.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

INSERT C-LIST OF OPPOSITION ORGANIZATION OPERATING IN STATE, SCOPE AND PROGRAM.

II. In your judgment, what means (techniques, strategy, etc. against Negroes and Whites respectively, are each of these groups using to maintain the status quo, and to specifically prevent or delay public schools desegregation in your state. (Check the means now in use on the list below; write in any additional ones in use under "Other"; and circle the check mark (by the means most emphasized by each such organization. INSERT B-TYPE OF RESTRICTIVE MEANS USED BY OPPOSITION GROUPS.

C. DEGREE OF READINESS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

I. Have any ~~copies~~ counties, school district, and/or incorporated communities (cities or towns) in your state desegregated ~~for~~ their public schools? Yes___ No___. If so, how many ___. Name them and indicate the approximate total population (or pupil enrollment?) and the percentages of this which are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

II. Provided they are not ~~preventing~~ prevented or deterred from such actions by the state department of education or the legislature, are ~~their~~ there any counties, ~~through~~ school districts, and/or incorporated municipalities in your state that you believe--

(a) Are willing (ready) to desegregate their schools in the fall of 1956, i.e., their boards, superintendent, etc.? Yes___; No___; don't know___. If so, how many___. Name each, indicate the approximate population (or pupil enrollment) involved, and proportions of these who are Negroes and whites, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) seem to be "on the fence" and have the prospect~~ive~~ of being persuaded to desegregate in the fall of 1956? Yes___; No___; don't know___. If so, about how many? ___. Name each, indicate the approximate population ( or pupil enrollment) involved and the proportion of these who are Negro and White, respectively.

_____

_____

_____

_____

1.) Do you have any comment or suggestions on how any of these (~~i.e., or~~ "on the fence") may be persuaded? If so, state them c, II, (b)

2.)

~~II.~~ In your judgment, what influence, if any, ~~with~~ owned a parent (for NAACP) court suit for entrance into a now all white (or all-Negro) school have upon the situation in each of these communities?

(c) are actively or ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ adamantly opposed to desegregation in the fall of 1956 and you feel that sucha possibility is out of the question? Yes____; No____: don't know____. Approximately how many?____; if not all approximately what proportion of the total state population (or public schools pupil enrollment) do you feel is covered by this group?____%.

III. ~~II.~~ IV. With regard to the public school desegregation issue ~~in your state~~, comment on the position (pro or con?) and the ~~way~~ role taken by the leadership of organized groups in your state which exerts a strong influence in the power ~~section~~ STRUCTURE and/or upon public opinion of the state, e.g., political; religious; economic, including Management and Labor; civic and community welfare; professional, etc.

D. RESOURCES—ALLIES (ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS; ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS ESTABLISHED FOR ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, EXECUTIVE ORDERS, ETC.); INTERNAL (BOARD, STAFF, ETC.)

I. What, if any, organization, agencies or other organized groups ~~(a)~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~
(a) are now cooperating and
(b) may in your opinion be depended upon to cooperate in the immediate future with you ~~in your state~~ in the following program areas:

D. 1.

(b) (NOTE: LISTED PROGRAM AREAS MAY FOLLOW CLOSELY LIST THEM INSERT A, SECTON A, SECTION 3.)

~~Education-public school desegregation~~ ~~xxx~~

now:

In future:

~~impairment~~ EMPLOYMENT

now,

In future:

Others (list them and indicate program areas.) - See QUESTION A III

now:

in future

II. ARE YOU COOPERATING WITH ANY ORGANIZATIONS, AGENCY and/or INSTITUTIONS, IN ACHIEVING ELEMENTS OF THEIR PROGRAM WHICH YOU FEEL CONTRIBUTION TO YOURS? IF SO, LIST THEM AND, IF FEASIBLE, INDICATE TO WHAT PHASE OF YOUR PROGRAM THEY SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING. (INSERT E-CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION OF ORGANIZED GROUPS AND AGENCIES CHARGED WITH THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND EXCUXTIVE ORDERS THAT MAY REASONABLE BE ASSUMED TO HAVE INTERESTS COMPATIBLE WITH SRC IN THE HUMAN RELATIONS FIELD.)

III. ARE THERE PERSONS IN YOUR STATE WHO WOULD NOT OR SHOULD NOT BE MEMBERS OF YOUR Board, but who are sympathetic with the policies and objectives of SRC who you feel are cooperating or might be persuaded to cooperate with you in a more or less "behind the scene" unofficial manner in some or all phases of your program? If so, what is your estimate of the approximate number? _____. As far as possible and prudent, please indicate the number and names of such persons and the phases of your program in which they are likely to be interested.

Program in general: number? ___

_____

_____

Education-public school desegregation: number? ___

_____

_____

Employment: number? _____.

_____

_____

Other phases of program (list them and give numbers and names.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. How many and which of your Board members are giving you active cooperation and support:

(a) In the school desegregation phase of your program, e.g., attending conferences and interviews, making contacts for you, making speeches and other public expressions, etc.? Number? _____; names;

_____

IV.

(a)

_____

(b) in other phases of your question? ~~XXXXX~~ (indicate the numbers and names of Board members and the phases, reflexibly, in which they are now assisting you.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

V. Are there any Board members not actively interested in the school desegregation issue who you feel would, if asked, work actively with you or assume the leadership in any of the major program areas other than public school desegregation? If so, how many?_____. Give their names and the program areas in which you feel each would so contribute.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1955?

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell; Mr. Harold C. Fleming; Dr. C. H. Parrish; Mr. Fred B. Routh

From: John Hope II

Subject: Plans for Meeting of Prospective Consultants

At a conference in Milwaukee including Parrish, Routh, and Hope, it was agreed that a conference of consultants (after receiving their acceptance) should be held preferably no later than January 15, 1956, that certain materials should be prepared in advance of this meeting and circulated to the consultants for their thoughtful consideration in order that they might react to it at the meeting; that such materials should as far as possible be completed and sent to Hope far enough in advance of the conference date to allow "the team" to consider them together and make such adjustments, revisions, and additions as seem necessary before presenting them to the consultants.

Certain specific responsibilities were accepted by each of those present at this conference and the assistance of Mitchell and Fleming will be requested as our plans develop.

I am trying to get all basic materials in hand as soon as possible for the January meeting and to this end expect to confer with Dr. Robert Johnson next week on one phase. I would like to know from C. H. and Fred whether their materials can be expected by Christmas and if not when I may expect them.

There are certain types of information and guidance which the co-ordinator and the consultants will need in order to establish an efficient service which only you experienced insiders can give. Since it is quite probable that as the program develops more and more persons will be involved who have not had the advantages of the briefing given at the August meeting

and before they assume the role of consultant for the Southern regional Council or other co-operating agencies, I believe it would be valuable to reduce the useful results of your experience to writing so that all subsequent consultants would have the benefit of your experience and wisdom in a fairly standardized form.

I can think of three major types of information which would be helpful to me as coordinator or consultant. Insofar as such information could be classified by sub-groups of states and individual states, e.g., hard-core, waiting, and desegregating states when comments for each state within these three categories, its value for briefing purposes would be increased.

These are listed as follows:

1. A clear picture of the major program needs at the state level. If the top two or three of these could be listed in descending order of importance it would be helpful.

2. The principal problems, barriers, obstacles, etc., to the attainment of program goals whether from internal or external sources. Again, if these can be rated roughly it would be helpful.

3. The major positive attributes, resources, conditions, etc., favoring the achievement of program goals and on basis of these and other considerations the specific program developments considered most urgent and also achievable in the immediate or near future.

It would be helpful to us to have information of these three types separately and independently from the points of view of the various staff and board member groups on the one hand and from the central staff point to view on the other. C. H. has agreed to analyze and evaluate the reports received from the state offices last summer and thus it is expected that the types of information mentioned, from the point of view of the state staffs and boards and other valuable information, will be forthcoming in this report.

If it is at all possible, I would like to have both C. H. and Fred independently give their reactions to items 1, 2, and 3 above on the basis of their personal experiences and reactions in the various states since they have

probably been more closely associated with the field groups as a whole than anybody else except George who is probably too busy with other matters for this. For neophytes like myself, it would probably facilitate our comprehension of this rather complex material if these reports are framed in terms of the three group division (hard-core, waiting, desegregating) or some other more satisfactory division which you are much better able to make than I am. However, I would hope that the same classification can be used by C. H. and Fred (and any others who add to our stock of knowledge in this regard) so that the materials can be put together easily.

If any of this seems presumptuous or if my expectations are based upon error, please bear with me and accept the will for the deed. The only way to swim is to get in the water. I am depending heavily upon "the team" to see that I "swim" with you -- not drown.

I am leaving for Philadelphia and New York tomorrow and expect to be back in Nashville Thursday or Friday (December 15 or 16). May I hear from you. Then as soon as I have a clearer idea when all materials needed for the meeting of consultants will be ready, we can proceed with the setting of a definite date. If possible, I would like to be able to suggest two or three alternative dates to the consultants when I call them.
alternative I have dictated this memorandum to the soundscriber and am asking that it be typed and mailed without my reading it. If it is not clear I will be in Nashville and ready to assist in any way I can after December 15.

Highlander

# HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

## MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

MYLES HORTON, DIRECTOR — HENRY SHIPHERD, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

March 14, 1956

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

We will certainly count on you, even if only for a day at each of our workshop sessions. We'll arrange for your travel expenses for two of the trips and hope that we can get you to bring along some of the folks from Atlanta with whom we are currently working. As soon as you work out your schedule for July so that you can make a reasonable prediction of what day you will be here, please let us know.

The enclosed summary of last week's planning conference will give you a better idea of the topics we hope to cover this summer. Our chief emphasis will of course be on public school integration. The Highlander folks thought you did a swell job at Gatlinburg. We thought George Mitchell did a swell job here at Highlander, only he didn't stay long enough.

Regards from all of us at Highlander.

Sincerely,

Henry

Henry F. Shipherd

Planning Conference on Public School Integration Workshops

Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee

March 3 - 4, 1956

Attended by: Dr. and Mrs. George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta
Mr. and Mrs. James A. Johnson, Veterans Administration and teacher
Charles Wilson, Union representative, Columbia, Tennessee
Dr. Edmund King, King's College, London
Miss Vera McCampbell, teacher, Summerfield community
Miss May Justus, author, Summerfield community
Wilson Lindsley, Counselor, Oak Ridge High School, Tennessee
Mrs. Rosa Parks, Montgomery, Alabama
Mrs. Anna Kelly, Executive Secretary, YWCA, Nashville, Tennessee
Mrs. P. M. Horton, Summerfield community
Miss Gretchen Conzelman, Antioch College Co-op,
John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, North Carolina

Visitors: Dr. Eugene Kayden, University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee
Dr. and Mrs. David Underdown, University of the South

Staff: Myles Horton, Zilphia Horton, Henry Shipherd, Betty Shipherd, Julie Mabee, Anne Lockwood

Members of Highlander's Advisory Committee on Integration, the Executive Council, former students and people from the community met to formulate a program for the three public school integration workshops to be held at Highlander this summer.

Following reports from the areas represented to review the current situation in the South and to bring out problems related to public school integration, these workshop topics were listed for consideration:

Passive Resistance
Registering and Voting
Joint Committee Activities
Transportation
Housing
Parks
Action through Churches

The mountain area in which Highlander is located was singled out for special attention by George Mitchell's statement that if in the next two years most of East Tennessee opens its schools, the states to the south will open fairly soon thereafter - but that if in the next two years East Tennessee successfully resists integration, there is going to be a long and tedious history of resistance elsewhere. "You can influence the states around you enormously," he said. It was felt that in this area the most immediate need was to develop active Negro leadership.

Growing out of this discussion was the proposal that the workshops be organized on the basis of geographical areas and special groups. While none of the workshops should be devoted exclusively to any one area, it was decided that the first be planned to include an emphasis on the Mountain-Piedmont area, the second on the relation of labor union members to the problem of integration and in the third the emphasis would be on the Deep and Coastal South. While a special effort would be made to recruit students and schedule consultants with this in mind, all workshops would be of general interest and open to anyone in the South.

The participants felt that the problem of public school integration could not be separated from related problems of an integrated society but that the focus in the workshops should remain on the school situation. As many of the proposed topics as possible are to be included in the workshop programs.

In clarifying the housing problem it was stated: "The current over-all situation is such that the old thinking having to do with integrated housing is not applicable to the South. Therefore the job of a workshop is first to analyze the situation and to find what these new factors are; second, to determine what program should be based on this analysis; and third, to decide how to go about influencing public opinion to accept these things."

Rosa Parks' presence at the conference not only emphasized the significance of passive resistance but her role in the Montgomery bus protest is a living illustration of Highlander's philosophy and practice of working through people who are rooted in their communities and are therefore in a position to act in terms of the local situation and have their action accepted and supported.

Participants suggested twenty-six workshop consultants and offered to help with the recruiting.

There was marked interest in our plans for a week of informal research, study and general reading immediately following the three workshops being held July 15-21, August 5-11, and August 19-25.

#####

Highlander

Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Minutes of the Executive Council Meeting
January 5-6, 1957

Present: Dr. George Mitchell, Chairman, Septima Clark, Bee Wolfe, Myles Horton, Charles Wilson, May Justus, John Hope II.

Non-members present: Alice Mitchell, Mary Berger, Bob Levin, David Holdridge, Glenn Wilson, Sandy Liveright, Tom Ludwig, Vera McCampbell, Michele Marlowe.

Absent: B. R. Brazeal, Grace Hamilson, G. R. Hathaway, Lewis Jones, Eugene Smathers, Dr. P. A. Stephens, Jordan Stokes III, Lucille Thornburgh, Tom White, Aubrey Williams.

The strengthening of the Executive Council was discussed. It was decided to invite additional members who would reflect the present interests of Highlander in integration. While it was thought best to stick to people in the South, transplanted Southerners were not ruled out.

The following were elected subject to their acceptance: Herman Long, Rebecca Gershon, Stewart Meacham, J. E. Pearce, Charles Gomillian, Sarah Patton Boyle, Arnetta Wallace, John Etta Hayes, Esau Jenkins, Helen Bass, Rosa Parks, Fred Routh.

Since this was to be George Mitchell's last meeting, it was moved by Myles Horton that Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College be asked to serve as Chairman of the Executive Council. Motion seconded and passed.

It was moved that the Chairmanship should henceforth be for one year. Motion seconded and passed.

The 12 months program of integration workshops was discussed and it was agreed that despite the shortage of funds the January and February workshops would definitely be held. At the end of that time the situation will be reevaluated. Funds must be secured for the March, April and May workshops since it will not be possible to finance them out of the regular budget. Since many people have already made plans to attend the summer workshops, it is almost mandatory that funds be secured and reserved for workshops in June, July and August.

The college students workshop is expected to be self-supporting financially as well as organized and run by the students. The school will do minimum jobs of mimeographing and letter writing.

A report on the extension work was made by Septima Clark and a lengthy discussion took place on the overall program of Highlander. Both will be mimeographed and made available.

Fund raising plans were discussed. Bob Levin's interest in Highlander had been refired when he heard the Blackman recording, and it was decided to develop a similar presentation to be used by volunteers anywhere in the country. Bob Levin agreed to do a manual of instructions for setting up meetings and using a kit consisting of photographs and recordings. The publications committee, headed by Tom Ludwig, volunteered to prepare such a kit. After testing in Washington by Bee Wolfe, enough kits would be produced to enable volunteers who travel about the country to conduct meetings wherever local people would set them up.

The attached letter was sent out by some of the people present asking for cooperation. Those present are asking other Council members along with other friends of the school to join with them in reaching a larger number of potential contributors. Places listed for this year's meetings are: White Plains, N. Y., New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago, Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Denver, Minneapolis, Portland, Seattle, Great Falls, Mont., Washington, Boston, Detroit, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, New Orleans, Atlanta.

If any Council members can give some time to this program in any of the cities mentioned, or other cities, write directly to Mary Berger, 3614 Gleason Drive, Chattanooga 11, Tennessee.

The 25th Anniversary Celebration was discussed and it was decided that all activities should be in keeping with the spirit of Highlander and not built primarily around speakers, however important they might be. The human or personal aspects of integration were suggested as a topic. Some felt that pre-school education should be one of the topics for emphasis. It was suggested by Bee Wolfe that we could get a large number of educators who are interested in pre-school education down for a special session during the seminar.

John Hope wanted to express Highlander's unique role in integration and asked, "What is Highlander's role in changes in human relations? Highlander has a unique role in this change. You are again, as usual, looking to the future, you are looking to integration, you are looking at these children who have to go through this. You are not simply concerned about making it possible. Others are doing that, the NAACP is opening the way, but you are concerned about what is happening to these kids and seeing to it that they actually do go into the school, and that opens the whole question of pre-school education. How you handle the kids when they go into school, how you prepare them to go into school, how you prepare the community, and I have the feeling that that is a vulnerable spot for Southern educators."

George Mitchell suggested that the topic be Highlander Thinking Ahead or the South Thinking Ahead.

The consensus regarding the Anniversary is embodied in the attached announcement.

The next meeting of the Executive Council was set for April 13-14. The meeting will be opened by Chairman Brazeal at noon, April 13 and will end in the afternoon of the 14th. Council members should note these dates now on their calendars and make plans to attend.

Dear _____:

We have just spent a weekend at Highlander Folk School, where we were individually and collectively struck by the impact of the School's role in the struggle for peaceful integration in the South.

We have talked with Myles Horton and Mrs. Septima Clark, the new Workshop Director and field worker, who has worked extensively in the key communities in the desegregation struggle. We have heard the Executive Council laying plans for ten desegregation workshops, applying Highlander's tested educational techniques to helping the indigenous leaders again growing in the South. We have heard the story of the visits to Highlander of the Clinton students and their parents.

We have heard the Executive Council laying plans for the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary celebration scheduled for September as the culmination of the efforts to build a tremendously expanded program to meet the growing new problems of Tennessee and all of the South.

And then we ended up by hammering out, together with the staff and members of the Executive Council, a plan whereby we as volunteers can relieve them of a part of the financial responsibility so they can devote their time and attention to developing those dramatically expanded -- and desperately needed -- programs.

We feel that the occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, coming as it does at this particular time in Southern history, is one at which we, too, as friends of Highlander, should rededicate ourselves to the program. We hope that you will join us.

The plan we have prepared is simple:

1. We propose a 25th Anniversary campaign for three-year pledges for Highlander support.

2. The contribution plan will be pegged to bringing a Southern student or leader from the community of his struggle to a Highlander workshop where he can develop, share, mature, learn the meaning and the dignity of his tribulations. Few of these young people can pay their own way.

3. We have placed into preparation a presentation of this new Highlander program that can bring its impact into any living room, in simple but vivid form.

   Highlander has more than 100 hours of tape recordings of round-table discussions and personal statements, informal and unrehearsed, by the principals in desegregation incidents. Taken from these, an LP record will include interviews with key persons who have attended Highlander workshops after being involved in the Montgomery, Clinton, and other cutting edges of integration in the South. Photographs, and other materials will round out a complete presentation packet, together with a proposed format for a series of community meetings in support of Highlander.

4. During the coming months, one of us -- or some other person closely connected with Highlander -- will visit your community (in our own business affairs), and will stand ready to spend an evening to make

the first presentation of this new program in your community. We are informing Mary Berger (3614 Gleason Dr., Chattanooga 11, Tenn.) of our travel schedules and she will notify you ahead. Can we count on you to call together the Highlander supporters in your city?

5. This presentation will be the kickoff of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary "three-year pledge plan" for your community. We will have specific follow-up ideas to discuss with you. We will also be prepared to discuss the Anniversary Celebration at Highlander, where both Northerners and Southerners will have the opportunity to join workshops led by key people in the forefront of the integration movements in Clinton, Louisville, Montgomery, Johns Island and other cities of the South.

We will greatly appreciate your reactions and suggestions, and hope that we can count on you to work with us in this endeavor. Knowing of your past understanding of Highlander, and of your sympathy for the social problems of the South today, we feel sure you will join us in seeing the significance of this effort to rededicate and expand Highlander support with a thorough, but voluntarily operated plan.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Mary Berger, Housewife, Chattanooga
John Hope II, Fisk University, Nashville
Robert A. Levin, Public Relations Counsellor, Chicago
A. A. Liveright, Adult Educator, Chicago
Bee Wolfe, Family Counsellor, Washington, D. C.

The Human Aspects of the Integration Struggle

you and your family are invited to attend

THE HIGHLANDER SEMINAR ON THE SOUTH THINKING AHEAD

and

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

to be held at

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

August 30 - September 2, 1957

when all friends, past students, and present active participants will gather to review achievements and problems in moving from segregation to integration in the South.

What is happening to the people, to the development of children, to the growth of parents and adults, during this trying transition period?

How is Highlander helping these people to understand their experience and to grow through it?

How is Highlander's ability to teach people the vision and practice of democracy being adapted to helping the developing leaders and the quiet people of good will living through the South's newest struggle?

Next Labor Day weekend
Join a workshop with these people of Montgomery, Clinton, Johns Island, Louisville, and feel the South thinking ahead!

RESERVE THE DATES NOW!

You will be receiving further information and registration blanks in the near future. This will be a family affair, with accomodations, program and recreation for all ages. There will be camp programs and supervised nursery school facilities for the children while you attend the seminar.

HR orgp

MFRC THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio GA 1-5700, 404

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR JANUARY, 1957

**TO GIVE OUR YOUTH AN AIM, AND RESOURCES TO OUR CITY** Work continued in January on the important project of the public schools and intergroup agencies, a joint effort to motivate minority and underprivileged children to study and prepare for work in the upper ranges of their individual potentials. A threefold start on this was reported at the January meeting of school and agency people.

One subcommittee was at work getting general data on employment, and collecting "success stories" of individuals. It was about to canvass Negro pastors and others to help find varied examples of achievement, by which average as well as talented youths could be inspired. Subcommittee #2 proposed ways by which such data could reach and be used by school staffs. From #3 came suggestions for the difficult effort to reach Negro parents and other adults who give children much of their perception of opportunity. Radio, press, PTAs, churches and other means of conveying accurate information were proposed.

MFRC tried to do its share in all this. Mrs. Coffey began listing a number of Negro citizens whose work and lives exemplify "opportunity here and now" in Cincinnati. Then she started interviewing them. She "wrote up" a man and a woman trained here for X-ray technician jobs in hospitals; an office secretary, first of her race in a succession of responsible jobs; an engineer at City Hall; a beauty shop owner; a young architect working for a leading local firm...and so on. She has many yet to interview, from the unusual to the more familiar job opportunity, but all showing that education and ambition can pay off. William Decatur of the Urban League is writing up cases from his file and others are following up leads. Such success stories will be used variously to inspire the child directly, and those who influence him.

All this was to be part of Cincinnati's contribution to a conference on February 4 at Washington, assembling school, business and labor leaders from 30 cities to discuss the utilization of manpower. School Supt. Claude V. Courter was to speak on this city's remedial efforts.

**FEPC DECISION NEARS** While school and agency people sought to motivate minority children to fit themselves for worthy occupations, City Council heard friends and foes of the legislative approach to the job discriminations which still substantially confront minorities here. Before the "second reading" of competing ordinances on the 30th, new and reiterated arguments were heard at length. Final decision was looked for early in February. It is well to remember the circular relationship of opportunity and ambition. More open jobs inspire more people to try for them; and an increase of qualified minority workers speeds the employment-integration process.

**NO SHORTAGE OF HOUSING DISCUSSION, AT LEAST** Healthy discussion and, in some cases, decisions about housing and urban renewal marked this period. The effects upon people were increasingly emphasized. MFRC was an observer of some new de-

velopments, a busy participant in others. Its Board studied facts of renewal and relocation, again wrestled with minority housing needs, and gladly moved to make a joint study with other intergroup agencies. Ex-Chairman Judd helped to set a meeting on February 4, to which the six agencies were to send board-staff envoys to correlate efforts.

City officials meanwhile were speeding up the planning work on the Kenyon-Barr redevelopment, pushing Expressway work, and working out time-saving devices with Washington. Council's Housing Committee was grappling with questions of inspection and of work with residents of the Avondale-Corryville renewal area. And the Mayor called the first meeting of the Citizens Committee on Urban Renewal Participation, to begin to inform and enlist the organizations represented thereon.

Also, other institutions and groups were shaping constructive efforts to inform citizens and to help meet the problems involved. The Better Housing League was planning a Better Housing Week in May, and seeking many groups' support. The Council of Churches prepared a workshop on "The Church and the Changing Community" for February 28. Fellowship House set an informational meeting for March 6, and discussed ways to use its bulletin also. The Catholic Telegraph-Register gave readers a view of neighborhood changes, both reassuring and challenging. MFRC prepared material for the interagency study, conferred with the Mayor, and also examined a situation in public housing of concern to us.

MFRC found itself playing a variety of roles; on-stage and off. Talks with various parties to the complex of efforts took time and thought. Our basic aim was simple: to seek fair play and consideration for all people in the decisions being made, and to minimize intergroup tensions as changes occur. That's our duty and interest in the process.

THIS AND THAT (1) We received visitors from Cambodia, Malaya, Iran, Indonesia. (2) Cleveland asked us if rock-and-roll films had led to interracial teen trouble here. Answer: Not as yet. (3) MFRC's General Committee lunch on the 29th attracted 38 persons including Trustees. (4) Retiring Chairman Judd was embarrassed by the praise of his 1955-'56 leadership, heaped on him at the Board meeting. (5) We answered inquiries from agencies in Cambridge, Akron and Kentucky; also several local calls from organizations. (6) The agency staffs welcomed Mrs. Sol Parkin, new executive of Fellowship House. (7) Mrs. Coffey's vacation in the South gleaned hopeful information on some trends there. (8) Mr. Bragdon attended the NAIRO Board meeting in Chicago, seeing co-workers from across the country.

SPEAKING DATES Westwood Methodist Church (1/6 MB); Kenyon Avenue Christian Church (1/13 VC); Mt. Healthy Christian Church Men's Club (1/15 MB); Bond Hill Methodist Church Women's Society (1/17 VC); Carmel Presbyterian Church Youth (1/27 VC); Brewery Workers CIO Regional Conference (1/27 MB).

1957 APPOINTMENTS TO MFRC MADE Mayor Charles P. Taft on January 15 appointed or reappointed 28 citizens to the Board, and 98 to the General Committee of MFRC. As Chairman to succeed Charles M. Judd he named Dr. Carter V. Good, Dean of Teachers College at UC. Nine new Board appointees included: Al Bilik, business representative, Municipal Employees AFL union; the Rev. Melvin R.

Campbell of Knox Presbyterian Church; Wallace Collett, president of the Tibbals Co.; the Rev. George Curran, S.J., Xavier teacher; C. E. Israel, businessman and Jewish community leader; Mrs. Sol Parkin, executive secretary, Fellowship House; Mrs. Harold Scheele, 2nd vice-president, Council of Church Women; Fred Sommerfeld, president, CIO Industrial Council; LeRoy Walker, Jr., real estate broker.

Board reappointees were: Judge Gilbert Bettman; the Rev. L.V. Booth; Dr. Carter V. Good; Joseph A. Hall; Douglas Hoge; Charles M. Judd; Judge John W. Keefe; Mrs. Joseph A. Lambert; Mrs. Irving Magorian; Wendell H. Pierce; Webster Posey; Charles Posner; Leon Render; Stanley Rowe, Jr.; Leonard D. Slutz; Crosby U. Smith; Philip Steiner, the Rev. Lawrence Walter; and Penn W. Zeigler.

Due to limits on Board service (five years for officers, three years for others) the following were retired from the Board and appointed to the General Committee: Miss Jenna Birks; Malcolm Chandler; Rowland Dietz; David Dupee; Edward Hellkamp; Simon Lazarus, Jr.; Thomas Oyler; and Judge Potter Stewart. New appointees to the General Committee were: Rabbi Murray Blackman; Dr. Howard Fabing; George Fee; Mrs. Harold K. Goldstein; Arthur F. Hull; the Rev. Richard Isler, new executive of the Council of Churches; Roy Liles, Boy Scout executive; James T. Luken of the Teamsters Union; Dr. George X. Schwemlein; and S. Arthur Spiegel.

Reappointed to the General Committee were: The Rev. Paul J. Acker; Mrs. Stephen Badgett; William Banks, Jr.; Charles L. Bartlett; Vincent H. Beckman; Dr. Ralph C. Bursiek; Myron Bush; Roy Cahall; Dr. B. F. Cann; the Rev. John Compton; Dr. J. Wesley Coulter; Dr. Claude V. Courter; Mrs. James M. Dolbey; Edgar S. Edelmann; Mrs. A. J. Edwards; Mrs. Grandison Embry; the Rev. B. B. Evans; Mrs. Merritt C. Farrell; Roger H. Ferger; Karl T. Finn; the Rev. Francis J. Flanagan; Ulysses S. Fowler; Bernard Fox; David G. Gamble; William Goings; Rabbi Fishel J. Goldfeder; Rabbi Albert Goldman; Sherwood Gordon; Walter Grainger; Dr. Hoke S. Greene; Mrs. Verna Greene; Richard Guggenheim; the Rev. Councill M. Harris; Albert E. Heekin, Jr.; Albert C. Huneke; Mrs. Eugene Jackson; Mrs. Jerome Jelin; Morse Johnson; Leo Langefels; Dr. Walter C. Langsam; Robert A. Lauer; Mrs. C. W. Lawrence; Joseph L. Leinwohl; Henry Lenoir; Dr. William Lotspeich; John Magro; George W. Malone; A. Bruce McClure; Ernest I. Miller; Charles Norris; the Very Rev. Paul L. O'Connor, S.J.; the Rev. Albert Q. Perry; George Peterson; Robert F. Reckman; Harry L. Reece; Frank T. Rhoad, Jr.; Al Roman; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Carl J. Ryan; Dr. Henry Ryder; Lt. Col. Henry Sandman; John A. Scanlon, Sr.; Mrs. Milton Schloss; Dr. Louis Schwab; Judge Benjamin S. Schwartz; Mrs. Joseph Segal; the Rev. Henry W. Sherrill; William Stanton, Jr.; Robert D. Stern; Mrs. S. Charles Straus; Lloyd Taft; Mrs. Edward M. Thayer; the Ven. David Thornberry; Dick Thornburg; Henry Trounstine; the Rev. Roger Turrell; Robert Virgil; Robert J. White; Louis B. Williams; Cleon Wingard; Mrs. Curtis L. Wooten.

Retired from the General Committee, under the 5-year limit on service set a year ago, were: George Bidinger; Richard Bluestein; Rabbi Stanley Brav; Frederick A. Breyer; the Rev. Harry Brown; Fred A. Dewey; Albert Herbers; William N. Lovelace; James Paradise; D. J. Ransohoff; Judge Louis J. Schneider; Henry Segal; Paul W. Steer; and Lucien Wulsin, Jr.

--Marshall Bragdon
Executive Director

JHII

Fred,
Please show this to Harold.
John

February 2, 1957

Mr. Galen A. Martin
Executive Secretary
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
208 West Main Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Galen:

We have recently gotten a request for consultant services from the Board of Education of a small North Carolina town. They are desirous, if possible, of having among the consultants a southern superintendent who has successfully desegregated or is in the process of successfully desegregating his school system. I feel that if it is possible, it would be desirable to send a superintendent from a small town or rural district rather than a large city such as Louisville. I am writing to ask whether you would have any suggestions of superintendents or members of School Boards in Kentucky that might reasonably fit this specification. The meeting with this Board of Education will occur early in April and will be a closed session so that such a person could feel free to talk frankly without undue publicity.

When this meeting was discussed sometime ago, Dr. Parrish felt that sufficient development had taken place in Lexington to make the Lexington superintendent or some representative of that city a possibility. What is your view on the basis of the present situation? If there are possibilities among the smaller towns and rural districts, I would like to know them too. If you can help me in this matter, it would be deeply appreciated because this is the first opportunity we have had to reach an official body and we would like to make this as effective as possible in the hope that it will lead us to other such bodies that need help.

Another prospect presents itself in the form of possible requests from religious organizations for consultant services aimed at helping local ministerial groups and churches to play a more important role in the desegregation process, particularly in anticipation of crisis situations. Knowing of the effective work which ministers have done in Kentucky, I would like to have you suggest the names of any ministers who you feel might serve in a consultant capacity in dealing with other ministers on this subject.

Mr. Galen A. Martin

I would appreciate your turning these matters over in your mind and if possible in the limits of your busy schedule I would like to have your reply before I leave town next Thursday. If it will be more satisfactory for you to handle this by telephone, call me collect in Nashville at Chapel 2-3396 any time before next Thursday night. As usual, I have read your recent Human Relations News with great interest and satisfaction. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II
Assistant Director

JH/DM

cc: Routh
Fleming

JH II

February 5, 1957

Mr. John Hope
Race Relations Dept.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

While we never sent you a formal thank you note after our Consultants Workshop in November I want to say again that we very much appreciated your help. I think you played an extremely difficult role in our meeting but you did it with great skill and made a substantial contribution.

In response to your request for a Superintendent I would suggest Dr. Turpin of the Fayette County schools. I think they have done more than any other system including Louisville. Lee Coleman has worked closely with the Fayette County schools, particularly those located in Lexington. If you haven't asked Lee about this, then one of us should. Lee would probably be more effective but I judge you want a superintendent. We will soon have a four page report by lee on what the County system has done. Mr. John M. Ridgway, the Lexington Superintendent might also be good, but they haven't done as much. Best bet is Dr. N.C. Turpen, but lets contact Coleman first.

For a minister you couldn't do better than Rev. C. Sumpter Logan (Presby) and Rev. Ted Braun (Evangelical and Reformed). Logan was the leader at Henderson but Braun is a very effective speaker, whom I got to know at the recent FOR meeting in Atlanta. Both can be addressed at their churches. Lewis S.C. Smythe of the College of the Bible in Lexington (Disciples of Christ) and KCHR Board member Rev. Olof Anderson (Presby) would be good. Anderson's address is, 4213 Church Way, St. Matthews, Ky.(Louisville suburb).

I hope this is what you want. Let me know if I should contact Lee Coleman. Tell me of other ways I can help.

Sincerely,

Galen Martin

cc: Routh
Fleming

HR Orig

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
105 City Hall - Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Board of Trustees - Thursday, February 14, 1957

Present: The Hon. Gilbert Bettman
Mr. Al Bilik
The Rev. Melvin R. Campbell
Mr. Wallace T. Collett
The Rev. George Curran, S.J.
Mr. William Decatur
(for Mr. Hall)
Mrs. Philip Dreifus
(for Mr. Posner)
Mr. Douglas L. Hoge
Mr. C. E. Israel
Mr. Charles M. Judd
Mrs. Joseph A. Lambert
Mrs. Irving Magorian
Mrs. Sol Parkin
Mr. Wendell H. Pierce
Mr. Webster W. Posey
Mr. Leon Render
Mr. Stanley M. Rowe, Jr.
Mrs. Harold E. Scheele
Mr. Fred W. Sommerfeld
Mr. Philip Steiner
Mr. LeRoy J. Walker, Jr.
The Rev. Lawrence Walter
Mr. Penn W. Zeigler
Mr. Marshall Bragdon
Mrs. Virginia Coffey
Miss Janet Smith
Dr. Carter V. Good, Chairman
Guests: Mr. Ira Gissen and Mr. Albert Tietig

The meeting in MFRC's office was called to order at 12:40 P.M., Dr. Good presiding. Dr. Good paid tribute to the leadership of the retiring chairman, Mr. Judd. Mr. Bragdon introduced the Board members, this being the first meeting of the newly appointed Board. There were no comments or corrections on the minutes of the January meeting.

Mr. Pierce presented the slate of officers for 1957 for the Nominating Committee: Vice-Chairmen: Mrs. Joseph A. Lambert and Mr. Penn W. Zeigler; Treasurer, Mr. Crosby U. Smith; Secretary, Mr. Stanley M. Rowe, Jr. He moved that the Board approve the nominations; Father Walter seconded. The secretary was directed to cast a unanimous ballot electing the officers.

Dr. Good introduced Mr. Reid Ross, executive secretary of the Better Housing League, who presented a proposal and plan for Better Housing Week in May, asking that the Mayor's Committee join other organizations in co-sponsoring the program, designed to educate the public in improving their own homes and neighborhoods and to inform them about the city's over-all program for urban renewal, redevelopment and home improvement. Mr. Bragdon pointed out that the co-sponsoring agencies are not asked to make any financial commitment for the program, but to assist in the promotion. A motion was made, seconded and carried that MFRC should participate in Better Housing Week as a co-sponsor.

Mr. Bragdon reported on a plan for a training program for intergroup relations workers. Last year, as president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, he had a part in negotiations with the Fund for the Republic for financing such a program. Under the leadership of NAIRO, FFR will furnish funds to be matched by grants from other foundations to provide for residents working with existing intergroup agencies to get training. Mr. Bragdon asked the Board if it would favor MFRC's exploring the possibility of seeking one of these residents, whose salary would be paid under the program. This would add another person to the staff, but one of limited usefulness as a trainee. Dr. Good asked what would be the length of the training period. Mr. Bragdon said it would be one year; presumably most of the residents would be just completing college training. This will be a means of finding more talented persons for intergroup work

and also finding a bridge between training and job for many of them. Dr. Good asked if the program would be similar to a college co-op plan. Mr. Bragdon said the person would be attached to one agency, but in some cities, as in Cincinnati, experience in related agencies would be provided.

Mr. Judd said he felt this was a wonderful opportunity not only for Cincinnati but for the whole field of Intergroup relations. He moved that MFRC request the opportunity of having a resident. Mrs. Magorian seconded the motion. Judge Bettman asked if there were any problem of MFRC's having the authority to add such a person to its staff. Mr. Bragdon said that MFRC operates under its articles of incorporation, and he could foresee no obstacles in that respect. The motion was passed.

Mr. Pierce then described the Youth Incentive and Training Project. He said that two years ago, the School-Community Committee on Intergroup Relations, a committee of school administrators and supervisors, and the executives of the intergroup agencies, which meets once a month, concerned itself with the problem of finding white teachers to serve in schools with integrated faculties, and of the quality of education offered in those schools. The committee faced such issues as behavior of children, achievement levels in underprivileged areas, and the difficulty of relating test data to city-wide test data. This year the President's Committee on Government Contracts, through its executive vice-chairman John Howard and director of education George Butler, came to Cincinnati to interest the schools in a meeting they were developing in Washington based on this concept: that the economy is going to need many more workers; the quantity of people cannot be changed, and the only thing to do is to raise the level of performance and skill of those people you have. The most fruitful prospect is among the minority groups. In many cities this would include many groups, but in Cincinnati it is mainly the Negroes and the southern mountaineers. Three organizations in three different "demonstration" cities are involved in this plan: organized labor in Detroit; employers in Chicago; and the schools in Cincinnati.

The SCCIR has used this as an opportunity to give impetus to school program in one specific direction: How to get those young people who are now dropping out of school (more than 50% entering the 9th grade fail to graduate) to pursue their education to a greater degree and develop greater skills, better attitudes, work habits, etc. Three subcommittees were appointed (1) to learn more about existing opportunities; (2) devise ways of informing school staffs about these opportunities; (3) reach parents and community leaders with information concerning opportunities. It was recognized that one of the greatest deterrents is that parents know very little about work opportunities and working conditions and do little to create the proper attitudes in the children. It was decided that a campaign should be launched to identify those pupils who are potential drop-outs and those who have special skills and abilities which are not being developed to the fullest extent. Youngsters at the junior high level are the ones most likely to lose interest in school and become dissatisfied and drop out at the 8th, 9th or 10th grade. A special program would be planned to try to carry to these youngsters information about training opportunities and what these can mean to them. One difficulty with school staffs is that it is hard for them to see that a youngster whose level

of achievement is low may still have special skills which should be developed. Some teachers tend to judge them by their own middle-class background, and don't realize that it takes much time to get youngsters to look at life a little differently.

Mr. Pierce cited the recent report "Blueprint for Talent Searching," by Richard L. Plaut, published by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, describing the testing of seniors in some 78 Negro high schools throughout the South to select those most eligible for placement in mixed colleges in the North. It was interesting to note that while many of them came from impoverished homes and communities and had difficulty in their original adjustment, by the second and third years of college, their adjustment seemed to be excellent. There are "lost gems," Mr. Pierce said, in this mass of people. The only way manpower needs can be met is to find those lost gems, and cut and polish them. The conference in Washington was devoted to this entire task. It is going to be very important that agencies such as MFRC participate in this program, assume responsibility for much of the community contact and lend support to the schools. There are many problems in regard to placing many of the minority group people, but our problem is to get them trained and motivated so that they can adjust.

Mr. Israel, who also attended the Washington conference, said he had been disturbed because he felt one of the direct approaches to this question would be fair employment legislation. However, he said, it was explained to him there that the President's Committee on Government Contracts has only a relatively small budget and staff compared to the $40 billion in government contracts on which it must try to control employment discrimination, and the only way it can keep what it has is not to work for FEP legislation because of the resistance of Southern senators and congressmen. He said he felt that at least a moral and economic basis was given to the whole program. He suggested that those interested in getting more background on this should read The Negro Potential by Eli Ginzberg.

Mr. Decatur reported that he and Mrs. Coffey and others on the committee are gathering success stories--material about young people in particular jobs which are an indication of success, to use with parents, counselors and teachers to encourage children to go on with schooling. Mrs. Coffey said that some had been presented to the School-Community Committee where they were discussed and it was felt that more human interest had to be added to them to give children some idea of the hardships to be overcome to achieve a degree of success. Copies of the success stories were passed around for examination.

Mr. Gissen asked about the guidance counselors, who often prove a major deterrent to the success of the student by advising him against training for certain types of work in which they believe, often erroneously, he cannot be placed. He wondered if any phase of this program would be directed specifically at the counselors. Mr. Pierce said it definitely would be, that the conference in Washington had been co-sponsored by the American Personnel and Guidance Association. He added that it is not a simple problem, and not only counselors are involved, but teachers and principals, both Negro and white. That is why the program is being beamed toward the positive approach.

Mrs. Coffey said that Father Dirr had attended the Washington conference and indications are that the parochial schools will also attempt to deal with this problem. Miss Leeds, chairman of the subcommittee collecting success stories, had mailed letters to a large number of clergy in an effort to secure more material and to request that they use the material. She had a very encouraging reply from the principal of Holy Trinity School.

Dr. Good said he noted that the stories deal mostly with positions in business and industry rather than the professions. Mrs. Coffey said the committee would attempt to cover a wide range of positions, but the greatest need is to reach the average or below-average student. Dr. Good said there were certainly many impressive stories in the medical and other professional fields. Mr. Pierce said there is a need to interest minority group children in the opportunities available in the technical fields of math and science.

Mr. Bragdon added that the task is complicated because the child's image of himself has to be affected, the teachers' attitudes must be affected, counselors must gain fuller insight and information; and the parents, who often misguide the child, must be reached through leaders, press and radio. Then the total climate of the community must be changed to provide more opportunities for everybody. Mr. Decatur announced that the Public Library was holding a film forum Thursday evening, February 21, to aid this program.

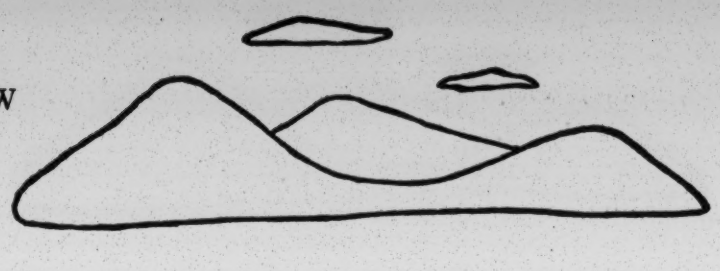
Mr. Pierce said the Board might be interested in some of the psychological difficulties involved. One principal got together a group of able teachers to see what they could do. So many of these young people have never experienced success in anything. They began studying the individual youngsters, but one of the difficulties they are confronted with is maintaining some kind of academic standards while at the same time giving the children some feeling of progress and achievement.

Mrs. Lambert asked why Cincinnati was chosen for this study; she felt that if there were no fair employment practices law, the effort would come to nothing. Mr. Pierce said there was not much connection, and fair employment legislation will come eventually. Mr. Bragdon cited difficulties where FEP laws exist but there are not enough trained persons to fill jobs available, and pointed out that the Urban League here could fill many more jobs if it had people trained for them. Mrs. Coffey pointed out that if FEP comes, there is all the more reason for having people trained.

Mr. Gissen said one of the greatest problems seems to be to reach the parents. He asked if it would be possible to organize presentations, lectures, etc., to go into certain neighborhoods and get students to bring their parents. This group of parents are those least likely to attend PTA meetings or to answer form letters. Mr. Pierce said the schools hope that with the cooperation of the intergroup agencies, they will be able to do something of this sort. Mr. Bragdon said one effective way of reaching parents would be through popular programs at WCIN, and through the NAACP's weekly program. All possible channels would be considered.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 1:45 P.M.

PROGRAM PREVIEW



# THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.

announces its
45th Annual Conference
Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee
February 20, 21, 22, 23, 1957

THEME: Better Living in Better Communities

## WEDNESDAY, February 20

1:00 P.M. Registration begins in the Lobby and continues throughout the Conference.

1:00-3:00 P.M. Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council.

3:00-5:00 P.M. Meetings of standing committees and other committees on call of chairmen.

6:30 P.M. Opening General Session. Dinner Meeting. The Rev. A. Rufus Morgan, President, presiding. Group singing led by Miss Marie Marvel, Homeplace, Ary, Ky.
Mr. Harry W. Schacter, Banner-Whitehill Corporation, Indianapolis, Speaker.
Topic: "*The Battle for Democracy will be Won or Lost in the Local American Community.*"

9:00-10:00 Movie in the Lobby: "*Our Bible - How it Came to Us.*" First of two parts. Presented by the American Bible Society, the Rev. G. Bruce Cameron, Secretary, Central District.
9:00-10:00 Party in the Andy Huff House in charge of the Council Recreation Committee.

## THURSDAY, February 21

7:00-8:00 A.M. Breakfast ( Doors closed 8:00-8:30.)

8:00-8:30 A.M. Morning Worship led by the Rev. T. B. "Scotty" Cowan, Pastor of Union Church, Berea, Kentucky, assisted by members of the Youth Group.

9:00-11:30 United Session. Panel Discussion: "*How Community Action Has Made Better Living.*"
Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.
Dr. Arthur Coutu, Professor of Farm Management, N.C. State College, representing Parker Branch, Asheville, North Carolina.
Father Andrew V. Graves, S. J., Acting Chairman of Madison County Promotion Council, Hot Springs, North Carolina.
And others.

12:15 Luncheon

2:00-2:45 P.M. General Session. Council Business Meeting - Open Meeting (voting by members)
President Rufus Morgan, presiding.
Summary of Council Activities, P. F. Ayer, Executive Secretary.
Election of Officers for 1957.

3:00-4:30 Discussion Groups based upon the morning program.

6:30 Fellowship Dinner, Miss Ada Cox, Associate Youth Chairman, presiding.
Concert-Lecture. Professor Cratis D. Williams, Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, North Carolina.

9:00-10:00 Movie in the Lobby. Second part of "*Our Bible - How it Came to Us.*"
9:00-10:00 Party in the Andy Huff House

COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.
Publishers of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
COLLEGE BOX 2000 BEREA, KENTUCKY

Newsletter No. 1, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

POSTMASTER: Form 3547 requested, postage for which is guaranteed.

THIS IS YOUR INVITATION TO THE 45th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

DELIVERED FEB 1 1957

Conference H.C. Routh Dup

FRIDAY, February 22

Breakfast and Worship as scheduled Thursday.

9:00-11:30 United Session. Panel Discussion: "*Community Improvement is Recreational.*"
Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick, Executive Secretary, The Rural Life Association, Richmond, Indiana.
Miss Ruthie Carroll, former Itinerant Recreator for the Council.
Mr. William R. Miller, Associate County Agent, Cambridge, Ohio.
And others.

12:15 Luncheon

1:30 Free time - May be used to schedule meetings which are needed by any sub-groups of the Conference.

1:30 Business meeting of the Board with the new officers, the retiring officers, the retiring Board members, and the new members of the Board. Planning session for 1957.

3:00-5:00 Meetings of standing committees, interest groups, and any other groups wishing to discuss any area of related concern.

6:30 Dinner Meeting. Dr. Henry Randolph, Secretary, Town and Country Department of the Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., presiding.
Introduction of representatives of the Sigma Phi Gamma International Sorority.
Address: "*The Rural Community and its Churches.*"
Dr. C. M. Hanna, Professor of Pastoral Leadership and the Rural Church and Director of Field Work, Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

9:00-10:00 Illustrated Lecture in the Lobby.
9:00-10:00 Party in the Andy Huff House.

SATURDAY, February 23

Breakfast and Worship as scheduled Thursday.

9:00-11:15 United Session: A Summary of the Conference Deliberations
A Summary of the Interest Group Findings and Recommendations.

Final Business Sessions. Open meeting (voting by Council members.)

12:15 Commitment Luncheon. The incoming president presiding.
Address: "*Courage.*" The. Rev. T. B. Cowan.

2:00 Adjournment.

Registration $1.00 for all or any part of the Conference.
Room and Meals: per person per day - $6.50 three to a room; $7.00 two to a room, double bed; $7.50 two to a room, twin beds; $10.00, single room.
Children under twelve half-price. There will be a nursery corner. There is a limited amount of space at a reduced rate for Youth participants. SEND FOR YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS NOW.
Write to Tom Woods, Manager, Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

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# HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW

Events and Trends in Pittsburgh Intergroup Relations

Volume 2, Number 2 | 518 City County Building | February 28, 1957


## STATE F E P C AND PITTSBURGH C H R DEFINE AREAS OF COOPERATION

### REORGANIZATION OF CHR OPERATING STRUCTURE APPROVED AFTER STUDY

A Committee on Program Development, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Jonas Salk, has been evaluating CHR experience and efficiency under its present operating procedures and has recommended structural changes which were approved at the meeting on February 4.

Our masthead (page 3) shows that we have three standing committees which carry on the operating program of CHR. This will be changed in March to two Divisions, the Division of Individual Human Rights and the Division of Intergroup Relations.

In making this proposal, the committee stated that "the solution to human relations problems is achieved through two approaches. The first approach begins with the individual in a problem incident and is resolved through the application of definite procedures and techniques, including investigation, conciliation, negotiation, persuasion, public hearing and possible legal action. The second approach initially begins with the recognition of a community-wide intergroup problem and is resolved through definite community organization methods and techniques, including group conference, committees, consultation, interpreta-

(continued on page 2)

### Judge Brown and Mrs. Reizenstein on State F E P C

The Commission on Human Relations and the Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Commission in recognizing the dual coverage of the state law and the FEP provisions of the Pittsburgh Ordinance have had two joint meetings to develop a working arrangement between the two agencies. With the exception of a few legal details the plan is just about ready for adoption.

The plan established a system of communication and referral between the agencies in order that respondent not be subjected to two investigations. CHR will continue its program and responsibilities in the city while the State FEP will concentrate in areas outside city limits. Where there is concurrent jurisdiction the complainant shall select either agency, but will not have access to both city and state on the same charges.

Pending final adoption of the plan, cooperation between the two agencies has been proceeding through exchange of information, referral of complaints, distribution of material and the joint promotion of a conference for private employment agencies and key newspapers editors.

CHR has referred eight cases, outside its juris-

(cont. on page 2)

### PENNA. FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES COUNCIL TO BE ORGANIZED

On March 5, a meeting is being held in Harrisburg to form a Council for Fair Housing Practices. The Council on Industrial and Interracial Relations of the Pittsburgh Presbytery and the Synod of Pennsylvania has taken the initiative in convening this meeting.

Letters of invitation have been sent to more than 400 individuals and organizations throughout the State. Indications are that at least fifty persons, representing forty organizations from Pittsburgh and vicinity will attend this organizational meeting. The meeting will be held at noon in the YWCA in Harrisburg. Pittsburgh CHR will be represented.

The purpose of this Council will be similar to the Penna. State Council for Fair Employment Practices which was active until the legislature passed FEPC in 1955.

## REORGANIZATION OF OPERATING STRUCTURE

(continued from page 1)

tion, research, social planning and coordination.

"The first approach may well be called the 'case' method and entails service to individuals in the resolution of a specific human rights problem. The second approach can well be defined as the 'intergroup' method and one which involves a broader base of the community for final solution."

### Division of Individual Human Rights

This Division will receive complaints from individuals or organizations alleging violations of the fair employment practices sections of Ordinance No. 237, or of the public accommodations and civil rights laws of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, or other discriminatory practices not specifically covered by law. It may initiate complaints or investigations on the basis of its own information or that received from individuals or organizations not filing complaints. It will investigate such charges of discrimination and seek conciliation, hold hearings, make findings of fact, issue orders and otherwise seek to bring about a non-discriminatory situation in each case.

### Division of Intergroup Relations

The major responsibility of this Division is to establish programs and activities designed to eliminate discrimination in the social, cultural and economic life of the City. It will promote the equal rights and opportunities of all persons, regardless of their race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin or place of birth, and promote understanding among all groups. It will study and investigate by means of public hearings or otherwise any conditions having an adverse effect on intergroup relations. It will cooperate with interested citizens and with public and private agencies. It will use community organization methods and techniques, including group conference, committees, consultation, interpretation, research, social planning and coordination. It will recommend legislation to promote and insure equal rights and opportunities for all persons.

## PITTSBURGH URBAN LEAGUE INTEGRATES STAFF

CHR salutes the Urban League and its Executive Director, Alexander J Allen in the announcement of the appointment of Miss Florence Ann Cherry as the Assistant Director of Industrial Relations, with responsibility for the vocational guidance program. Always integrated in its board and committees, the staff now reflects the changing times which makes it possible for qualified white persons who desire, to apply and be selected for service, thus breaking with tradition.

## F E P C COOPERATION

(cont. from page 1)

diction, to the State FEP office. One case was concerned with age and the remaining seven were related to race. In addition, CHR conducted a survey of want ads appearing in the daily newspapers and advised the State office that for a twenty-six day period that 112 ads appeared which mentioned age in violation of the law. In turn the State office has referred two cases of public accommodations to CHR.

While the State office was in the process of organization, CHR undertook to fill requests for copies of the State FEP law as well as filling requests for copies of the pamphlet, "Questions and Answers on the Age Provisions of the Pennsylvania FEP law."

On July 26, a conference jointly sponsored by CHR, Division of Employment Agency Licensing, Department of Labour & Industry, and the State FEP was held in Council Chambers. The purpose was to interpret the law to 35 owners and operators of private employment agencies and to 25 representatives of daily and weekly newspaper representatives.

Recently, the State Agency opened a regional office in the new State Office Building in Pittsburgh and currently three field representatives are assigned to implement the program in Western Pennsylvania. CHR welcomes this opportunity to achieve even closer cooperation on a day to day working relationship.

HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW
Official publication of the Commission on Human Relations Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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Dean N. R. H. Moor

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## EDITORIAL

### "THESE ARE OUR JOBS"

A familiar but disturbing note has been introduced in recent weeks in statements about the coming of Hungarian refugees to this country. Letters to the Editor in the daily papers and in the Negro press have presented the point of view "these are our jobs "

In the Pittsburgh area, the fact is that there is no evidence that a single worker has been displaced by a Hungarian refugee. As pointed out in last month's "Review" there are many normal barriers which have to be overcome by the newcomer before he is able to compete for technical and skill jobs. The jobs they are getting are the ones few people want today.

It is the attitude, however, which concerns us. Those who fight discrimination in employment and work for employment solely on merit are constantly working against the traditional patterns which are essentially based upon the thesis "these are our jobs." Non-performance factors, such as nationality, religion and race, have been too frequently the deciding factors in determining job opportunity. Minority group individuals should be the first to recognize that "equal opportunity for all" means just that.

## CASE HISTORY

Note: This case illustrates the problem of a college graduate seeking employment commensurate with training and skills. Competition for the job was overshadowed by tradition.

The complainant, a Negro graduate from one of the universities in the field of business administration, applied for a job as a field investigator with a local branch office of a national finance corporation. He was cordially interviewed and permitted to file an application for the job. However, he was informed that because of his race there was little liklihood of his being favorably considered for the position. On this basis, he filed charges with CHR.

Investigation by CHR revealed that the facts in the charge were substantially correct. However, the local manager indicated that a previous illness, from which the complainant had fully recovered, prevented favorable consideration of the job seeker for employment. It was pointed out that this fact was not determined until after the complainant had been told that he could not be considered because of his race.

The corporation "Management and Personnel Manual" clearly stated that discrimination would not be tolerated in recruitment, in interview, in promotion and that "equality of opportunity be afforded all on the basis of merit and fitness."It was obvious that the manual had not been followed in this case.

CHR decided that efforts to solve the problem at the local level was not a satisfactory approach. Officials in the home office were notified and a hearing date was set. Three top officials came to Pittsburgh for the hearing and it was determined that the local representatives had not made a complete investigation of the applicant's qualifications or physical fitness. It was agreed that he would be reconsidered and taken to the home office for review and examination.

The complainant was invited, at company expense, to corporation headquarters and was finally employed in a position higher than that for which he had applied and which was in keeping with his training and background. The Commission later received a revised copy of the field memorandum which was very strongly worded and indicated the full intent of the company to employ without discrimination.

## ASHLEY MONTAGU TO SPEAK AT PCIE DINNER

Nathan Katz Memorial

Members and friends of the Pittsburgh Council on Intercultural Education will have the opportunity of hearing Ashley Montagu at the annual dinner in memory of a former president, Nathan Katz. Mr. Montagu is presently famous for his success on the "$64,000 Question" but is a well known author and lecturer of long-standing.

The meeting will be held in the downtown YWCA on the evening of March 28. Call your reservations in to the office of the American Service Institute (CO. 1-6010).

Mr. Montagu will make two other appearances in the City on that day, one before school personnel at the Board of Education and the other before social workers. He will be brought to Pittsburgh by the Nathan Katz Memorial Fund Committee.

## DOES TRIPLE A GIVE AID TO DISCRIMINATING PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

The Automobile Club of New York, an affiliate of the American Automobile Association, passed a resolution on December 18, 1956, urging the national association to deny the AAA emblem to all resorts or hotels practicing racial or religious discrimination in admitting guests. The St. Paul Automobile Club also has announced that it will not endorse any hotels or motels which practice discrimination.

Is there a problem in this area? Let us know.

## PGH. AND STATE JAYCEES HONOR COMMISSIONERS

Commissioner Florence Reizenstein received the Award in Human Relations from Pgh. Jaycees on Jan. 27.

Commissioner James A. Jordon was presented Outstanding Young Men Award by State Jaycees on Feb. 4.

## INTEGRATED HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION BEING FORMED HERE

Under the leadership of Wilmer A. Pracht, the committee of builders, bankers and realtors has moved to form a corporation for the purpose of purchasing land for the construction of houses to be sold on the basis of controlled occupancy.

Morris Milgram was again invited to appear before this group on February 12 to discuss the financial structure and problems attendant with the construction and sale of houses on an integrated basis. He was speaking from his own experience in the development of Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll in the city of Philadelphia.

It was decided in this meeting that a corporation should be formed, to be capitalized at between $70,000 and $80,000. Nearly $40,000 was immediately pledged by those present. Steps are now being taken to incorporate and to acquire the land on the site which has already been selected.

Among the twenty-two present were members of CHR. Frederick C. McKee, James A. Jordon, Mrs. Louis Reizenstein; also Councilman Paul F. Jones and Chairman of the Builders Committee, Wilmer A. Pracht.

## CONNECTICUT STUDIES RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

A study of racial integration in private residential neighborhoods has just been completed by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights. Trained interviewers talked with both white and Negro families in a variety of stable neighborhoods across the state. Their finding includes the following:

1. Negroes moved into these neighborhoods because they wanted a better place to live.
2. Ninety-four percent of them had to purchase homes.
3. Although whites had engaged in talk against Negroes and circulated petitions, there was no physical violence.
4. About one-third of the white neighbors approve the idea of integrated neighborhoods, one-third disapprove, and one-third conditionally approve.
5. Where antagonism exists it lessens with time.
6. There is little social contact except among small children.

Neighborhood groups in Pittsburgh that are facing the problem of breaking down patterns of residential segregation will find helpful material in this report.

# HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

April 1, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Highlander is planning three workshops on integration during the summer--June 15 - 21, July 20 - 26, and August 30 - September 2.

Our theme will be centered around "Public School Integration" with emphasis on voting, problems of tenure, channels of communication, local segregation laws, and voluntary citizens' actions.

Anyone in a position to help provide community leadership is eligible.

Scholarships are being provided to cover all expenses while at the school for all people enrolled from southern communities.

Consultants have been secured who will be able to lend considerable insight into the discussions.

Your participation will make the workshop exciting and informative.

Please let me know immediately if I can count on your presence by filling out the enclosed slip and returning the same.

Sincerely yours,

Septima P. Clark

Mrs. Septima P. Clark
Workshop Director

SC/mk

Consult?

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL SRC CONSULTANTS April 8, 1957
FROM: JOHN HOPE II, Chief Consultant

The main purpose of this memo is to ask you to mark the dates May 10 and 11 on your calendar. We want to convene all consultants who have been involved in our Consultant Service Program in the past year for a meeting in Atlanta on these dates. The purpose is to appraise our past and plan our future program. The effectiveness of your important contribution to the effort is apparent in many ways but one of the most obvious of these is the fact that a Foundation has seen fit to underwrite this phase of the SRC program for another year. Thus, we are "in business" with greater opportunities before us and at the same time more of a challenge to our ingenuity, training, technical skill and "horse sense" to find the best ways of using this apparently effective tool for the best interest of the South and the nation during this crucial transitional period.

Please hold these dates open for us. I will advise you further about the specific plans for this meeting in the near future. It will probably begin with dinner at 6:00 p.m. May 10 and end the next day (Saturday) about 4:00.

In the meanwhile, if you have suggestions or criticisms that might be helpful to us in planning this conference, they will be gratefully received.

Finally you will be interested to know that we hope to give greater emphasis to servicing local communities in the coming year and assisting within the limits of budget organizations and groups unaffiliated with SRC as well as our affiliates on the basis of need and the prospect of improving and enriching their contribution to the objectives which we seek. This may necessitate the broadening of our consultant panel both as to number and range of training and experience. To this end, I will welcome your suggestions of the names (address and brief statement of qualifications, etc.) of persons who are qualified by training, temperament, and interest to serve as consultants. These may include persons with the more specialized skills pertinent to particular problem areas as well as those with the broader qualifications for general consultative purposes such as our present panel demonstrates, e.g., professional educators; persons trained and experienced in religion but with training and/or experience in the area of community organization and social action; industrial and labor relations persons; functionaries in and students with training and experience in dealing with law enforcement, municipal administration, school boards and administrators, etc. However, I must emphasize that this request does not imply resources for major expansion of our services but rather the somewhat selfish interest in adding a few of the very best persons available to fit the needs of our service while compiling a much larger list from which we may comfortable suggest competent persons to others seeking consultant services, some of which are outside of the scope of our program. Such requests are on the increase and any contributions that can be made toward furnishing qualified technical resources to points of need is itself an important service at this time.

Please advise me promptly whether you are free to attend this meeting on May 10th and 11th.

C
O
P
Y

Memo to Harold Fleming
From: C. H. Parrish
Re.: SRC Consultant Program

Our conversation some days ago concerning the SRC consultant program prompts me to comment briefly on what I conceive to be its rationale.

At the risk of underlining the obvious, mention should be made of the superordinate-subordinate character of the relations between whites and Negroes in the United States. In the South this relationship has been crystallized by law. However, in other parts of the country where there are few discriminatory laws, the prescribed behavior patterns are generally recognized and observed. Segregation by statute (as pointed out in The Strange Career of Jim Crow) is of relatively recent origin but the status relationship itself goes back to the early Colonial period. It is small wonder that people brought up to accept the traditional pattern should find it difficult to reorder their relations in terms of equality.

The old committees on interracial cooperation never succeeded in making the shift in approach that would challenge directly a relationship that had for so long been taken for granted. SRC has struggled manfully with this problem and some progress has been made but among many of the state groups the old attitudes persist.

Because of its heritage and its essential nature SRC has relied heavily upon the "appeal to conscience" and the morale-building effect of the high class reporting of the "happy Story" through the pages of New South. There has been no real opportunity to provide people on the field with the specialized "know-how" so urgently demanded for dealing with concrete problems at the local level. And not always has the distinction between advocacy and professional service been sufficiently clear.

Another facet of SRC's problem is the difficulty of securing the services of qualified Negroes for top level, full-time staff positions. Whatever the reasons for it may be, the lack of Negro personnel in responsible regional jobs has hampered the Council's efforts to operate as an integrated agency. It is easier to teach by example than by precept.

The consultant program is a partial answer to all of these problems. With deliberate intent the consultant group has been overbalanced a little in favor of Negroes. Thus the status relationship is attacked by indirection by presenting the Negro expert in a unique relationship of equality with his white colleagues.

In their contacts with state boards and staffs the consultants act on the assumption that the people attending such an institute do not need conviction on the basic matter of desegregation but rather want advice on the best social techniques for achieving their goal. This has the wholesome effect of diverting attention from unproductive disputations at the ideological level to concrete problems of implementation.

As is true of most operations of this sort there is no adequate statistical measurement available of the results of the consultant service. However, those of us who have been intimately associated with it are convinced of its crucial importance. The initial involvement and continued interest of the consultants themselves constitutes an increasingly valuable asset to SRC and the whole South. Because of the consultants there has been more attention paid to the "soft spots" thus through concentrated efforts making more efficient use of limited resources. There is a clearer understanding of what needs to be done and more willing acceptance of responsibility for doing it. There have been several instances reported of individual consultants being called back to communities for specific jobs. This perhaps is the real test of worth.

FINAL DRAFT

MEMORANDUM

January 8, 1957

To: The New World Foundation
From: The Southern Regional Council
Subject: Report on SRC's Consultant Service Program

The aim of this memo is to give a more comprehensive picture of SRC's Consultant Service Program. In previous reports to the New World Foundation, we dealt mainly with the "process" of the workshops held with our state affiliates' boards and staffs; here we seek to spell out the "content" of those sessions. This, along with our letters dated May 21st, September 10th, and November 20th, 1956, will provide an overall summary of our experiences with the program.

CONSULTANT SERVICES TO SRC STATE AFFILIATES

Each of the sessions described in this report followed a general pattern. (1) Early in the session a resource inventory was taken; this included resources in staff, in board membership, and ~~beyond it to include~~ in other key individuals and organizations in the area considered to be (as a minimum requirement) "for law and order." (2) The next step was to divide the listed resources into potential and active categories. (3) A problem census was taken, including the listing of resistance groups. (4) An attempt was made to relate particular resources to specific problems.

Stress was laid on the importance of developing local integrated councils to work on a variety of local problems such as health, sanitation, recreation, education, law enforcement, employment, etc., on a community-wide basis. Care must be taken, it was pointed out, that Negro members of such groups truly represent the Negro community and are not merely "window-dressing."

Each state group was warned against political activity as a tax-exempt

organization; it being recognized, however, that board and general members could be politically active as individuals.

Two of our state affiliates, Kentucky and Tennessee, started operations using a consultant staff plan of their own. Since the development of SRC's Consultant Service Program, the ideas and practice have been adopted by four more states - Alabama, Georgia, Texas and Virginia. Testimony, we believe, to the effectiveness of the program.

INDIVIDUAL SESSIONS:

Virginia: The consultant session with the Virginia Council on Human Relations took place on February 17 and 18, 1956, shortly after the passage of the Grey Amendment. Those attending felt depressed because the organization had been unable (due to its tax-exempt status) to take an active part in the political fight which had raged across the Old Dominion. The two basic questions asked were: (1) What can we do that is effective, other than political activity, at this time; and (2) What can be done by a volunteer group when the power of the state government is being used to maintain segregation?

The consultants suggested that intensified effort to move some "soft-spots" toward desegregation would prove fruitful. The group listed communities which had previously announced plans for desegregation and others which seemed inclined to accept it, such as Arlington, Charlottesville, Hampton, Norfolk, Richmond, and Waynesboro. Since the workshop, "locals" have been formed or strengthened in most of these key communities. The Charlottesville Council made national headlines when it brought Louisville School Superintendent Charmichael to the community and again when John Kasper (later of Clinton infamy) sought unsuccessfully to disrupt a meeting.

Arkansas: The work conference was held March 9 and 10, at a Methodist camp outside Little Rock. Hoxie, Arkansas, with the aid of our state affiliate, had successfully weathered opposition to school desegregation, but no further communities were moving toward desegregation of their schools. Arkansas is predominently a rural and agricultural state. Thus, a real problem is how to proceed in rural areas where there isn't regular community organization structure.

The consultant team suggested several approaches, among which were: (1) working with such groups as do ~~exist, eg.,~~ reach rural people, e.g., church groups, the Grange, PTA's, teachers associations; (2) working out from county seats; (3) picking key areas which are pace-setters for surrounding areas, for concerted effort; (4) picking strong personalities who influence others in rural areas; (5) getting news releases to all rural weeklies; (6) concentrating ~~of~~ effort in Little Rock to move the entire state; (7) ~~to raise~~ raising with appropriate state authorities the question of what effect defiance was having on incoming industry.

The Arkansas Council, which has an unusually good Board and able staff, had been doing many of these things, but some Board members who had been inclined to "let George (George being the staff) do it" agreed to take a more active role themselves. A committee visited the Industrial Development Commission and the Chairman of the IDC, Winthrop Rockefeller, later ~~raised the question publicly.~~ publicly warned that prosegregation activities would jeopardize the state's industrialization.

Texas: The Lone Star State is almost an empire entire of itself. In recent years it has been facing more and more to the West, but the Old South still tugs at it - particularly in East Texas. The main problems confronting the state organization are covering so vast an area and planning a sufficiently varied program for a state with such great diversification of racial attitudes and practices.

At the meeting March 16 and 17, the consultants suggested (1) using the

"locals" which existed as information-gathering centers for the central office at Austin and as disseminating centers for information from Austin. This provides a two-way pipe line into key communities and provides information on which to base program planning. Further, it was suggested that programs be planned around these "locals," each seeking to move ahead as rapidly as possible. It was also suggested that special effort go into the soft spots to attain as much integration as rapidly as possible.

As a result of the recognized need for staff assistance to each of these local groups, the Texas Commission has adopted a consultant plan, making use of professionals in each of these communities who work on a per-diem basis, with the Executive Director serving as coordinator.

Hard Core Conference: This was a sub-regional meeting held March 23-24th in Atlanta for board members and staff from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The bringing together of these people so that each knew he was not alone, that others shared his problems, was of great value in itself. There were both general sessions and individual state sessions.

Generally it was recognized that one of the ~~three~~ chief problems in the Hard Core Area is ~~was (1)~~ keeping open the lines of communication between whites and Negroes. Small, informal, integrated groups were suggested as a help in this direction. It was also suggested (and this has since been put into practice) that workshops should be quietly held with "locals." ~~(2)~~ The problem of maintaining law and order was also heavily stressed by consultants and much discussion was devoted to the mobilization of the "moderate" ~~masses~~ to this end. ~~(3)~~ The problem of documenting and counteracting reprisals against whites and Negroes who favor, or are purported to favor integration, ~~and~~ led to various suggestions for getting their story out through the national media.

South Carolina: This is one of the five hard-core states which are in open defiance of the Supreme Court decision. When they met ~~in~~ April 25-26, the board and staff of the state group had a sense of frustration, for it seemed impossible to work directly on the problem of school desegregation.

The consultant team quickly recognized the need for a more elemental program aimed at mobilizing public opinion for the defense of the basic rights of freedom of speech, association, and assembly. After considerable round-table discussion it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to document incidents of economic and social reprisal against Negroes and whites who favor compliance; (2) to get the story of these reprisals out to the national press through SRC (this has been done with considerable success); (3) that considerable attention should be given to work with church and civic groups and newspapers to support law and order, for it was recognized that without this support no progress was possible; and (4) that with the cooperation of SRC an attempt would be made to relocate the new class of "D.P."'s - displaced parsons. (We have since played a modest part in assisting ~~four~~ (several such) "D.P."'s.")

Florida: This meeting was held on June 11 and 12 at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, shortly after the Democratic primary in which a retired general from the Florida National Guard had campaigned for the governorship on the single plank of white supremacy. Though he lost, things were not all orange blossoms in the "Sunshine State," for a special session of the state legislature to consider means of preserving "our way" of public education was in the offing.

The Florida Council's Board is sophisticated and the integrated staff works well as a team. After deliberation with the consultants it was decided: (1) that special effort should be made to reach friendly elements in the major dailies of the state to have them editorially urge preservation of law and order and, where possible, compliance with the decision; (2) to undertake renewed and concerted effort with "locals" to keep open the lines of communication between the racial groups; (3) to help develop local interracial groups which would work to relieve tensions but which might not - or might not care to - formally affiliate ~~fit under the SRC umbrella~~ with SRC; (4) to prepare for a joint meeting of all agencies in the state concerned with human relations. (This has been done with considerable success

and the Florida Council continues to play a coordinating role.)

Alabama: This is a hard core state, but one with some liberal influences at work in several areas, notably TVA in the Tri-City area (Florence, Sheffield, and Tuscumbia) and the coastal influence of the deep sea port of Mobile. Alabama was also the site of the Montgomery bus protest, which was peaceful, and the Miss Lucy affair, which was not.

At the session with Consultants on September 25 and 26, considerable time was spent discussing means of preserving law and order and winning recognition for national public policy. A careful analysis of how law broke down in Tuscaloosa during the Miss Lucy affair was undertaken and plans were made to work with the ministerial association in that town to prevent similar disturbances when the next Negroes apply for admission. (This is in progress.) Differing roles of Board members were discussed. These were identified as (1) safe roles - white church women, retired white ministers, Negroes who were independent of the white community; it was recognized that these people were more free to act and take public stands than most; (2) one-shot roles - the use of a person from out of town who could say things that needed to be said but which no local person felt safe in saying; (3) continuing role - the use of a person over a period of time in a given area calling for more discretion and sophistication than the "one-shot" role, etc.

Georgia: For a more complete picture of what happens at one of these Consultant Service Program workshops, we attach a copy of the rough summary of this conference, prepared by the conferees themselves.

Kentucky: The Bluegrass State is moving rapidly ahead with desegregation; indeed, the state board of education reported this fall that 84% of the school systems were in the process of integrating their schools. The Kentucky Council therefore is turning toward problems of teacher integration and non-discriminatory employment practices. The state group itself makes use of consultants in its community relations work.

The SRC consultants met on November 17-18-19 with the Kentucky Board mem-

bers, Executive Director, and state consultants. Some time was spent defining the role of consultants as professional advisers, ~~not~~ rather than as "advocates." There was general concensus that advocacy should be left to the Board, the Executive Committee, and the Executive Director. The problem of opportunities for professional training for Negroes was next on the agenda. (As a result of this, a survey of nurse training facilities done by the Kentucky Council has received wide newspaper coverage.) The Kentucky Council is now surveying employment practices by industries in Kentucky. They are cooperating with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

BROADER APPLICATIONS OF CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM

As part of the expanded activities of the Consultant Service Program, three special consultant services have been undertaken. The first two should be regarded as confidential. More such strategic consultative approaches are anticipated

Montgomery, Alabama. Just prior to the issuance by the District Federal Court of the bus desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, Emory Via (SRC's labor consultant) and Fred Routh (Asst. Director) went to Montgomery. There they conferred with local white and Negro leadership to ascertain what preparations were being made for the peaceful acceptance of the order. A second purpose of the visit was to stimulate thinking and action on the part of these leaders to prepare the community for the order. Among those conferred with were Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, and E. D. Nixon of the Montgomery Improvement Association; Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery Advertiser; Rev. Thomas Thrasher, key white minister; E. C. Pippen, AFL-CIO labor leader; Dr. James Pierce and Dr. Council Trenholm (President) of Alabama State College.

This service helped bolster the plans of local leaders to prepare the public for peaceful acceptance of the Court order. It also helped SRC's Information Service prepare the background story on the Montgomery bus protest movement which was widely distributed to Southern newspaper editors just prior to the implementation of the decisions.

Nashville, Tennessee: John Hope II, C. H. Parrish, and Fred Routh attended an "off-the-record" meeting with some key leaders of the Nashville area to assist them in their thinking on how to move the Nashville Conference (a local interracial group of ~~key~~ influential people who identify themselves as "moderates") ahead more rapidly. There was also the question of supporting the governor in his previous stand of opposing all pro-segregationist attempts to influence ~~the legislature.~~ public opinion in the state. Committees from two influential non-SRC groups have since called on the governor. When the legislature convened, members found a letter from the Tennessee Council of Churches on their desks asking them to act in moderation and Christian humility.

Davidson College, N.C.: Fred Routh attended the sessions of the USCC - United Student Christian Council at Davidson on December 28-29 as a consultant and as leader of the section on race relations on the campus. Some 350 students from across the South met on an interracial basis to consider "Our United Campus Witness." The sessions in race relations were well attended and well received. Great concern was manifested by students over the dichotomy between their position and that of their parents. This was a first step toward communication and concerted planning among college student groups in the South.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 7, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Directors of SRC Affiliates

FROM: John Hope II, Chief Consultant

SUBJECT: Information for Staff Conference

You will note that the enclosed questionnaire is a copy of the one you filled out for me about a year ago. The SRC consultants feel that it was a highly valuable instrument in briefing them on the specific program situation in a given state in anticipation of Workshops held and personal conferences with the staffs of various states. It was an indispensable introduction for consultants at the Hard Core State Staff Conference. At this meeting a two-hour period was set aside when each state staff group could discuss the specifics of its program - methods, areas of concentration, problems, future plans, etc. - with a designated SRC consultant. Each consultant had in advance a copy of the completed questionnaire from the group with which he was to meet. This saved much orientation time and put us all on our toes so that we could get the maximum amount of assistance possible in the time available.

The same technique will be applied at the State Staff Conference on May 21-22 and thus I am asking that you complete, as you did last year, three copies, send me two to Fisk University by May 17, and keep one copy for your files. Please bear in mind that the more fully and thoughtfully you prepare this document, the more fully and discerningly can our consultants give you the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

The following observations are made for your further guidance:

1. Generally speaking, we want your reasoned judgment or estimate and such factual information as you have at hand - not formal fact gathering in the research sense.

2. The following questions are called to your attention as particularly important for our purposes: I, II, III (a), IV, VI (h) and (g), VIII (a) and (b), and under Resources (pp. 9-11) I, II, III.

3. In question II, let your answers concerning "next year" apply to the period after September 30, 1957.

4. In question VIII (a), (b), and (c) change "1956" to "1957," i.e., fall of 1957.

5. If your answer to VII is "yes," attach or refer to reports, articles, etc., that will provide details about enrollment, etc. Do not spend much time on it.

If you have other questions, comments, and/or facts that you wish to bring to our attention prior to this conference, please attach them to this questionnaire. These may apply to Organization as well as Program. We plan to have the services of a professional money-raiser. You may wish to direct specific questions, problems, and/or comments to him. If so, I suggest that you label and put on a separate sheet (or sheets) NON-PROGRAM items so that we can detach and pass these materials to the persons best fitted to handle them.

I ask your full and prompt co-operation so that we may give you the best service possible. You will be interested to know that the SRC consultants and SRC staff will meet on May 24-25. Thus, this is a good opportunity to put your problems, etc. "on the table" so that we can give you the full benefit of our joint reactions to them.

See you in Atlanta.

Enclosure

Consultants program

FILE COPY


# Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR


May 23, 1957

A Council to extend, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES AND CONSULTANTS

FROM: JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT, CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SUBJECT: THE CONSULTANT SERVICE PROGRAM -- PURPOSE, REQUISITES FOR EFFECTIVENESS, AND SCOPE

"The major purpose of the Consultant Service Program (CSP) is to provide technical assistance in program development to SRC affiliates and other groups whose objectives are similar or compatible with those of SRC, e.g., the elimination of segregation and discrimination based upon race in the Southern economy. It seeks to provide professional guidance on how to achieve democratic race relations; not persuasive advocates to foster and promote acceptance of the principle. Effective implementation of the policy, not its establishment, is emphasized.

Such assistance is provided by a panel of consultants highly qualified by formal training, experience, and temperament, who are available on a part-time basis to organizations, community groups, official bodies concerned with and/or committed to the desegregation process. Initially, the service was confined primarily to the SRC state affiliates as an SRC service without cost to them, though it was available to outside groups on a cost or partial cost basis. From the start, this restriction in scope of service was simply based upon limitations of resources and the recognition of a priority to members of the SRC family. But the operations of the first few months clearly demonstrated a broader need for such aid to unaffiliated local groups and official bodies if the common aims of these and SRC affiliates were to be achieved expeditiously and efficiently.

Foundation aid was sought and obtained which now allows us to provide technical assistance to non-SRC as well as SRC affiliated local as well as state or regional groups on basis of need and their ability to effectively use such resources either without cost or on basis of their ability to pay for it. This, it is believed, has greatly extended the range of potential availability of technical assistance in program development, community organization, etc. to groups fostering the goals and spirit of the Desegregation Decision in the South and has further increased the flexibility and efficiency with which these professional talents can be allocated so as to gain maximum positive results for the region as a whole.

On the other hand, it places a heavier burden upon SRC and state affiliate staff members to publicize the CSP and in a sense "selling" the services to potential users. Figuratively speaking, the writer and, indeed, the SRC as a whole, is a broker whose function is to bring together in the most effective way those groups or key individuals who have need for such professional services and those who possess the talents required but are not organizationally situated so as to focus them where they can be most fruitful in gaining SRC objectives. Since the resources of the CSP are limited, all requests for assistance cannot be accepted however deserving they might be. Rather, our role appears to be that of choosing from the requests submitted those which appear to be most promising and most likely to be multiplying and accelerating in their impact upon the productivity and sophistication of leadership, those which will not only render needed high level scarce services to groups involved in our cause but may activate and encourage other groups to similarly employ and finance such skills. Ours is the task of complementing and supplementing existing (and sometimes dormant) resources in the community, not competing with them; of providing the additional element that may motivate liberal groups to constructive action and prevent frustrating inertia in the face of complex and discouraging obstacles; of supporting the dedicated and effective volunteer layman with limited technical skill and advice at the time and point of need and getting out of his way when he is ready to move forward unaided,with skill, understanding, and courage.

But the function of administration of the CSP goes far beyond mere brokerage of a given service. The service itself though requiring a definite level and type of formal training as social scientists or practitioners, must be subtly and deftly tailored to the individual needs of each group and frequently is not separable from a particular consultant. Such a person through temperament, personality, or experience may give as a part of his total professional contribution a unique element (or spark) that gives his service a plus value in particular situations -- and, indeed, may conceivably provide a negative one in others.

Consequently, if the CSP is to be equal to the varied types of present demands and ready to meet new ones as they arise, the panel must be varied enough in its composition to provide maximum flexibility without

loss of the basic common qualifications necessary for overall efficiency. On the other hand, if lofty standards are to be maintained, the consultants should receive frequent enough assignments to motivate their continuous awareness and study of new developments in the Southern situation and periodic re-evaluation of the situation as scholars. Thus, in terms of present limits of resources and consultation opportunities, very real restrictions on panel size are necessary, while pressure for overall competence and flexibility seem to increase as the demands move closer to the specific friction points, e.g., the local community with a pending court order, the school board, the park commission, etc. Under these conditions, the consultant is challenged to give rather specific suggestions to fit the particular conditions, advise as to whether particular plans or strategies seem sound or not.

Therefore, effective administration of the CSP, in addition to bringing consultant and consultee together, depends upon the extent to which the composition of the panel includes and the program utilizes the blend of specialties and high professional qualifications needed to meet varied demands; the extent to which the individual consultants are able to accept assignments when requested; the amount and quality of their preparation for assignments, and the support given by SRC research and information facilities.

A clear distinction should be made between efforts aimed at gaining adherents and achieving acceptance of the principle of equality and the policy of desegregation and integration, and those directed to the application of these principles and policies with maximum speed and efficiency and a minimum of overt conflict. Both of these are necessary and should be pursued by staffs of all state affiliates but the emphasis given to each will vary from state to state at a given time and in each state from time to time. It is imperative that the director always have clearly in mind which of these aims he seeks, or the relative significance of each, in every project developed -- policy acceptance or effective implementation of policy in specific program areas chosen to fit the needs of a particular community -- because the best techniques for achieving these respective goals are not necessarily the same.

The primary field of operation and usefulness of the CSP is the latter -- implementing the letter and spirit of the Desegregation Decision. Its major sphere of operation is among organizations and strategically placed individual community leaders who have accepted in principle, at least, the Desegregation Decision and those who, without regard to their personal attitude, are by their positions impelled to seek its

implementation (or to maintain order and avoid illegal opposition) -- willingly or unwillingly. The CSP should prepare to assist those who are working for implementation whether through personal conviction, organizational involvement and consequent implicit acceptance of group discipline, or administrative responsibility to implement laws, court orders, etc. applied to their employer.

Its prime target is thus leadership, not rank-and-file membership; those in a position to motivate, multiply, and accelerate affirmative action, not followers. Therefore, efforts at "selling" the CSP should be aimed at leadership groups who for some reason are ready to at least consider action. This is where the state and SRC staffs should cooperate as broker. The success of this operation requires rifle shot, not shotgun, methods of promotion; careful choice of persons or groups who can most profitably use consultant service; and specific promotional efforts, mainly personal, aimed at encouraging them to seek such help. Mimeographed general mailings are not likely to be effective and may alert the opposition thus generating counteractive efforts which may unnecessarily cause the diversion of some of our efforts to defensive channels.

The following are some of the organizational frameworks through which, it is felt, the CSP can be effective in the next two or three year period which may be used as a basis for determining where it can be useful in strengthening and broadening program:

I. SRC state affiliates and their local units, with emphasis upon more promising local community situations. (Utilize the assistance and other organizational contacts and associations of board members in developing opportunities.)

II. Assistance to and coordination with other organizations and agencies insofar as they are promoting activities with goals similar to ours, including purely local groups and local units of national, regional, or state organizations.

A. Religious groups, e.g., United Church Women, Council of Jewish Women and other Jewish groups, the Catholic Interracial Committee, the organizations of various religious denominations and/or their subordinate agencies and commissions concerned with our cause; local inter-denominational ministerial associations, etc.

B. Civic Organizations, e.g., League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, PTAs, etc.

C. Professional Organizations, e.g., organization of social workers, nurses, etc.; Council of Social Agencies; etc.

D. Organizations of Economic groups.

1. Labor Unions.

2. Business and Industrial Organizations and Service Clubs, e.g., Chambers of Commerce (Sr. and Jr.), Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, and other such clubs.

III. Official governmental bodies concerned with problems of desegregation and the elimination of discrimination.

A. Departments and/or Boards of Education (local, state) and their administrative heads.

B. Law enforcement officials and/or agencies, e.g., municipal police chiefs, commissioners, etc.; county sheriffs; state officials (patrol, troopers, rangers, etc.); state guard.

C. Public transportation officials and commissions and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

D. Public recreation officials and their administrative heads (municipal, county, state).

E. Other public bodies concerned with segregation and discrimination, e.g., industrial or labor and industry commissions; health and welfare commissions; etc.

Among the principal methods by which consultants can serve the above groups are the following:

I. By the use of consultant teams working in group study situations of leaders or policy level officials, with participation usually by invitation only.

A. Developing plans and contributing (some or all) consultants or resource persons needed for a workshop, institute, or conference, by invitation from the consultee group and in participation with it.

B. Selecting and providing resource persons in particular problem areas for participation in workshops, conferences, etc. of other organizations, usually as part of a larger group of consultants, e.g., the LeMoyne Race Relations Conference.

II. By the use of technical assistance on a specific problem from a consultant with specialized competence in that particular problem area. Such aid is likely to come from

one consultant and conceivably could involve a more sustained association than is characteristic of workshops and conferences. Consultants for this purpose may or may not be members of our panel and some may not be used more than once.

The choice of method for a given consultant service request will depend upon the specific needs and circumstances involved.

# HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE, TENNESSEE

May 24, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

We hope that you will be able to be a Consultant for us during our summer workshops. We would like you to discuss on June 18th and July 24th "The Economic and Social Changes in the South." We regret that because of our present tax situation that we will not be able to pay the expenses of our Consultants other than maintenance at the School.

Thank you for your interest and we hope that you will be able to attend on the above dates.

Sincerely,

Septima P. Clark

(Mrs.) Septima Clark
Workshop Director

SC:mb

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Interagency ~~Consultant~~ Conference minutes to

Sam Lubin (3 copies)

Seymour Samet (1 copy)

Please fill in and return to Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

At this time it appears that I will be able _____ unable _____ to attend the Workshop on Integration:

June _____ July _____ August _____

I have the following friends who would like to attend:

1. _____ _____
Name Address Time

2. _____ _____
Name Address Time

3. _____ _____
Name Address Time

Date: _____ Signed: _____

Address: _____

For the 41st Annual Convocation of the
HOWARD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF RELIGION November 7, 1957

# NON-VIOLENCE AND THE LAW: THE LAW NEEDS HELP

By Harris Wofford, Jr.

701 Union Trust Bldg.
D.C. RE 7-5900

Today is the 40th Anniversary of the Communist Revolution in Russia. This 41st annual convocation of the Howard University School of Religion may not seem like much competition to the massive parade of troops and tanks moving this day through Red Square. But your subject -- Non-Violence and Social Change -- ought to be bothering the men, whoever they may today be, who are now reviewing the physical marks of Soviet power from the Kremlin stand. For let me venture a prediction: it will be through the non-violent resistance of the people suffering under Communism, not through any Western policy of massive retaliation, that Communism will be finally transformed.

Hungary demonstrated that the Red Army can crush even the bravest armed rebellion, but events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself suggest that beneath the surface non-violent resistance to Stalinism has already been of some effect in changing Communism. Poland is already a long way toward freedom, thanks in large part to the courageous and peaceful resistance, and jail-going, of two very different men, Cardinal Wszynski of the Church and Wladaslav Gomulka of the Party. "Nonviolence," Gandhi said, "means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant." "Working under this law of our being," he said, "it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honor, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration." Djilas is trying to do this in Yugoslavia, from his jail cell, and Dudintsev, the author of Not By Bread Alone, is doing it by his civil defiance in Moscow.

So Non-Violence is a worldwide question, just as is integration of different racial or cultural or national groups. Any light which we in this country can throw on the problem of democratic and peaceful integration will be valuable in other lands plagued by the same stubborn problem -- in India, where untouchability and caste is as ingrained as are any prejudices in this country; in Israel, the pressure-cooker of a hundred cultures, in all of Africa. And any new demonstration here that non-violent change is possible will encourage and strengthen the forces of peaceful change everywhere.

But Dean Hill asked me to talk as a lawyer about how the law comes into this big question you are considering. Let me start by saying that a School of Religion is a good place for this question to be asked. As a lawyer I am convinced that the leadership in social change -- particularly in bringing about the change in racial relationships now underway in this country -- must not be left to lawyers.

We lawyers have our function. We can draft laws and interpret them, we can try cases in court and win legal decisions, we can

advise clients about their rights and defend their rights with every clause of the Constitution and every legal trick at our command. But social change is not ordinarily one of our skills. For the most part we are trained to win cases or at least to keep our clients out of jail, not to reconstruct the relationships of a community, not to change the minds and hearts of people.

Yet unless people's minds and hearts are changed, what can the law do? "In this and like communities," Lincoln said, "public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

Lincoln was not one to sell his profession short. The law has a big role to play, and not the least of that role is its own part in moulding public sentiment. The Constitution must be enforced, said Lincoln, knowing that enforcement of the law is itself a form of persuasion.

The law is a teacher. People learn to drive on the right side of the street by obeying the law requiring them to drive on that side. Citizens of the thirteen original states came to consider themselves citizens of the United States because the Constitution of the United States was ratified, established and enforced. Without the working of the Constitution no amount of talk would have convinced Americans to abandon their parochial loyalties for a higher allegiance.

Today compliance with the Constitution is still the best instruction in our constitutional duties. Negroes voting will do more to change the habits and opinions of those who oppose such voting than any amount of talk. Children of all races going to school with each other will do more than anything else to persuade young people and their parents that integration can work.

Thus the decisions of the Supreme Court fulfilling the Constitution's promise of equal protection of the laws are great and necessary milestones. But they do not mark the end of the road. They only point the way. And in fact, despite the impressive unanimity of the Court and the determination of the President to enforce the law, they seem to leave us at an impasse. For racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional and must be ended with all deliberate speed. But a substantial and dominant part of the public in a number of states is opposed to compliance with this and other applications of the constitutional guarantee of equal rights.

It will not be enough to get more court orders. Nor can bayonets be relied upon to do the trick. The law needs help. The courts and the Department of Justice and Federal policing powers cannot by themselves overcome the popular emotional psychological obstacles to integration in some of the states. The law cannot act as teacher where the conditions necessary for the educational process do

not exist. Where opposition to the law is violent and widespread the law may not be obeyed at all, or may be obeyed only in form while the spirit is submerged in a wave of irrationality.

This does not mean that the situation in Little Rock or elsewhere is hopeless. In fact, Little Rock may be a case where straight enforcement will suffice. The local school board had decided to comply with the Supreme Court, it had devised a gradual plan for integration that had substantial support in the community, and the city authorities were themselves willing to enforce it. A spark of demagoguery enflamed the situation, but there is reason to hope that Federal authority plus local common sense will put out the fire and give the plan for integration a chance to succeed. The example of Little Rock may help prevent other such outbreaks in areas where the Negro population is small and integration not in reality a very big problem.

But in the deep South, particularly in the black belt counties containing a majority of disfranchised Negroes, no simple solution is open. Local school boards in many cases will refuse to adopt even the most gradual integration plan and if pressed by litigation the public school system may itself be abandoned. Or the public schools in these black belt counties may be preserved for Negro children, with the whites establishing private schools. How can the courts compel state legislatures to appropriate funds for integrated schools?

The question then is what else can be done to mould public sentiment. How can we help the law? What can we do to break up the concentration of emotions on this issue, to disperse the hatred, violence and irrationality gathered around public school integration, to take the initiative out of the hands of racial demagogues, to release the forces of moderation, of ethics and sanity and Christianity, of respect for law?

This is where non-violence and Gandhi and Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy and the Montgomery Improvement Association come in. It is time for Thurgood Marshall, a master craftsman whose legal victories have contributed greatly to the reconstruction of racial relationships in this country, to reconsider Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience. For there must be further actions, in and out of court, that go deeper in moulding public sentiment. And for this the ministers of the gospel of the New Law, the law of Love, should step forward. It is time for you to light new paths for your legal brethren who too often take a too narrow litigious view of the law.

The Supreme Court, thanks to the civil rights lawyers in our midst, has ordained justice. But human nature is recalcitrant stuff and once again, albeit in pale and distant imitation, it seems that in the agonizing way of the New Testament it is necessary for the word to become flesh. You will call this the way of Love. Gandhi called it Non-Violence, or as he put it, living the Sermon on the Mount. As a lawyer I see it as a form of persuasion. And as a lawyer I would rather define what I mean by citing cases.

In 1935 Dr. and Mrs. Thurman, while visiting Gandhi, asked him to come to America, not for White America but to help the Negro in his fight for civil rights. Gandhi said he had to make good the message of non-violence in India first, but added that "it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world."

In 1951 a former associate of Gandhi, Rammanohar Lohia, visited this country and to American Negroes and whites who wanted to advance civil rights he prescribed jail-going and non-violent struggle against unjust racial laws and practices. No, said President Johnson of Fisk, we are too weak a minority and here we have the law and Constitution on our side, unlike the situation you faced in India. There are only a handful of Negroes in Montgomery who would stand together in any Gandhian struggle, sadly said that courageous Alabama NAACP leader, Mr. E. C. Nixon, himself a veteran of many struggles. When at Hampton Institute in November 1955 I happened to propose that the Negro and white of the South try the Gandhian way a respected Negro leader who had known and loved Gandhi and who had tried to spread his message in America told me that he had about given up hope. The American Negro, everyone seemed to say, does not have the Gandhian dimension in him.

Then came the Montgomery bus boycott. And by Christmas 1955 the world knew that the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, were talking with God, praying for those that oppose them, and regularly rededicating themselves to the methods of non-violence. Mrs. Rosa Parks says that she had been forced to move many times before but that for some reason "this time I just didn't move." When the driver threatened to call the police she said: "Then just call them." With her arrest, the spark was struck that started the first great Gandhian fire in our midst.

A year later the world knew that the Negro of Montgomery had it in him. Under the inspired leadership of Martin Luther King and his brother ministers the Gandhian alchemy, as in India and South Africa, made heroes out of common clay. In passing I note that the ratio of ministers to lawyers in the Montgomery struggle, judging from those arrested, was 24 to 1.

A year later the Supreme Court struck down bus segregation in Montgomery as unconstitutional. "All that walking for nothing," said a lawyer friend of mine. "They could just as well have waited while the bus case went up through the courts, without all the work and worry of the boycott."

Would that have been better? Would it have been better if 40,000 Negroes had not spoken up against segregation with their prayers and their feet? Would it have been better if the ministers had never been arrested, if the bombs had not been exploded, if there had been a court victory without a popular struggle?

That is a rhetorical question because you know and I know that the Montgomery bus boycott was the most exciting and most significant thing that has happened in this country for a long time. Of course we are glad it happened. A new element came into our national life. New dignity was added to the fight for civil rights. The words of the court took on substance and life, they had no hollow ring from on high, because they were part of a human dialogue, because in Montgomery there was a deep human response, because through the boycott public sentiment was moulded so that it became possible to establish the law.

We know this instinctively but we would do well to examine the nature of this new element and understand its implications. What Martin Luther King has given us is the unadulterated message of non-violence which Gandhi wanted the Negroes finally to deliver to the world. That message can be summarized in these terms: We accept personal responsibility for injustice. We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for the Government to act or a majority to agree with us or a court to rule in our favor. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully, because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of non-violence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be ready to talk and to seek fair compromise but we are also ready to suffer when necessary, to go to jail or risk our lives, to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.

At first this may sound un-American, for lately we have been committed to wait upon Congress and the courts -- or the next election -- for the resolution of all our troubles. But Gandhi got his theory of civil disobedience from Thoreau, and at least once before in our history when the law was at another impasse, with the Dred Scott decision and the Fugitive Slave Law, there was a fruitful era of non-violent action. The abolitionists awakened the conscience of the nation and set the stage for Lincoln by refusing to acquiesce in slavery. When Emerson came to ask Thoreau why he was in jail, the Concord prisoner asked, "Why are you outside?" Prison, he said, was apparently the place for fugitive slaves, Mexican prisoners, Indians, and honest men. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly," he wrote, "the true place for a just man is also a prison." Thoreau advised the abolitionists not to "wait till they constitute a majority of one." It is enough, he said, "if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." "Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked. His answer was this: "If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth . . . but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. * * * Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence."

In Western law and philosophy there is ample theoretical justification for this approach. "An unjust law is not a law," argued Aristotle, quoting Antigone. Aquinas, quoting Augustine, agreed, and added that human laws unjust because contrary to Divine law or good ought nowise to be obeyed. St. Thomas was less sure of what to do about laws contrary to human good, such as laws imposing unequal burdens on the community. He held that such laws were not binding "in conscience" except perhaps to avoid "scandal or disturbance."

It is here that Gandhi, a British trained lawyer, comes in, adding non-violence as the method of resisting injustice. Civil disobedience, he demonstrated, is not subversive of the law, does not lead to the kind of scandal and disturbance St. Thomas feared. On the contrary it involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violated the law, or tried to evade it, or violently tried to overthrow it, that would be undermining the idea of law, Gandhi argued. But by openly and peacefully disobeying an unjust law and asking for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that when we think it is so unjust that in conscience we cannot obey, then we belong in jail until that law is changed.

It seems to me this is good legal theory. Justice Holmes once argued even that a party to a private contract has a right to refuse to comply with the contract if he is ready to pay the penalty. I am not going that far. I do not say we have a right to break the social contract which is our legal system, except through constitutional amendments. But I am arguing that under our social contract man is to be free, and that a free man should look on each law not as a command but as a question, for implicit in each law is the alternative of obedience or of respectful civil disobedience and full acceptance of the consequences.

Once men no longer believe that they as good citizens must obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then they must ask themselves of each law, Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform? This choice we always have to make. It is the choice which makes us free.

I am talking about the freedom which Socrates felt on that morning when, having refused to obey the law abridging his freedom of speech but also refusing to evade the law by escaping from Athens, he peacefully drank the hemlock.

Perhaps I have reached a realm beyond the law. But this I think is the spirit of our laws. The principle of an aristocracy is honor, says Montesquieu; of a tyranny, it is fear; of a democracy, it is learning. The law will play its full role as a teacher only when we look upon it as a question. The law is not some final arbiter. It is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue. For the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government. We must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, eve

it, even as it challenges, changes and educates us.

Now there is at least one other vital argument which Gandhi and Martin Luther King would make, which is beyond the legal pale but I will try to make it. "Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering," said Gandhi. "Rivers of blood may have to flow before we gain our freedom but it must be our blood," he said to his countrymen. And hundreds of thousands of Indians did withstand the blows of British clubs, about half a million courted jail, and not a few gave their lives without striking back.

What was Gandhi's justification for this ordeal to which he invited his countrymen, for this mass political application of the ancient doctrine of turning the other cheek? As ministers of a Church nourished by the blood of martyrs, dedicated to the imitation of Him who chose the Cross, there should be little that a lawyer need say to convince you of the educational potentialities of suffering.

"Things of fundamental importance to people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering," said Gandhi. "Suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason." "The appeal of reason is more to the head," he said, "but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man."

Does it? In practice does non-violent action change the minds and hearts of people? Is it practical in a democratic system of law where there is a Constitution with a bill of rights to which one can appeal through regular legal channels?

Is it advisable, when the spirit of violent disobedience is afoot, to adopt any methods other than strict reliance on law and order?

These questions answer themselves. For the very use of violence by the opponents of integration invites a non-violent response. At least it presents the alternative of acquiescence to intimidation or of the use of violence in return or of non-violent resistance. Gandhi often said he would prefer violence to cowardice, but he and you and I would prefer the courageous non-violence of Rosa Parks or of Elizabeth Eckford to the use of shotguns and switchblades. The old law of an eye-for-an-eye-for-an-eye leaves everyone blind.

Nor is violent, lawless intimidation the only kind of injustice facing the Negro -- there are still many unconstitutional discriminatory laws on the books and state and local governments can add new ones faster than the Supreme Court can strike them down.

Nor does the existence of the Constitution at the top of our federal system mean that the majority in Congress or in a state legislature or in a city council may not enact an

state legislature or in a city council may not enact an unjust law that is, at least for some time, upheld by the Court. Let us not forget the fugitive slave law. Civil disobedience of laws or local ordinances which we believe violate the bill of rights is the quickest and surest way of testing their constitutionality. In this sense, as Thoreau wrote, "They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

Also in this age of great centralized nation-states and monster bureaucracies we need some practical new Socratic technique to register popular dissent and to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers. Civil disobedience is an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. The leviathans, our governments, if they give a minimum of good government, need have no fear of being stung too often, for the gadflies who will willingly go to jail to make their point are normally not so numerous.

Thus civil disobedience is a new answer to the question of how to divide our duties to Caesar and God. As the claims of Caesar have grown louder, our answer too often has been: we render unto Caesar that which Caesar says is Caesar's and go to Church on Sunday. With Non-Violence we can make real decisions -- effective moral choices -- in this apportionment between God and Caesar, between our conscience and the state. That is what happened in Montgomery when churches filled on days other than Sunday and people started walking with God on their work days.

Was the Montgomery bus boycott effective in registering the convictions of the Negroes and in stirring the white conscience from its complacency?

How can we measure the effect of the boycott -- or of the courageous suffering of the children who have gone through jeering mobs and faced a line of guns in order to establish the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution? The heart has its reasons, and the doctors of the mind recognize the occasional need for shock treatment. I would guess that the boycott had the effect of an electric shock on both the white and Negro people of Montgomery, shaking and to some extent changing the racial thought patterns of that community. Montgomery whites could no longer be so sure they knew their Negroes, and the Negroes could begin to be sure that they were not the docile children that they had been pictured.

This is not to suggest that men are easily moved out of their mental ruts or that prejudice and irrationality can be cured by non-violent words or a year's walking. Nehru once remarked that the British were never so angry as when the Indians resisted them with non-violence, that he never saw eyes so full of hate as those of the British troops to whom he turned the other cheek when they beat him with lathis. But non-violent resistance at least changed the minds and hearts of the Indians, however impervious the British may have been. We cast away our fear, says Nehru. And in the end the British not only granted India freedom but came to have a new respect for

Indians. Today a mutual friendship based on complete equality exists between these two peoples within the Commonwealth.

I do not predict the same happy ending for Montgomery because integration is more complicated than independence. But I am sure that the Negro of Montgomery is already walking straighter because of the boycott. And I expect that this generation of Negro children will grow up stronger and better because of the courage, the dignity and the suffering of the nine children of Little Rock and their counterparts in Nashville and Clinton and Sturgis. And I like to believe that the white people of this country are being affected too, that beneath the surface this nation's conscience is being stirred.

I hope this is the case not just because the Gandhian theory seems right to me but because it is becoming clear that we are in for a season of suffering. The Constitution stands and it is color-blind, but the 14th Amendment will not become the living law of this land until it is understood as well as enforced. And we are a long way from that understanding. Angry passions and deep prejudices are being aroused, and even as victories for civil rights mount in the federal courts, the mountain of state and local laws and practices remains unmoved. Negro leaders continue to be arrested and persecuted under city ordinances, state laws continue to be enacted to circumvent integration, and powerful community pressures are organized to support the whole web of racial injustice. What I hope is that recognizing the necessity of struggle and suffering we will make of it a virtue. If only to save itself from bitterness this generation of Negroes needs the vision to see its ordeal as the opportunity to transfigure itself and American society. If the jails must be filled, let them be entered, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber." That is, with some trepidation but with great expectation.

It is a privilege that history gives only occasionally for men to become the instruments of a great idea. And one thing more about the idea of integration through non-violent action. Non-violence is not a negative concept. Its corollary must always be growth. Gandhi always insisted that the other side of the coin of civil disobedience against injustice was constructive service to establish justice. And in the Indian struggle there was a rhythm of alternation between dramatic boycotts and jail-going campaigns and periods of steady, hard, construction of a better India.

In South Africa, where Gandhi first experimented with his methods with an Indian community that was outnumbered ten to one by the whites, he began by listing all the grievances against the Indians by the whites, and by asking his fellow Indians to consider which of these grievances were justified and then to do something about remedying them. To the Indian merchants before him, known for slick dealings and sharp bargaining, he proposed more responsibility to the community. He thought all Indians could do something to improve the unsanitary conditions in the Indian sections of town. Why

wait for legal victories against discrimination for the necessary drain-cleaning? he asked. He organized constructive institutions to teach the impoverished Indians to read and write, to erase caste discriminations among the Indians themselves, to help end the demoralization of much of the Indian community.

I gather that it was in this spirit that the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed on the occasion of the bus boycott. As Martin Luther King said, "We are seeking to improve not the Negro of Montgomery but the whole of Montgomery." It was not an association to improve bus service by ending segregation, but an association to improve Montgomery. And, as could be said of every city in this country, that leaves a lot of improving to do.

This then is the rhythm beyond the law which I as a lawyer commend to your ears. Non-violent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means a term in jail; and imaginative, bold, constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. The non-violent struggle, if conducted with the dignity and courage already shown in Montgomery and Little Rock, will itself help end the demoralization, but a new frontal assault on the poverty, disease and ignorance of people too long behind God's back will make victory in the struggle more certain.

This is the way, it seems to me, for public sentiment to be moulded. In taking the leadership in this great educational venture you will be going, as Lincoln said, deeper than those who make and interpret the laws. "The law will never make men free," Thoreau said; "it is men who have got to make the law free." That is only half true, for the law can help. But through non-violent action men, by becoming free themselves, in turn help our law at last to be free.

Institutes

April 5, 1957

Reverend Mr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. King:

Harold Lunger of the Brite College of the Bible at Texas Christian University will be writing you in the near future regarding the possibility of your speaking to the Institute on the Church in a Multi-Racial Society, at Texas Christian University, sometime between June 24th and July 12th.

If you can possibly make it, it would be a most worthwhile thing. The purpose of the Institute is to motivate and activate clergymen in the South into taking an active leadership role in this period of transition to an integrated democratic society.

Emory Via and I still remember with an inner sense of warmth our visit with you just before the integration of buses in Montgomery.

I was certainly glad to see that you got to talk with Vice President Nixon in Africa. The next step is to get him to tour the South in the interest of democracy, and to get the President to speak out for an end to violence, a respect for law and order, and compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Institutes?

April 5, 1957

Dr. Harold L. Lunger
Brite College of the Bible
Department of Christian Ethics
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Dr. Lunger:

Thank you for your letter of April 2 regarding the Institute on the Church in a Multi-Racial Society. You asked if it would be possible for someone, perhaps me, from our organization to come and discuss with the group what is happening in key communities and the role played by the church.

While I should be glad to attend, I believe there are others who are better qualified than I for this purpose:

(1) Reverend John H. Marion, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

(2) Reverend Hugh A. Brimm
Carver School of Missions and Social Work
2801 Lexington Road
Louisville, Ky.

(3) Mr. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee.

Jack Marion is Director of our state affiliate in Virginia. He was long-time Executive Secretary of the social action end of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia. He is an excellent speaker and knowledgeable in the field of human relations. Hugh Brimm was formerly and is once again Director of our Kentucky affiliate. He is a Southern Baptist of liberal persuasion and once directed the social action end of the Southern Baptist Convention. He too was knowledgeable in this field. Will Campbell is now

Director of the Division of Racial and Cultural Relations (Southern area) of the National Council of Churches. He is a Mississippian, but is entirely liberal on the basic issues and is very knowledgeable in the field.

If you decide on any of them, please feel free to mention that I suggested them.

I do not know Martin Luther King, Jr.'s schedule for the summer. I do know he is out of the country for the moment, but believe he will be back by the time your institute meets. Your best bet for reaching him is:

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama.

Again, feel free in using my name.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

BRITE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
HAROLD L. LUNGER

April 2, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

Since our meeting together in New York in January we have been moving--rather too sllwly, I fear--in the setting up of our Institute on the Church in a Multi-Racial Society here at TCU for June 24-July 12.

I am eager now to make arrangements with our visiting lecturers and consultants.

One person we want--for two days, if possible--is an individual with knowledge of actual community case histories who can share with our group the story of what went on in certain key communities, and then aid in analyzing the community and church responses in terms of successful and unsuccessful responses. I wuuld imagine that someone like yourself would be in the best position to do this job--or someone from your organization.

Is there a possibility of your being able to give us a couple days of your time--preferably the second or third week of our institute? If so, can you suggest possible dates, or a possible period within which you could come? If not, is there someone else in your organization whom you would recommend who could serve in this capacity? I am assuming that we will be wiser to use Ed Kloppe for light on the Texas scene, and to bring someone from the east for the broader picture, which centers toward the east.

It is our hope to bring Martin Luther King here for a day--preferably during the second or third week. I presume you are in fairly close touch with him. Do you know anything about his schedule during this period? Have you any entre by which you might help us get him? I believe he is out of the country now. How could I address him, if this is the best approach for us to make? As we continue our promotion it would be helpful if we could have some word from him--or Abernathy as an alternate--for use in our promotion.

Mr. Routh--2

I'm grateful to you for your earlier assistance in the matter of bibliography, and want to thank you in advance for your further counsel and assistance.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold L. Lunger

Harold L. Lunger

7BR

INTERRACIAL CLERGY CONFERENCE

Auspices Intergroup Education Project
Division of Christian Citizenship
Department of Christian Social Relations
National Council
Host: Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City
December 2-4

In attendance:

The Rev. A. E. F. Anderson
2233 Woodhouse Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

The Rev. J. M. Barr
St. David's Church
Cheraw, South Carolina

The Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Staunton, Virginia

Dr. D. H. Brooks
St. Michael's and All Angels
Tallahassee, Florida

The Rev. J. P. Carter
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

The Rev. G. H. Caution
W. Broad and Anderson
Savannah, Georgia

The Rev. Dr. Tollie Caution
Assistant Secretary
Division of Domestic Missions
National Council
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Professor of Psychology
City College of New York AND
Director, North Side Center for
Child Development
New York, New York

The Rev. W. D. Dennis, Jr.
Cathedral of St. John the Divine
New York, New York

The Rev. J. F. Dickman
115 S. Terry Street
Orlando, Florida

The Rt. Rev. Horace B. Donegan
Synod House
Cathedral Heights
New York 25, New York

The Rev. Albion Ferrell
2333 First Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Thomas Govan
Executive Secretary
Faculty Episcopalians
National Council
281 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Lester Granger Executive Director
National Urban League
New York, New York

The Rev. J. W. Green
Epiphany Church
Spartanburg, South Carolina

The Ven. Odell Harris
Fort Valley, Georgia

The Rev. Duncan Hobart
St. Paul's Church
Meridian, Mississippi

The Rev. Charles Johnson
315 S. Lombardy Street
Richmond, Virginia

Professor Harry Jones
Cardoza Professor of Jurisprudence
Columbia Law School
New York, New York

The Rev. Boston M. Lackey, Jr.
Christ and Grace Church
Petersburg, Virginia

~~Mr. John V. P. Lassoe~~
Executive Secretary
National Association of Inter-
group Relations Officials
New York, New York

The Rev. Stiles B. Lines
Camden, South Carolina

The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion
Bishop of Southwestern Virginia
Roanoke, Virginia

The Honorable Thurgood Marshall
Director-Counsel, NAACP
Legal Defense and Educational Fund
New York, New York

Dr. R. B. Martin
1410 E. Brambleton Avenue
Norfolk 12, Virginia

The Rev. R. J. McCloskey
St. John's Cathedral
Jacksonville, Florida

The Rev. John B. Morris
Dillon, South Carolina

The Rev. William B. Myll
330 N. Hubbard's Lane
Louisville, Kentucky

The Rev. Dr. Almon Pepper, Director
Department of Christian Social Relations
National Council
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New York, New York

The Rev. Allen Person
St. Andrew's Episcopal Church
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

The Very Rev. James Pike
Cathedral of St. John the Divine
New York, New York

The Rev. P. L. Ritch
Americus, Georgia

The Rev. W. E. Roach, II
Radford, Virginia

The Rev. F.M. Ross
634 Peachtree Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rev. S. D. Rudder
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, N.C.

The Rev. Robert Seiler
110 W. Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
P.O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

~~The Rev. Frank L. Titus~~
123 N.E. 36th Street
Miami 37, Florida

The Rev. Canon John Turnbull
Cathedral of St. John the Divine
New York, New York

The Rev. Francis B. Wakefield
151 S. Ann Street
Mobile, Alabama

The Rev. McRae Werth
Denver Avenue
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The Rev. Dr. Moran Weston
Rector, St. Phillip's
New York, New York

The Rev. Peyton R. Williams
Church of Christ and St. Luke
Norfolk, Virginia

Rev. Richard Fell
Richmond, Va.

New South · May 1953

# THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH

By Guy B. Johnson

The Supreme Court of the United States is about to announce a momentous decision on the question of the constitutionality of compulsory segregation in the public schools. That decision may confront us with a crisis of serious proportions, a crisis which will compel the South itself to make a great decision. To find anything comparable to the situation which we shall face, it is necessary to turn back to certain chapters in American history. In the firm belief that we can learn something from history if we are willing, I ask you to review briefly with me two other great crisis situations and the manner in which they were met.

The first of these was the issue of slavery itself. Slavery evolved so gradually that we scarcely knew what we had until too late. But one sin begets another, and pretty soon slavery was not just a "necessary evil," it was "a positive good," it was even "Christian." It died out in the North, but prospered in the South, and the stage was set for sectional conflict. After the invention of the cotton gin and the expansion of the great Cotton Kingdom, there was no turning back for the South. The stake of the slave-holding class was too high. It was a minority class -- remember that only one-third of the white families of the South owned slaves -- but it monopolized political power, wealth, education, and social prestige. It became an insatiable giant gnawing at the foundations of democratic government, demanding to be let alone so that it could spread wherever it pleased.

For fifty years the slavery issue dominated our national political, economic, and religious thinking. The Missouri Compromise, the War with Mexico, the annexation of Texas, the Compromise of 1850, the fugitive slave law, the Dred Scott decision, John Brown's raid, the abolition crusade -- these and other incidents were but signs along the road to the inevitable showdown between free and slave states. The issue was sharply defined in the election of 1860. When Lincoln was elected, the slaveholders said, "This is the end," and they took the Southern States out of the Union. And then came war.

This was a war which had been prepared by many, yet it was a war which nobody really wanted. There was guilt all around. The proud and stubborn states' righters, the selfish politicians, the fanatical abolitionists -- all had contributed to the crisis, all had played a part in the making of a war. The Civil War was one of the most destructive in all history, and it was our greatest national tragedy. It resulted in the abolition of slavery, yes; but what a price!

Now, if this was the only possible way of ending slavery, it was worth the price. But was it really the only possible way? I contend that it was not. I believe there were alternatives. For example, the South could have stayed in the Union and worked out the problem of emancipation in a peaceful way. But once the great decision for secession was taken, one alternative was removed. It was not necessary for the trigger-happy young Confederates to fire on Fort Sumter, but once that decision was made, the chances for peaceful action were further reduced. Even after the war began, Lincoln's

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Dr. Guy B. Johnson is professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina and former executive director of the Southern Regional Council. This article is based on an address delivered at Tuskegee Institute's 1953 Founder's Day observance.

valiant efforts to negotiate a compromise along the lines of gradual, compensated emancipation might have succeeded if there had been a few more wise and humble leaders on both sides. The tragedy of the Civil War, then, was that it was the culmination of a series of bad decisions, each of which reduced the possibility of intelligent action. The final result was that slavery was ended under the worst possible circumstances and that the stage was set for a new crisis situation.

RECONSTRUCTION CRISIS

The second great crisis in the relations of white and Negro came, of course, during the Reconstruction period. Now the problem was: given the emancipation of the slaves, what is to be the status of the Negro in Southern society? There were three general lines of thought in answer to this question. The first said, "The Negro is inferior, he does not deserve the rights of citizenship, therefore let's subordinate him before he gets out of hand." This was the view of reactionary Southern white people.

At the other extreme was a second view, which was: "The Confederates are rebels and traitors. They deserve no mercy. Take their civil rights away from them until they have learned their lesson. Keep the federal armies in the South as long as is necessary to make the white man give complete political and social equality to the Negro." This, of course, was the view of the Radical Republicans who controlled the Congress after the death of Lincoln.

In between these was a third stand which was moderate and intelligent. It said, "We recognize that the Negro is now a citizen. The South has some tough problems ahead, but we believe that white and black can cooperate and work out sensible evolutionary solutions." This was the view of a substantial minority of Southern white people and the great majority of the Southern Negroes and Northern whites.

MODERATE VIEW

Considering the great bitterness which existed in the South after the Civil War, there was a surprising amount of support for this moderate view of the situation. Let us look at South Carolina, for example. When Wade Hampton brought the Democratic Party back into power in that state in 1876, he did so on a platform which declared "acceptance, in perfect good faith, of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal constitution." Speaking at Darlington, he said: "Not one single right enjoyed by the colored people today shall be taken from them. They shall be the equals, under the law, of any man in South Carolina." In the 1878 election, many Negroes were welcomed into the Democratic Party. An Abbeville newspaper said, "The color line has been obliterated, and we are all moving along together upon a higher and better platform of equal rights and equal justice to all, 'without regard to race, color or previous condition'." Another newspaper, the KERSHAW GAZETTE, said that "... every good Democrat /should/ put down the enunciation of race antagonism . . . We want every good colored voter to join our party and help swell our majority in each county. The bugaboo of social equality has never disturbed our equipoise."

Similar conditions could be cited for other Southern states. There was a real trend toward cooperation and integration. But powerful reactionary forces were on the move. They raised the cry of Negro domination and social equality. They were for white supremacy at any price. They murdered, they intimidated, they practiced fraud at the ballot box, and they finally prevailed over the forces of decency and fair play. They then proceeded to undo completely the good things which had been done since the Civil War. They disfranchised the Negro and drove him out of politics, they wrote segregation into the state constitutions and laws, and they ostracized any white man who dared to speak out in favor of equal rights for the Negro.

It is ironic to reflect upon the fact that some of the Southern states got along for thirty years or longer after the Civil War without completely disfranchising and segregating the Negro. The South had faced a great crisis, it had made some progress toward meeting the crisis constructively, but then it had let the narrow interests of race, social class, and political party turn it from the right course.

Now there is no doubt that the Reconstruction policies of the vindictive Radical Republicans led to some grevious conditions in the South. Yes, Reconstruction needed some revisions, but it did not need a complete undoing. I am not suggesting that if the South had gone along without disfranchisement and compulsory segregation, we would have reached the millennium by now. Not at all. There would have been problems aplenty, and there would still be a vast amount of voluntary and customary separation of the races; but we would not have been in a legal strait jacket, we would have had some middle ground, some freedom of choice, and the morale of the Negro would have been infinitely higher. And so I submit to you the thought that maybe we have lost fifty years and that the wrong turn after Reconstruction laid the groundwork for the impending crisis arising from tomorrow's decision by the Supreme Court.

RACE RELATIONS PROGRESS

I do not mean to say that there has been no progress in the relations of the races in the South during the past fifty years. On the contrary, there has been a rather remarkable progress. We are now far enough away from the bitterness of the Civil War and Reconstruction to look upon them with considerable calmness. We have learned many lessons in mutual understanding and cooperation. Two world wars and a great depression have taught us a great deal. Urbanization, industrialization, better education, better income - all these have broadened the opportunities for both races.

Even some of the legal bulwarks of discrimination have been nibbled away by court action. The Supreme Court has nullified the white primary, and hundreds of thousands of Negroes are now playing their part in political decisions in the Southern states. It has opened the way for non-segregated interstate travel, and such travel is becoming commonplace. It has also made decisions which have resulted in the admission of Negroes to state-supported "white" graduate or professionsl schools in all except four or five of the Southern states. Furthermore, several private white institutions have voluntarily removed the color bar. In short, the idea of integration is gaining, and we approach nearer and nearer to the American ideal of justice and equality under the law.

THE UNEASY SOUTH

But in the South there is today a great uneasiness. This uneasiness arises from the imminent threat to the legal structure of compulsory segregation in the public schools. Four months ago the United States Supreme Court heard arguments on this question. Five cases, sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. on behalf of parents of Negro school children in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia, were before the Court on appeal. The cases were consolidated for the purpose of the hearing. The N.A.A.C.P. argued that even though the separate Negro schools were equal to the white schools, segregation on grounds of race is in itself an act of discrimination and is therefore contrary to the Federal constitution. The defense argued, of course, that there is nothing inherently discriminatory in racial segregation, and it asked the Court to reaffirm its traditional stand to the effect that racial separation is lawful if facilities are equal. There is every indication that the Court was prepared to meet the issue head-on. The fact that four months have elapsed and the decision is still not ready is an indication of the gravity of the case. This is probably the hottest hot potato that our Supreme Court has ever had to handle!

As I stated earlier, there are two possible decisions that the Court can make. One of these is the "separate-but-equal" decision. This is in line with the previous doctrine followed by the Court ever since its decision in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1890. Such a decision would not create an immediate crisis situation in the South. However, if the Court does follow this line, it will undoubtedly put a heavy accent upon equal facilities. It might say that Negro schools must in fact be made equal within a certain reasonable period of time, otherwise any Negro plaintiff may go to court, establish the fact that his school is inferior, and obtain an order for his admission to the superior white school in his district.

SEGREGATION'S PRICE-TAG

If this is the Supreme Court's decision, then the South will find itself faced with a tremendous financial problem. It is estimated that the new capital outlay for equalizing physical facilities alone will cost from fifty million to more than one hundred million dollars in each state and that the total new capital outlay for the South would be more than a billion dollars. Added to this would be the increased annual cost of operating and maintaining the Negro schools at the new level -- probably a quarter of a billion dollars a year. This all adds up to a staggering financial burden. I can easily imagine that the Southern people would quickly be converted to the idea of federal aid to education! Whichever decision the Court makes is going to cost heavily in money, and it may well be that if the Court makes the "separate-but-equal" decision, the tax-payers will eventually begin to raise questions about the price-tag on segregation.

The other decision that the Court might make is one which would declare that state laws enforcing racial segregation are acts of discrimination and therefore invalid under the constitution of the United States. Admittedly this would be a new precedent, that is, an overruling of a long line of previous decisions, but the Court has done this sort of thing a number of times. The white primary decision in 1944 in the case of Smith v. Allwright is one example. It is this flexibility, this prerogative of the Supreme Court to change its mind, that keeps our constitutional law in step with the changing needs of the nation.

If the Supreme Court takes this course in the school segregation cases, the effect is exactly the same as if all the constitutional and statutory provisions requiring the segregation of the races in public schools in the South were suddenly repealed. For reasons which I cannot take time to discuss here, I believe that this is the decision which the Court will make.

Now, if and when this legal atom bomb is exploded, the South is going to experience a great shock. How will the Southern people react? How should they react? What will their leaders say? What will their legislatures do? Will they make rash and hasty decisions? Will our behavior in this crisis be such that we can be proud of it fifty years from now? Surely this would be the time to pray, to keep calm, to use reason, to exercise all of the patience and forbearance that we can muster. If I could convey a message to the people of the South, it would be along the following lines.

"COUNT TO TEN"

When we were children most of us heard the advice, "When you are tempted to say something naughty or to do something in anger, first count to ten." That was good advice. First of all, then, the South needs to count to ten -- very, very slowly. A member of the North Carolina General Assembly recently said, "If the Supreme Court decision comes while we are in session, I think we should adjourn for a month so that we can think over calmly what we are going to do." That is a wise point of view. I believe it would be all to the good if the state legislatures waited at least a month before sitting to discuss their courses of action. If they act hastily, they are likely to act only negatively. Furthermore, it is quite possible that they will not know the true sentiments of the majority of their people.

Second, the period of waiting and "cooling off" should be a period of full public discussion. The press, radio, television, and other media of communication have a grave responsibility here. Those people who earnestly believe in the Christian way of life and in the principles of American democracy should not hesitate to stand up and be counted, lest the rabble-rousers and race baiters lead the public to believe that they are in the majority. The Negro, who will be at the center of this great debate, should also have an opportunity to offer his opinion and his wise counsel.

Third, we should try above all to keep clearly in mind the probable consequences of our decisions. If we do this, what will happen? It takes straight thinking to foresee the logical consequences of some action which one is tempted to take in the heat of the moment. A good illustration of what I am saying is the proposal to abolish the public school system if the Supreme Court decision goes against segregation. Several governors have announced that their states will do this, and South Carolina has already adopted a constitutional amendment which, at any moment the legislature desires, will erase completely the state's legal obligation to support a system of public schools.

CONSEQUENCES -- CONFUSION

The theory behind this device is that if the state supports no public schools, it is not discriminating against anybody, and therefore it is beyond the reach of the Federal constitution. The proponents of this idea imagine that schools would be taken over, operated and financed by all sorts of private educational agencies. Some of these educational associations would be white, some would be colored, but they would all be acting as private voluntary associations. Thus, South Carolina would hope to do through private action what

it could no longer do by official action, namely, maintain segregated schools.

Now, let us look at the logical consequences of this policy. The present public schools will have to be deeded over to the private agencies, otherwise the state is still legally involved. This step alone could lead to untold confusion, but assuming it is done, what next? All school taxes are abolished, of course, so that their equivalent can be paid in by private citizens in some manner or other in order to finance their private schools. The result is obvious: well-to-do communities or classes of people have fairly good schools, while most of the Negro and poorer white people have the barest minimum of opportunity for education. Next a great cry arises, even from some of the more fortunate people, "We need more school money. The state must subsidize our schools." Then the state faces a dilemma: it wishes to see every child get an education, and so it wants to contribute to the private school agencies, but the moment it does this, the Supreme Court enters the picture again. And so the state may find that after years of confusion and educational injustice to a large portion of its children, it is right back where it was on the day that the Supreme Court first announced its decision. If any state wishes to follow this plan, it should at least do so with its eyes open.

Fourth, if the Supreme Court does declare against segregation, could the South do something better this time? Could it say something like this? "We knew this thing couldn't go on forever. We would like to have a little more time but, then, after all, we have had a lot of time. We believe in the rule of law, we believe in the American way, and we will accept the decision of the Court in good faith. We dread this surgical operation on our social order, but we know that we have to go through with it, and we can take it."

Anyone who thinks that the transition from segregation to racial coeducation can be made without problems, tensions, and even personal tragedies is a fool. Anyone who thinks that the transition means the end of civilization is also a fool. The operation may be serious, but the patient will recover. And when he recovers and looks back over the experience, he may say, "Well, it wasn't half as bad as I thought it would be."

EYES OF THE WORLD

How, then, shall we meet the impending crisis? The eyes of the world will be upon us, and what we do here in the South will have its weight in the struggle of the free world against the menace of totalitarianism. Shall we set race against race and bequeath to our children still other crises? Or shall we act in the spirit of justice and establish a new charter of race relations which will make the next fifty years the brightest in the history of the South? We the white and Negro people of the South have great spiritual resources if we will only use them. We have known one another since the foundation of this nation. We are friendly people, and when we are at our best we are hard to beat. This is a time when we need to be at our best.

Booker T. Washington foresaw much of what was going to happen. He said, "It is probably useless to argue the legality of segregation laws. This is a question which the courts will decide." How right he was!

Two months before he died, Washington wrote an article entitled "My View of the Segregation Laws," which was published in The Nation in December, 1915, a month after his death. In that article he said that he was opposed

to segregation laws because: They are unjust; they lead to further injustice and inferior treatment; they are unwise; they are unnecessary; and they harm both races in the long run. He concluded his essay with the following words, which we would do well to take to heart:

> "Finally, . . . as white and black learn daily to adjust in a spirit of justice and fair play, those interests which are individual and racial, and to see the importance of those fundamental interests which are common, so will both races grow and prosper. In the long run no individual and no race can succeed which sets itself at war against the common good."

Ky

# KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

*Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.*

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WILLIAM M. WOOD

March 19, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

It was good to talk with you on the phone last week from the office of Dr. Parrish. I look forward to many more contacts with you.

At the moment I am wondering about the meeting to be held March 23 and 24, for Directors from the "hard core" states. I assume that Kentucky is not considered a "hard core" state but if it is desired that I attend this meeting I hope you will rush me the details on it. I need to know when the meetings start on Friday, where they will be held, and what arrangements are being made for housing etc. I had made plans to be at my home in West Virginia on business on Saturday but the job comes first if you want me at this meeting. Will the meeting last all day on Saturday?

More Kentucky school districts are announcing their plans to integrate next fall in almost each day's paper. We will be working to save the teachers in the process. Kentucky badly needs qualified teachers and we hope that the State Board of Education will recommend a policy of employment of teachers according to merit.

Please let me hear from you about the meeting.

Sincerely,

Galen Martin

Galen A. Martin

November 2, 1956

Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe
504 West Twenty-Fourth Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Ed:

Mr. Charles Shaw took in some five contributions of $10.00 each in response to his letters. Another man put up $50.00. Mr. Shaw's own life insurance company put up $50.00. Total intake from Mr. Shaw's effort thus far $150. Half of that goes to the Texas Commission on Race Relations.

Here is our check for the $75.00.

It seems to me needless and confusing to involve these separate contributors in membership in the Texas Commission on Race Relations. We, however, will make each of them a subscriber to New South for a year ahead. The increase in your membership in no case would exceed five or six persons, and you receive the money anyway.

I rather expect Mr. Shaw will receive some largish sums from one or two of the other contributors. And when, as, and if, they come in we will share with you 50/50.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

cc: RHA
FBR

Ky-

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
208 West Main Street, Frankfort, Kentucky

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS REPORT TO OFFICERS

January 1957

Our first month in the new year was flavored by a taste of the hatred being spread by the Kentucky white citizens councils; first hand knowledge of the religious motivation and guidance of the Southern bus boycotts; and efforts to demonstrate the need for new employment opportunities to achieve real school integration.

Citizens Councils. A look at two January meetings of the white citizens councils shows that they are spreading much hate and misinformation even when they fail to sign up many new members. On December 31, Mrs. Juliet Poynter called to say that a meeting had been announced for January 5, in Shelbyville, and asked for suggestions as to what should be done. The experience at Henderson was used to reinforce her. She had already contacted ministers in her community and helped to negate attendance at the meeting and any follow up from it.

On January 14, Mr. John Chambers, Executive Secretary of the Kentucky Council of Churches called from Lexington to say that a WCC meeting had been called for Lawrenceburg on January 19, and asked that the Council help. That afternoon, Galen talked with a minister and school attendance officer in Lawrenceburg and told of actions at Henderson and Shelbyville. He went to Anderson County town for the meeting as he had to Shelbyville, but in this case decided to attend. Mr. Millard Grubbs had driven away much of his audience before he quit talking, but he was followed by 17 year-old Billy Branham, who proved to be an effective and forceful speaker with his tales of desegregated schools in Detroit, and quotations about Washington schools. While details on these meetings will be reported in the next newsletter, it should be noted here that Mr. Grubbs said he would hold similar meetings in other towns. The lies and half-truths they spread can only be ignored at the expense of Kentucky's progress. In both towns the Council was helpful, but we must do even more in the communities they hit next.

Nursing Schools. The report on nursing schools has been sent to high school principals with significant numbers of Negro students. It should help them to understand and to show others the interrelationship of the many factors needed for real integration in the schools. Four leaflets about nursing careers were sent, and also a poster and leaflets about non discriminatory employment practices of Government Contractors. Copies of the cover letter are available. When KCHR asked the National League for Nursing for free copies of a leaflet about nursing, they provided them and also said, "Yours is the first state promotion of Negro applicants to nursing that we have seen, and we think that this may furnish an interesting pattern which other states might follow." In response to a similar request to the American Nurses' Association, they said, "...the fact that your association is taking an active interest in this area, is most encouraging."

Teacher Desegregation. Response to the KCHR report has been good. While it contained no sensational news, it seemed signigicant that papers quoted the conclusion which emphasized the importance of teacher desegregation and other employment opportunities to genuine pupil integration. It is a hard task to get people to understand the difference between desegregation and integration.

Consultants. Consultants participating in the teacher report were listed on the last page. Lee Coleman did an outstanding job on five Negro teachers in Fayette County, and G. D. Wilson was equally helpful on both Louisville and Northern Kentucky teacher desegregation. Willis Sutton and Wilson will be visiting districts in Central Kentucky, and others will be helping in their areas. A memo to Consultants dated January 31, underlined the need for visits on teachers well before the March 31, dismissal deadline.

Office. Verbenna Scott recently received one of the nicest compliments ever made about the quality of mimeograph work. Mr. Morgan of the Lexington A. B. Dick office was here talking about some work KCHR wanted done. He was comparing one mimeographed sheet with another which he referred to as offset (printing). It took some explanation to convince him that what he called offset had actually been mimeographed by Verbenna. He concluded that it was an outstanding piece of mimeograph work.

Meetings. With the financial assistance of the Berea Fellowship on Reconciliation, Galen attended a conference on Non-Violence and the South, held at Atlanta University, January 8-10. All the main bus boycott leaders were present, and their deep religious motivation and guidance was impressive.

On January 15, Galen participated in a Louisville meeting of intergroup agency staff people working in Kentucky and Southern Indiana. It had been called by J. Mansir Tydings and others so that the many organizations could work together for the good of all.

Employment. The proposed meeting with Governor Chandler on state employment, as discussed at the December 13, Executive Committee meeting has been taken care of. When Mr. Johnson of the Atlanta Urban League office was in Frankfort recently, the opportunity was taken for him, Mr. Steele and President Atwood to call on the Governor. Under plans already in motion, new minority employment by the state can be expected. The same trio also talked with IBM officials in Lexington, where about 6 Kentucky Negroes, who were previously sent to New York for training, are now at work. The Executive Director is anxious to work with the Lexington people who are following up on the new employment opportunities in that city.

Tax Exemption. A great amount of time has been spent in the preparation of the draft answers to the 15 questions sent by Internal Revenue to clarify KCHR's status as an educational organization to which contributions are deductible. The questions do not suggest that we have engaged in legislative or political activity. While in Atlanta, suggested answers were given by George Mitchell, Harold Flemings, and Fred Routh. Back in Louisville, Mr. Tydings then went over each question and Galen prepared draft answers which were checked by Mr. Tydings, and both took them to a friend of Mr. Tydings, who works for Internal Revenue in Louisville. On January 24, Galen carried everything to Cincinnati where Simon Lazarus, Jr. gave his very helpful suggestions. He, as chairman of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, successfully prepared their application for exemption as an educational organization. As of January 28, the latest draft answers were in the hands of SRC office staff and attorneys, and an extension of the time for reply had been requested. Mr. Lazarus has urged that a Washington attorney be secured in addition to follow up through our Senatorial friends in Washington.

Financial. The audit report for the year ending September 30, has been returned, and the totals agreed with our books. Copies will soon be sent to all Directors. However, for our non-consultant budget since October 1, $1,171.97 has been spent while only $965.50 has come in. This takes the year end surplus of $58.19 and leaves an operating deficit of $148.28. In addition, we owe the Auditor $125.

Memberships and contributions received in January numbered 9, and totaled $273.50. A break down shows the following: 5 regular memberships, $25; one organizational membership, $25; 3 contributions--Dr. and Mrs. Albert G. Weidler,$100, Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, $50, and Judson C. Gray, $20; Refunds,$53.50. Expenditures for the month were $499.72.

## Planned and in Progress

Increased work with Directors, finance, and membership particularly when the new leaflet is ready.

Visits by Consultants and Executive Director on pupil and teacher desegregation.

Assistance to Lexingtonians working for new employment opportunities there.

Continued work on a compilation of Council reports, and other materials for use in fund raising, etc.

******** ********

Note of 2/4/57 - The Executive Director today met with four Scott County teachers, who requested advice. They all have tenure, but expect to receive dismissal notices.

Koinonia

FBR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 13, 1957

BACKGROUND SUMMARY OF VIOLENCE AT KOINONIA FARM, SUMTER COUNTY, GEORGIA

Koinonia (Greek for "a community") was founded in 1942 by a group of Southerners. Located on State Highway 49 in Sumter County near Americus, Georgia, the farm is an interracial religious cooperative with everyone sharing in the proceeds of the farm according to needs. Koinonia, which was started on 440 acres of land, now comprises 1,100. In 1955, Koinonia held its first interracial summer camp for children. The camp was approved by the American Camping Association. The Reverend Clarence Jordan, a Baptist minister, was co-founder of Koinonia and has remained as one of its leaders.

April, 1956--Rev. Clarence Jordan announced that he was willing to sign entrance application to Georgia State College of Business Administration (white) for two Negro applicants. Fact was headlined in Americus and other Georgia papers. Rev. Jordan did not actually sign application since he was ruled ineligible to do so by the executive secretary of the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia. The Koinonia newsletter charged that before Rev. Jordan got home from Atlanta, Governor Griffin had called the Sheriff of Sumter County, asking "who Jordan was" and what he was up to. Shortly following press accounts of Rev. Jordan's Atlanta experience, the farm began to receive anonymous telephone calls. Within a matter of a few days, the first of the farm's insurance policies were cancelled, retail merchants began to stop handling Koinonia eggs, and roadside signs were torn down. Pistol shots were fired at the roadside stand.

June 9, 1956 - A temporary injunction restraining Koinonia from operating its children's camp was handed down on charges brought by the Sumter County Health Department. The department asked that the farm be restrained from operating the camp on "health and sanitation ground."

July, 1956 - A Sumter County health engineer made an inspection of camp and farm and made minor recommendations, which, according to farm officials, "were carried out."

July 2, 1956 - At the hearing on the injunction, the county attorney asked that it be postponed to July 19 because he had not had time to prepare his case.

July, 1956 - Wilson Finch, W. A. Helms, Sherrard Horne, and A. H. Jennings, four Sumter County farmers, sought to associate with the county in the injunction claiming that the sponsors of the camp had no license and would operate the camp "in a manner detrimental to morals." Meanwhile, the camp was opened at a site outside Georgia.

July 19, 1956 - At the hearing, Superior Court Judge Cleveland Rees looked at the crowded courtroom and decided that it would be a "wrangle between the gospel and law," and so ordered another postponement with the cases to be presented by brief and affidavit. Material was to be presented to him by September 20, 1956.

July 23, 1956 - The roadside market at Koinonia was dynamited. The blast occurred shortly after 10 p.m. Damage was estimated at $3,000.

September 24, 1956 - Judge Rees signed an order dissolving the injunction, since in effect attorneys for both sides had agreed that the question had become moot. Tom Marshall and Tom Clark of the law firm of Dykes, Dykes, and Marshall represented the four Sumter County farmers. Sumter County commissioners were represented by Hollis Forte. Osgood Williams of Atlanta represented Koinonia.

September 24, 1956 - The Koinonia newsletter declared that an "economic blockade is virtually complete....The gas and oil situation remains critical. No distributor in Americus or Sumter County will supply us...Yesterday, another feed dealer, after supplying us for awhile, cut us off." Koinonia officials said they took the one child attending a local high school out of the school and sent him out of the state. This was done, they said, because "on the bus and between classes the older boys beat him and harrassed him in countless ways." Farm officials reported that State Farm Mutual Insurance Company had cancelled insurance policies on six of their trucks and automobiles. Earlier, officials said that an airplane company had refused to dust their cotton for weevils and that a local fertilizer company refused to sell to them. "The auto dealer, with whom we've done business over the years and who did practically all our repair work, said he wanted our business no longer," farm officials said.

November 27, 1956 - Several rounds of buckshot were fired into the roadside market. Shots ruined a refrigerated meat case valued at $300.

January 14, 1957 - A dynamite charge exploded inside the roadside market. Damage estimated from $5,000 to $7,000. Pieces of market blown 240 feet. Building was 20 by 30 feet. (Also during this period, four shots were fired from a slow-moving car into a gasoline pump. The four shots all landed within an area six inches in diameter.)

January 16, 1957 - A resolution was unanimously passed by the Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association, condemning violence against Koinonia. The resolution adopted read: "We deplore and condemn the use of violence in any form against property and/or persons because of their personal beliefs which do not endanger the rights of others. As Christians and citizens we hold the right to disagree with others concerning their beliefs without forcing their agreement or yielding ours.

"We further condemn lawlessness in any form and call upon every citizen and the forces of law to do all things necessary to protect the rights, properties, and lives of others in our community, state, and nation.

"In these difficult days in which many nations and people look to these United States for moral as well as political leadership, it behooves each citizen-and especially each Christian - to assert positive efforts to strengthen the cause of civic righteousness."

The Ministerial Association also sent a letter to Governor Marvin Griffin.

January 18, 1957 - The Koinonia newsletter stated: "A short while ago we were notified by Mr. Willis Shiver, head of the Shiver Lumber Company, that no more building materials would be sold to us. Mr. Shiver is a steward in the First Methodist Church. Fourteen of our buildings have been erected wholly or partially with materials obtained from him. He said that the reason he cut us off was 'pressure from level-headed business men' and that his own feelings made him receptive to the pressure."

January 18, 1957 - A house on the Koinonia Farm was burned.

January 28, 1957 - At least eight shots from a series hit a house on Koinonia Farm. The Sumter County sheriff said the shots were .45 caliber. Persons on the farm say they believe the shots were from a sub-machine gun.

February 1, 1957 - Ten or eleven shots were fired at a house on Koinonia Farm. Some of the shots went through a window of the house nearly hitting an 11-year-old-girl.

February 1, 1957 - The Georgia Council of Churches Executive Board and the Executive Committee of the United Church Women of Georgia passed a joint resolution condemning violence against Koinonia Farm. Copies of the resolution were sent to Governor Griffin, Sheriff Fred Chappell of Sumter County, The Editor of the Americus Times, and to Rev. Edward Carruth, President of the Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association.

February 9, 1957 - Koinonia Farm officials report that on three different occasions persons who had visited the farm were stopped by state law enforcement officers and quizzed as to why they were visiting the farm and asked to show identification papers. They also report that a man lost his job with the South Georgia Trade and Vocational School after he had indicated in a Sunday school class that some support should be given to Koinonia.

Koin —


# National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

**DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK**
**DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS**

1716 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3842



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REV. ROY G. ROSS
*General Secretary*

REV. ROSWELL P. BARNES
*Associate General Secretary*

CHARLES E. WILSON
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*Executive Director*

ALFRED S. KRAMER
*Associate Executive Director*

WILL D. CAMPBELL
*Associate Executive Director*

GENEVA R. JONES
*Administrative Assistant*


February 21, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of February 19 and I will see you in Charlottesville on March 4 and 5.

My visit to Koinonia was marked by a bit of excitement, but also with some slight degree of success. Three men from Mercer who accompanied me to see Clarence agreed after the session with him to call on the Albany office of the F.B.I. Of course we had cleared with Clarence first.

The sheriff had refused them permission to put lights along the road and had denied Clarence's request that he put a man on either end of the straight road that goes by the farm so that those doing the shooting might be picked up regardless of the direction they were traveling. It seems a "desperado" was on the lose in Americus and must be apprehended. A teen age boy had been shooting street lights with a B.B. and so far they had been unable to catch him. The sheriff had come out and severely reprimanded Clarence shortly after a watchman had used a flashlight to try to get the license of a car repeatedly driving by. It seemed obvious that there was some collusion between them. Thus, the approach to the Bureau was on the basis of a suspected conspiracy and also on the ground that there was some reason to believe that the equipment being used belonged to the National Guard. This suspicion came when the attacks and much of the trouble was consistently on Monday nights. Also very few individuals have access to 45 caliber machine guns with tracer bullets. The F.B.I. men were not at all receptive to the idea of an investigation, but the Mercer boys, History, Chemistry and Religion professors, were quite persistant. Later they talked to the United States Attorney in Macon. He told them, among other things, that no one should be that peculiar especially in their attitude toward Negros. The history professor, a native of Mississippi, conveyed this message to Mr. Brownnell in a very subtle manner with the complaint that he did not quite understand what the position and responsibility of a U.S. Attorney is. I have talked with them recently and they understand that now an investigation is being made on the grounds of

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suspected use of government equipment.

The fellows at Mercer were also able to get a resolution of the Macon Ministerial Association; a report of which I am inclosing. They talked to the local press and met with some success there.

Thank you for the chronology on Koinonia. I am asking your permission to mimeograph it and distribute it as widely as possible among Ministerial Alliances and Associations, Councils, individual ministers in some areas, etc. If you will agree, I plan to include in the distribution copies of all action taken by ministerial groups. There is one other which Clarence told us about which has not yet been reported. It was quite dramatic and I thought effective in that it requested those at Koinonia to pray for them (the ministers of this association) that they might have courage, etc.

If you to my using this material, will you also agree to the following additions in the mimeographed version. If you prefer, I will delete your letterhead. However, I had rather leave it since it lends an air of responsible reporting. No charge for the compliment.

Here are the suggested changes:

Paragraph 1, line 1; Substitute "community" for "a community". (I'm trying to impress you with my two semesters of Greek)

In the section dated January 28, add these words; "A tracer bullet included in the series set fire to a curtain in the house, narrowly missing the head of a guest who was sleeping inside the building."

In the paragraph dated April 1956, I should like to put in these words in italics: "Gov. Griffin had called the sheriff of Sumter County asking who Jordan was."

In the February 1 paragraph this addition: "The shots were fired in the general direction of some of the children who were playing volley-ball on a well lighted court. The children fled in fright at the first burst and no one was injured"

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GENEVA R. JONES
*Administrative Assistant*



Please be frank as to your preference concerning this request. I think it would be valuable for the various ministerial groups throughout the South to have this information.

In this or a later mailing, I am planning to send the report of the action of the Henderson Ministerial Group of last fall. Will it be possible for me to use an off-set of this as reported in The New South or should I write to The Christian Century for permission?

Best regards and I'll see you in Charlottesville.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell
jf

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC/jf

Enc:

Koinonia

March 7, 1957

Rt. Reverend Henry Wise Hobson, D.D.
The Episcopalian Church
Diocese of Southern Ohio
412 Sycamore Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Bishop Hobson:

Neal Tarplee and I were together at a recent meeting at Charlottesville, Virginia, and he asked that I send you such additional information on Koinonia as I might have. Enclosed are the various pieces of information we have pertaining to the Koinonia situation.

You will note that there is a memorandum from Wallace Nelson and Reverend Maurice McCrackin. I understand that the Reverend Mr. McCrackin is a Presbyterian minister in Cincinnati and believe you might obtain more information from him.

If we can supply you with any further information, please feel free to call on us.

Respectfully,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

cc: Reverend Cornelius C. Tarplee

Roin

March 8, 1957

Mr. R. H. Flesher
Underwriting Superintendent
State Farm Insurance Companies
6400 Atlantic Boulevard
Jacksonville 3, Florida

Dear Mr. Flesher:

Re: Policy #556 135-B11-11

I have received your letter of February 28 with respect to the termination of insurance at the Koinonia Farm, in which you say, "termination was based on experience which we felt did not meet company underwriting standards."

Normally I would not pursue this further, but the situation at Koinonia is crucial. I do not pretend to be an expert on what would meet company underwriting standards. Would you please explain to me specifically what experiences made our company feel it was necessary to terminate policies with the Koinonia Farm?

These are times when many serious limitations on the liberties and freedoms of individuals and groups are being exerted. Religious freedom has always been a basic principal of American democracy. Terroristic bands of bomb throwers are seeking to end the religious freedom of the people at the Koinonia Farm. Private enterprise has a vital stake in the freedom of the American people and the constitutional guarantees made to corporations as "fictitious" individuals. Large corporations have a civic responsibility which they dare not ignore.

Please let me hear from you further on this matter.

Very truly yours,

Frederick B. Routh

Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: Mr. R. P. Mecherle

# State Farm Insurance Companies

HOME OFFICE • BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE 6400 ATLANTIC BOULEVARD JACKSONVILLE 3, FLORIDA
GEORGIA DIVISION

February 28, 1957

Mr. Frederick B.Routh
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh: Re: Policy #556 135-B11-11

With respect to the Koinonia Farm risk, termination was based on experience which we felt did not meet company underwriting standards.

It is a pleasure to assist you, Mr. Routh.

Very truly yours,

R. H. Flesher
Underwriting Superintendent

RHF/pb

FBR - Personal

February 21, 1957

State Farm Mutual Insurance Company
Southeastern Office
6400 Atlantic Boulevard
Jacksonville 7, Florida

Gentlemen:

For a considerable number of years now I have been a well satisfied policy holder and member of the State Farm "family."

Recently it has come to my attention that our company cancelled insurance policies held by the Koinonia Farm of Sumter County, Georgia. The reasons for this cancellation are not clear; the only ones indicated to me seem somewhat questionable.

Would you please be so kind as to check into this for me and let me know what has actually happened. I would be distressed to find that our company was a party to economic harassment of a group who, even though not locally popular, act upon Christian principle.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh

Frederick B. Routh
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FBR:mm

cc: Mr. R. P. Mecherle

Koinonia

# THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

*Protestant Episcopal Church*

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Box 853, Lynchburg, Va.

March 12, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Thank you for your prompt action in regard to sending the information to Bishop Hobson and me regarding Koinonia and sending a list of key people in Miami. If I make it by Atlanta on this trip I will give you a ring. Best luck,

Sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary
Division of Christian Citizenship

Ans
FBR
13 Mar 57

Koinonia

March 15, 1957

Bishop Henry W. Hobson
Diocese of Southern Ohio
The Episcopalian Church
412 Sycamore Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Bishop Hobson:

We have received your letter of March 11th and read it with considerable interest. It was a pleasure to provide you with the data about the Koinonia Farm situation. We sent a copy of the same material to Neal Tarplee also. From what we have heard down here the Reverend Mr. McCrackin is a fine person and a dedicated individual who keeps abreast of current developments in the field of human relations. Certainly Cincinnati is lucky to have such a person living in that city.

I was interested that you said that you have run into a good many rather "sticky" Episcopalians from the diocese of South Florida. I too have run into some rather "sticky" Episcopalians down there, but don't happen to be one myself. I had an interesting run-in once upon a time with a member of the clergy when I proclaimed I was a liberal Episcopalian. He said he had heard of high church and low church, but not the liberal church, and asked for an explanation. I explained that in the liberal Episcopal church the laity did not believe in being under the thumb of the clergy. The poor chap didn't speak to me for nearly two weeks.

If we can be of any further help to you please let us know. As new developments take place in Koinonia and we find out about them, we will be glad to forward them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

DIOCESE OF SOUTHERN OHIO
412 SYCAMORE STREET
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

March 11, 1957

Dear Mr. Routh,

This morning's mail brought your letter of March 7, together with the enclosures which you sent me. I certainly appreciate your thoughtfulness and the great help you have given me in providing such full data about the Koinonia Farm situation.

Since I am just leaving town for a trip in the Diocese which will keep me away most of the time for the next few days, I am answering very hastily.

The Reverend Maurice McCrackin is a fine Presbyterian Minister here in Cincinnati, and has given me some of the information which you sent with your letter. I am keeping in touch with him because he's greatly interested in Koinonia.

I was interested to have you tell me that you're an Episcopalian from the Diocese of South Florida. I must admit I'm a little surprised that one of our Church people from South Florida is tied in with a Southern Regional Council. Too many of the Episcopalians down there seem to lack something of the fine spirit of cooperation which you evidently have. I don't really mean this seriously, since I have a great affection and admiration for Bishop Louttit, but I must confess that I've run into a good many rather "sticky" Episcopalians from that part of the country.

With many thanks for the help you have given me, and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Hobart

Ky 1

# KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

*Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.*

208 WEST MAIN STREET — PHONE CAPITAL 3-1409 — FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY


GALEN A. MARTIN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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CHARLES T. STEELE
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DR. WILLIS SUTTON
DR. G. D. WILSON
WILLIAM M. WOOD


March 19, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Four Kentucky colleges have integrated faculties; but my alma mater, Berea College is not among them. I understand there will be two faculty vacancies next year at Berea, and I wish they might have some applicants with the appropriate skin pigmentation.

One of the two people in the Sociology Department is leaving. Dr. Roscoe Giffin is head of that Department and could be contacted directly.

Dr. Chin of the three-member Economics Department has won a research fellowship and will be away for one year. More information on that might best be obtained from Dr. Giffin or myself.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin

GAM:vs

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Kentucky

Ky-1

bc: FBR

March 22, 1957

Mr. Galen A. Martin
208 West Main Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Galen:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 14th.

Naturally, it is a matter of great regret to us that the Kentucky Council is losing your services. But we respect your decision and wish you the very best in your new duties. We take comfort from the fact that you will still be working in the South and that you and we will most certainly be cooperating in the months ahead.

As to the questions you raise, I think the Kentucky Council can safely proceed on the assumption that the full amount of Kentucky's allocation for the 1956-1957 fiscal year can be available for staff salaries. More specifically, if the Kentucky Council wishes to meet this situation by employing a part-time Director and redefining Miss Scott's functions, the amount allocated by SRC for the Director's salary could be distributed in this way.

The next step would be for the Kentucky Council to work out what it wants to do and then to put the question to us as a formal proposal.

We think very highly of the Kentucky Council's leadership and accomplishments, and will do everything in our power to assist it in continuing effectiveness.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Koinonia

DIOCESE OF SOUTHERN OHIO
412 SYCAMORE STREET
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

March 27, 1957

Dear Mr. Routh,

Your letter of March 15 was delayed in reaching me because I was away in Buffalo doing some noonday preaching all last week. Thank youfor writing.

The Reverend Morris McCrackin is a fine person and devoted especially to anyone who is facing difficulties or discrimination.

Your story about what you told the Clergyman in connection with your churchmanship amused me. I always have felt that what the Church needs is more liberal Episcopalians as you define them.

Again thanking you for the information you sent me about Koinonia, and with very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Hobson

April 4, 1957

Bishop Henry W. Hobson
Diocese of Southern Ohio
The Episcopalian Church
412 Sycamore Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Bishop Hobson:

Some further events have taken place in the Koinonia situation in which I thought you would be interested. Violence in the area continues. A state Grand Jury is investigating the situation and seems to be more interested in finding things wrong with Koinonia than in finding the perpetrators of the violence or in questioning law enforcement officers as to their ineffectiveness in preventing violence. I am enclosing two editorials on the situation, an article on the Grand Jury, and a mimeographed sheet, "What is Koinonia?," which was distributed at a meeting of the leadership of the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

Neal Tarplee called me from the airport while he was in route from Koinonia to Virginia. I suggested to him that he might contact Bishop Stuart of the Diocese of Georgia and Bishop Claiborne of the Diocese of Atlanta and suggest to them that they issue a joint statement urging the end of violence and the upholding of law and order. I wonder if a family letter from a brother Bishop in Southern Ohio might not also help their thinking. Bishop Claiborne is a good liberal person and Bishop Stuart has been backing Paul Ritch, the Episcopal clergyman in Americus, in his stand for law and order, therefore I feel that such a joint statement is not beyond the realm of possibility. I also feel it would be helpful and would reach the press and hence the people of the state, including those of Americus and Sumter County.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosures

Duplicate

Kester on CCFHR

April 16, 1957

Mr. Howard Kester
Conference on
Christian Faith and Human Relations
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Buck:

Thanks for the note of April 10. Sorry I couldn't answer sooner, but I was out of the city. We will send material to the Rev. James Glasse.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

8-29-57

Virginia (Mrs. C. P.) Kelly
119 Sequoia
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Highly recommended by Geo. Barnett, Administrative Asst., Tenn. Labor Council, for work with Tenn. Council on Human Relations or work in Chattanooga. I believe she was State prexy of League of Women Voters.

Attention Mr. Jones
Mrs. Carter
Mrs. Carter adv.

Pop to call

Texas
No financial report -

AM
3-8693

Ky-1

# LIST OF PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc.
208 West Main Street, Frankfort, Kentucky

## Council Reports

Toward Integration, A compilation of reports on Kentucky's 1956 progress toward the goal of equal opportunity for all peoples. 40 pages. 25 cents, but some available free to members and others on special request. (Separate reports available as below.)

## 1956 Desegregation Reports

Pupil and Teacher Desegregation - August & October

Teacher Desegregation - As of December

Desegregation in Colleges - September

Nurse Training Programs - December

Miscellaneous - Including churches, ministerial associations, professional groups, employment, housing, and advances in local communities.

KENTUCKY SCHOOL STORY - Articles about smooth desegregation in local districts reproduced from Kentucky newspapers. 16 pages.

Human Relations News - From the Kentucky Council on Human Relations; a monthly newsletter for members and friends, with reports on Kentucky progress and obstacles to progress. Subscription $2.

What YOU Can Do to Help Human Relations in Kentucky - A membership leaflet telling about the work of the Council, and the role which individuals and local groups can play in it. FREE

## EDUCATION

Report on Integration - School Year 1956-57, by the Department of Education, Frankfort. A complete listing of desegregated schools, with the number of pupils and teachers by race. 22 pages. SDE

Introduction to Integration, by Mary E. Reuter and Lucian Adams; the story of human relations projects in a Louisville and a Jefferson County school. 16 pages. L F

"Education and Race Differences," by Bette L. Anspach; the experience of a teacher in an integrated school, faculty and community who says that children "are what their heredity and environmental background make them." Reprinted from the October-November 1956 issue of the KTA Journal. 4 pages.

What the Supreme Court Said, by Professor Robert A. Leflar; including the decision, the implementation ruling, and a 32 question and answer analysis. 12 pages. 10 cents. SRC

Question of Integration, A Bibliography, a selected list prepared by the Educational Program Committee of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, and published by the Department of Education. 24 pages. SDE

The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation, by Bonita H. Valien; a report on successful desegregation with emphasis on the factors which made it so. 72 pages. 35 cents. ADL

The Negro and the Schools, by Harry S. Ashmore; unbiased study of segregation in northern and southern classrooms with particular emphasis on progress in the South. University of North Carolina Press, 1954. 228 pages. $1.50

Schools in Transition; Community Experiences in Desegregation, by Robin Murphy Williams; survey of six states which have moved, in one degree or another, from a segregated school system to a desegregated system since World War II. University of North Carolina Press, 1955. 272 pages. $3

"Kentucky Pioneers," by J. Mansir Tydings; the use of education in moral and spiritual values to guide students in racial and other matters. Printed from Religious Education, July-August 1956. 6 pages. L F

## EMPLOYMENT

Publications below are by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D.C., which is "dedicated to the National Policy that there shall be no discrimination because of race, religion or national origin in work paid for by the American taxpayers." Copies are available free from the Council or the Committee.

"Eisenhower's Program of Economic Equality," by Hodding Carter; reprinted from the September 1956 issue of Reader's Digest. 4 pages.

"The Story of the President's Committee on Government Contracts" 12 pages.

"Equal Economic Opportunity" posters.

"Equal Job Opportunity Is Good Business."

"Procedure for filing complaints under the equal job opportunity program."

"A General Statement Regarding the Implementation of the National Program for Equal Job Opportunity."

The Annual Reports of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

"Seven Questions," a leaflet to assist management in evaluating its compliance with the nondiscrimination clause.

## CHURCHES

"Henderson Pastors' Diary," by C. Sumpter Logan and Theodore A. Braun; the dramatic story of the efforts which overcame a white citizens' council boycott of desegregated schools. Christian Century, October 24, 1956, reprinted in New South, December 1956.

Souls Don't Have Color, the integration of two churches in North Carolina. United Auto Workers Fair Practices and Anti- Discrimination Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 14. 11 pages.

## HOUSING

Open Occupancy in Public Housing, based upon local experience in the administration of Federally aided low-rent public housing projects occupied by more than one racial group. Public Housing Administration, Washington 25, D.C. 30 pages. 20 cents.

## Miscellaneous

The Negro Population of Kentucky at Mid-Century, by Coleman, Pryor and Christiansen; an analysis of 1950 Census data including comparative housing, income, and occupation information. Bulletin 643, University of Kentucky, Experiment Station, Lexington. 43 pages.

* * * * * * * *

Copies of most of the publications in this list are available from the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Where no price is given, the publication is free as are sample copies of some other items. Please indicate topics of interest to receive other materials not listed. This list is dated February 1957.

## Sources for Literature

| | |
|---|---|
| ADL | Ohio-Kentucky Office, Anti-Defamation League<br>82 North High Street, Columbus 15, Ohio |
| L F | The Lincoln Foundation, 1319 Heyburn Building<br>Louisville, Kentucky |
| NCCJ | National Conference of Christians and Jews<br>Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky |
| SDE | State Department of Education, Frankfort, Kentucky |
| SRC | Southern Regional Council, Inc.<br>63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta 3, Georgia |

* * * *

La.

August 13, 1956

AIR MAIL

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Upon my return to the office today I received a copy of your letter to Mrs. Whitman of August 7, 1956 pretaining to the allocation of funds to state organizations, and also a memorandum from Fred Routh on the same day about the same subject.

In order to clarify my understanding of your letter, I would appreciate very much if you will verify the following statements:

1. The Louisiana Council on Human Relations is to receive from the SRC a total of $7,500 from October 1, 1956 through September 30, 1957 which is to be used only for salary purposes.

2. No other funds other than the $7,500 will be sent by the SRC to the LCHR.

3. That the LCHR does NOT have to raise $3,500 for this fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1955 through Sept. 30, 1956).

4. The LCHR must raise for this fiscal year $2,000. If it does raise $2,000 by September 30, 1956, the $7,500 will be sent to the LCHR for the next fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1956--September 30, 1957) for salaries commencing October 1, 1956.

5. The LCHR must raise $6,500 for the next fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1956--Sept. 30, 1957).

6. That this $6,500 may be decreased on a pro-rata basis.

My reason for asking for a definite clarification is that we do have enough money in the bank to continue operation until September 30, 1956. However, since we have already raised $2,000, I will not have to put on a concerted drive to raise $1,500 in the next month and a half in order to make the $3,500 total.

I would be very grateful to you if you would let me know whether or not we are to raise the $3,500 minimum for this year.

I would also appreciate your sending to me the report of the general evaluation of our organization, that is, is your letter of August 7, 1956 the evaluation of our state, or is the SRC to determine whether a state is less than satisfactory and to be on a "provisional" status.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/jrb

cc to Mr. Routh
Mrs. Whitman

DRAFT

Mr. Milton C. Vigo, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Milto

We have received your letter of August 13 with its six specific statements which you ask us to verify.

Let us proceed with them:

1. Correct

2. Correct

3. Correct

4. Correct

5. Correct

6. Correct

You ask for a copy of the general evaluation of your state organization; the Associate Directors for State Organizations are in the process of developing criteria for evaluating state organizations. A first rough draft of this evaluation tool was used in giving a rather quick and not too penetrating analysis of state organization efficiency. We are refining this tool and upon the completion of the evaluation of the state organizations you and your Board will be informed of where the Louisiana Council stands; not in terms of other states, but in terms of your own organization's strengths and weaknesses.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

FBR

January 10, 1957

Mr. Frank S. Loescher
414 So. 46th Street
Phila. 43, Pa.

Dear Frank:

I thought that you would be interested in knowing the progress of our "Miami Project" resulting from the meeting in Tuskegee. First let me say that the responses of the "interested" organizations has been disappointing. If the other three target communities have had as little cooperation I am afriad that the program agreed upon in Tuskegee will not have the impact which is potential.

To date I have heard from the following organizations who have indicated the names of local contacts: American Friends Service Committee; YWCA; YMCA; Southern Regional Council; Catholic Interracial Committee. In addition the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church wrote to me saying that they do not have contacts to recommend in this area. The National Council of Churches has just recently been in correspondence with the Director of the local Ministerial Association who had previously been asked to participate with us but has never shown up to a meeting.

We have not been deterred by this lack of cooperation. Several meetings have been held of an ad hoc group on a non-auspcies basis. Representatives have been present from the YMCA, YWCA, Urban League, Anti-Defamation League, Friends Service Committee, Dade County Council on Community Relations, and, of course, the American Jewish Committee. At this point we have agreed that we shall form ourselves into a new organization whose primary and exclusive purpose will be the accomplishment of peaceful accommodation to the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in the public schools of Dade County. The Dade County Council will act as secretariat to this new group and when and if possible will attempt to give financial assistance to the project.

The reason for a new organization in addition to the DCCCR is that a need was felt to involve new faces and names in a new organization not hithertofore recognized for its interest in this problem. This is to

be something of a counter-balance to the development of several new groups here dedicated to the preservation of segregation. We are beginning an immediate analysis of the possible effect of desegregation on schools in this county on a school by school basis. When this is completed we will make recommendations to the proper authorities suggesting techniques for achieving desegregation. We will have as our major function the development of a desegregation program and the pressure for its acceptance by people in authority. The DCCCR will assume responsibility for the education of the community towards its acceptance.

May I suggest that you use your considerable influence to motivate greater involvement of the groups represented at Tuskegee in implementation of the following which was agreed upon at that time by all of us:

1. Direct contact with Dade Countians who should be involved, urging their contact with me immediately;

2. Arrangement of professional staff field visits to this area as soon as possible (Will Campbell of the NCCC plans to spend a week here starting Jan. 15th for the purpose of involving local churches);

3. Allocation of agency funds earmarked for development of this project;

4. Utilization of national contacts to interest them in participation with this project (i.e. AJC's National Labor Service has contacted several national unions which in turn are requesting support of this project by their local leadership);

5. National instructions to their local units in Dade County that there be education of all local members of the pro-desegregation views of their own national body.

I understand that the above is not properly the function of the Fund to carry out my recommendations here. It is more than obvious to me, however, that the respect which is held for you and your organization can motivate an increasing attention to the potential of this project. In addition I hope that you might give some thought to the possibility of some kind of a financial assist, possibly for the salary of a full time coordinator for the project. If this has merit perhaps the channels could be through the Southern Regional Council earmarked for this purpose.

My best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: H. Fleischman
H. Murray
Ed Lukas
David Freeman
Fred Routh
Harold Fleming

# LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL UNITY AMITY HUMAN RELATIONS

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. • NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

MILTON C. VIGO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295


For spec?

January 30, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know if it would be possible to be in New Orleans and confer with me on Thursday, the 7th, and Friday, the 8th, prior to our quarterly State Executive Board meeting on the night of Friday, the 8th.

I have made arrangements to confer with Father McManus, President of the New Orleans Chapter, on either Thursday or Friday, prior to our State meeting.

If you will let me know the time of your arrival in New Orleans, I will try to meet you, if I am not tied up with other activities.

Hoping that the SRC Executive meeting is a success, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:mas

La -

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

January 31, 1957

Mrs. Ruth Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

I am enclosing my check #57 made out to the Southern Regional Council in the amount of Two Hundred ($200.00) Dollars, as a loan to the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. I would appreciate it very much if you would make a corresponding check to the Louisiana Council in that amount and forward it to our organization as soon as possible, in order that we may continue operations - payment of rent, telephone and postage.

Sincerely yours,

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:mas
Enc.

COPY

Labor

"AUTOMATION: WORLD CHALLANGE TO LABOR"

JOINT LABOR CONFERENCE ON AUTOMATION

at

Carter Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio
February 9 and 10, 1957

SPECIAL GUESTS
French Team Studying Automation in the Automobile Industry.

| | |
|---|---|
| Roger ARGENTIN<br>87 Rue du Sergent Bobillot<br>Montreuil S/Bois<br>(Seine) | National Union Secretary, F. O. ; Assistant Station Chief, Subway System of Paris. |
| Marcel BLONDE<br>83 Bld. Murat<br>Paris XVI | Member, C.G.C.; Chief Engineer (Electrical Service), Renault Automobile Plant in Billancourt (Seine) |
| Paul M. BOUR<br>14 Rue du Stade<br>Montbeliard (Doubs) | Member of Council, Federation of Engineers, CFTC; Chief Assistant, Mechanical Methods Department, Peugeot Automobile Plant in Sochaux |
| Rene J. DUFAUD<br>8 Rue d'Artois<br>Paris VIII | Member, French National Council Employees; Chief of Studies Department, Societe d'Organization Generale. |
| Michael J. LEROLLE<br>3 Rue Vaneau<br>Paris VII | Executive, Ministry of Labor (Law degree) |
| Andre L. LUCAS<br>221 Cite de la Plaine<br>Clamart (Seine) | Head of Section for Study of Working Conditions and Automation, Renault Automobile Company in Billancourt |
| Andre M. PHILBERT<br>60 Avenue Victor Hugo<br>Paris | Administrative Officer, Ministry of Labor, Paris;(BA and MA degrees in Liberal Arts) |
| Lucien ROUET<br>19 Rue du Fossede L'Aumone<br>Asnieres (Seine) | Member of Bureau, Federation of Metallurgy, FO; Executive of Chausson car body plant in Asnieres. |

Two interpreters from French Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Team Manager, John Willett from Trade Union Programs Division, Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor.

Team is visiting United Stated under Auspices of the International Cooperation Administration.

oeiu 17, AFL-CIO

For Your Information L a

February 18, 1957

Right Rev. Monsignor Charles J. Plauche
7845 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Monsignor Plauche:

Last week a sub-committee of the Un-American Activities Committee of the United States House of Representatives met here in New Orleans. The subject matter of the last day of the hearings dealt with certain Communist activities here in New Orleans.

I believe it would be well for us to note two statements made by the two key witnesses at this hearing. Dr. William Sorum, a Communist from 1945 to 1951, stated that he was instructed by party leaders to join the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to do party work. He stated, "This was not a Communist organization, in a sense, but the Communists in it soon gained leadership. Most of its members were not party members." (Times-Picayune, Feb. 16, 1957, Page 18.)

Arthur Eugene, Jr., a government witness, stated that in 1948 he was assigned by the Communist Party to work in the Progressive Party. He was asked whether the Progressive Party was controlled by the Communist Party. His answer was, "yes".

As you recall, Henry Wallace spoke in New Orleans in connection with his campaign for President under the sponsorship of the Committee for Louisiana, Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Paul Robeson also spoke here in New Orleans in behalf of Henry Wallace and his Progressive Party. He was, at the time, on a nation-wide tour accompanied by Dr. Clark Foreman, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Mr. Robeson's appearance here was arranged by the Southern Conference. Senator Glen Taylor was supposed to also speak here, and these arrangements were also being handled by the Southern Conference. The Louisiana Weekly in August, 1949, reported that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare had moved "lock, stock, and barrel into the Progressive Party".

Right Rev. Monsignor Charles J. Plauche February 18, 1957

The Southern Conference Educational Fund was the publishing branch of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Leadership of both groups have been pretty consistently the same.

A few of the local Clergy who have not been in New Orleans a very long time do not remember all of this history. It might be well for us in some way to caution those people who are interested in our movement to stay clear of the Southern Conference. There are certain individuals who might feel that they could work with James Dombrowski without doing harm to their own position. I believe it is generally recognized that any such association will certainly weaken the person's position in this battle.

Sincerely yours,

Ivor A. Trapolin

IAT;fw
c/c: Rev. Eugene McManus, S.S.J.
Milton Vigo
Rev. Louis Twomey, S. J.

COPY

For Your Information

La

February 21, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sending to you some newspaper clippings for your information.

First, it was gratifying to read the positive statement by the state committeeman of the Democratic National Advisory Council on the party's civil rights platform. We are calling our board members and suggesting that they write a letter of congratulations to him. I also recommended to Father McManus that he, as President, write a letter. I have also written a letter to Mr. Gravel.

Secondly, I am enclosing a copy of a letter by Ivor Trapolin, a New Orleans Attorney and Chairman of the Anti-Subversive Committee of the Young Men's Business Club of New Orleans, to Monsignor Plauche, the Catholic Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. I am also enclosing clippings from the testimony of two former members of the Communist Party in New Orleans who recently testified this past Friday before a sub-committee of the U. S. House Un-American Activities Committee. I am also including a newspaper article of the petition which was circulated by James Dombrowski of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

About this second matter, although it may appear that I am very sensitive on the subject, my major concern is for the wholesome growth of the Louisiana Council. At the Human Rights Day, which was held in December, and to which James Dombrowski and some of his associates were not invited, Mr. Dombrowski brought with him a Calhoun Phifer who was pointed out by a former Communist and FBI Informant as the leader in the Progressive Party which was controlled by the Communist Party. My major concern is that there appears to be a recent trend to have those people who are closely allied with James Dombrowski and his organization to become active and take the leadership in the New Orleans Chapter of the LCHR.

This is not to be construed to mean that I am passing judgment on any of these people or claiming that the Southern Conference Educational Fund and these other people are members of the Communist Party. I only can say that if James Dombrowski is so sincere in his efforts to bring about equal opportunity and better understanding, why does he put his name and the names of his associates on the statement on bus desegregation; thus, leading the public to believe that this whole movement is being formented by the Communist Party and to think that these citizens of goodwill are being misled by a Communist-front organization.

My opinion may change in the future but, at present, it is my belief that Dombrowski's purpose in this whole movement is to stir up as much trouble as possible; and he is not helping the cause by trying to associate himself, his organization, and its members with reputable individuals and organizations in this community.

You may notice in the paper that Dr. Sorum stated that the Southern Negro Youth Congress was affiliated with the Communist Party. The report of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in 1947 stated that James Dombrowski was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Dr. Sorum also stated, as you may notice, that he was instructed by the party leaders to join the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to do party work. As you already know, the Southern Conference Educational Fund is a successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Once again, I say that this is only for your information, but I would like to have the Southern Regional Council know of my position and my feelings in this matter.

With best personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/bt

Enclosures
c/c Mr. Fred Routh
Mr. Ivor Trapolin

COPY

RECEIVED FEB 26 1957

# LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. • NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

MILTON C. VIGO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295

February 25, 1957

La Spl

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On February 14 I sent letters to the State Board of Directors explaining the conditions of the provisional status of the Louisiana Council and requested that they approve or disapprove by mail ballot, "by mailing in an enclosed self-addressed stamped postcard," of the conditions as set forth by the SRC.

According to the present constitution, a quorum is one third of the State Directors of which there are fifteen. Today I received five cards which gives the approval of the conditions. Here are the results of the mail ballot:

Numa J. Rousseve, State Vice President--Approve
Dr. Clarence J. Forcia, State Treasurer--Approve
Mr. R. C. Reynaud, State ~~Treasurer~~ Finance--Approve
Dr. Marion B. Smith, President, Baton Rouge Chapter--Approve
Rev. Eugene McManus, President, New Orleans Chapter--Approve

Of the five returned cards, all of them approved, and we have not heard from the other ten.

If you think that Father McManus should write to you officially, I will suggest to him that he do so.

Thank you for your support and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV/bt

La ~~Sec~~
Special

February 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Last night the Board of Directors of the New Orleans Chapter and a few key people met to form the core of the State Administrative Committee. Of the seventeen people that were invited twelve were present:

Rev. McManus--President
Dr. Mary Allen--Vice President
Loretta Butler--Secretary
Revius Ortique--Chairman Program Committee
Rabbi Leipziger--Chairman Finance Committee
Bernard Engert--Chairman Membership Committee
Mary Raymond--Member of the Board
Rabbi Bergman--Past President New Orleans Chapter
Florence Sytz--SRC Board Member
Rev. Samuel Gandy--Dillard University
Rev. Louis Twomey--Loyola University

Very briefly I will give you a resume of the meeting.

First, as I indicated in a previous letter, No. 5 of the conditions of the provisional status has been met.

Second, the Administrative Committee, which met last night, agreed to accept the other four conditions.

Third, about two thirds of the meeting was devoted to the Co-ordinating Conference, association with other organizations, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Although Fred and I thought that it would be a good idea to continue the Co-ordinating Conference, the Administrative Committee thought that it would be best, during the period of provisional status, to devote our efforts to our own program instead of trying to set up a program for other organizations. The main point at issue was: How was our organization to set a criterion that the Southern Conference Educational Fund or any other organization should be included or excluded from the activities of this Co-ordinating Conference. In other words, the committee unanimously agreed that our organization would not have any control over the Co-ordinating Conference since the Louisiana Council would only be one member of this conference.

Many of the people present, some who cited the unhappy outcome of their association with SCEF in the past and others who have weighted this problem very carefully firmly believe that the Louisiana Council should have nothing to do with the Southern Conference Educational Fund because of the insincerety of its directors. I would like to add that I took no part in this discussion nor did I initiate discussion on it. Many members who are presidents of labor organizations, church organizations, social service organizations stated that their organizations believe that they would not continue with our organization if it were not in any way associated with SCEF.

Fourth, the group would like to have the services of John Hope's Consultant Service Program as soon as possible. Mardi Gras is a week from today and we would like to have the workshop as soon as possible after that date--March 5, in order that we may initiate our program.

Fifth, most of the members present pledged, individually, to raise about $100 a piece for the organization. Rabbi Leipziger said he could raise about $500 to $700 before May 1.

Therefore, I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know as soon as possible when the services of John Hope may be available to our State Administrative Committee.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain

Sincerely,

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:bt
Dictated but not read

cc: Mr. Fred Routh

COPY

# NEWS and VIEWS of the LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

303 Board of Trade Annex Bldg. New Orleans 12, Louisiana


La - (anything cc in CO files)

February 1957

PROVISIONAL STATUS OF LCHR

The Southern Regional Council has put the Louisiana Council on provisional status until May 1, 1957, and the state Executive Board has approved by mail ballot the conditions of the provisional status. A state Administrative Committee will supplant the state Executive Board during the period of provisional status. The officers of the New Orleans Chapter have agreed to head this Committee and assume the responsibility for the state organization.

May we urge every member of the LCHR to give full cooperation to the Administrative Committee. Each member will receive an explanation of the conditions to be met during the period of provisional status and of what everyone can do during this time to help the Council continue its growth and expansion.

MRS. ROWLAND RESIGNS

It was with regret that Mrs. Elsie Whitman Rowland, state president of the LCHR, resigned from her position, effective February 8th. Because of illness in her family, Mrs. Rowland was not able to continue in office. The LCHR wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to Mrs. Rowland for her unselfish devotion to the propagation of the objectives and ideals of the Council. The members hope that Mr. Rowland's condition improves.

DR. MITCHELL RETIRES

After 12 years of leadership and devoted service to the Southern Regional Council, Dr. George S. Mitchell has retired. Next month the Mitchells will sail for Scotland where they will reside and where Dr. Mitchell will resume his study of economics. Harold Fleming, former director of Information of the SRC for the past 10 years, has assumed the directorship of the Council. The LCHR looks forward to years of progress under Mr. Fleming's leadership.

CAMILLE GRAVEL STATEMENT

Members are urged to write a letter of commendation to Camille Gravel, Louisiana's national Democratic committeeman, on his forthright statement that "Intelligence, caution, and moderation, not hysteria, emotion, and slander are needed to solve our greatest problem of the century." Mr. Gravel's vote with the Democratic National Advisory Council calling on Congress to put the party's civil rights platform into effect and his statements that segregation is wrong, that legislation sponsored by the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation is unreasonable and that the Citizen's Councils have spearheaded a drive to disenfranchise Negro voters in Louisiana solely on account of race, have proved that in Louisiana there are prominent men who have the courage and fortitude to express their honest and reasoned opinions. Mr. Gravel's address is 611 Murray Street, Alexandria Louisiana.

THE SOUTH: ITS FATEFUL CHALLENGE

A ten-week course entitled "The South: Its Fateful Challenge" will be conducted by the Executive Director of the LCHR in the Institute of Industrial Relations of Loyola University. The main thesis of the course will be problems in desegregation in the South today, with emphasis placed on Louisiana and New Orleans. Consultants who are authorities in their fields will assist the Director at certain sessions. Members of the Louisiana Council are cordially invited to attend the Institute and the sessions of this course.

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

# THE SOUTH: ITS FATEFUL CHALLENGE

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director, Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Monday Evenings
March 11th through May 13th, 1957
8:25 - 9:10 P. M.
Marquette Hall

| | |
|---|---|
| March 11 | The Crucial Challenge to Human Relations in the South & in Louisiana<br>The Principles of Democratic Human Relations |
| March 18 | Changing Patterns in the South<br>The Trend Toward Desegregation in the South and in Louisiana |
| March 25 | How Fear and Prejudice Retard Better Human Relations<br>Consultant: Mort Feigenbaum; Regional Director, Anti-Defamation League |
| April 1 | Negro Voting: The Key to Full Citizenship<br>Consultant: Dr. John Fenton; Political Science Dept., Tulane Univ. |
| April 8 | The Legal Aspects of Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration<br>Consultant: A. P. Tureaud; Legal Counsel, Louisiana NAACP |
| April 15 | The Resistance to Desegregation in the South and in Louisiana<br>The Growth and Influence of Resistance Movements |
| April 22 | Desegregation Without Popular Support---A case study<br>Consultant: Dr. Warren Breed; Sociology Dept., Newcomb Coll. Tulane U. |
| April 29 | How a City Desegregates Its Schools<br>Film: The Story of Desegregation in Baltimore |
| May 6 | The Advances of Equal Opportunity in Employment<br>Consultant: J. Harvey Kearns; Director, New Orleans Urban League |
| May 13 | Preparing for Desegregation in New Orleans and in Louisiana<br>The Role of Community Leaders, Organizations, and Institutions |

Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Bldg.
New Orleans 12, La.

RECEIVED MAR 12 1957

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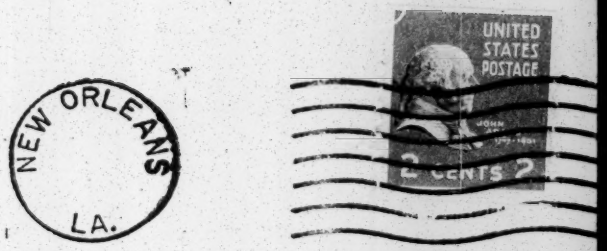





Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

La Special

March 11, 1957

Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. J. H. Hope II
1808 Moreno Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Enclosed is a letter from Milton Vigo of the Louisiana Council inquiring about your services.

You will recall that I sent you a copy of Harold's letter placing the Louisiana Council on provisional status. One of the stipulations for the Louisiana Council was that the state administrative committee hold a work session with you and the consultants.

Would you please indicate to Milton when we can meet in New Orleans, taking into account, of course, that provisional status extends to May 1 and the work session should be held prior to that time.

See you soon.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

# LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

LOUISIANA COUNCIL UNITY AMITY HUMAN RELATIONS

303 BOARD OF TRADE ANNEX BLDG. • NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

MILTON C. VIGO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MAGNOLIA 4295


March 8, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Our Administrative Committee is very anxious to have the services of John Hope's Consultant Program in order that we may initiate our program.

As of today, we have raised $225 in contributions since March 1; therefore, we have $1275 remaining to be raised. Today I sent out individually typed letters to each member of the Administrative Committee giving them a report of the progress of the fund raising. I hope to send out a weekly report for the next seven weeks.

I would deeply appreciate it if you would contact John Hope in order to find out when we may have the services of the Consultant Program.

With good luck and best wishes, I remain

Cordially,

Milton

Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director

MCV:bt

cc Mr. Harold Fleming

13-14 MAR 1957

FBR Labor

All sessions:

Conference Room
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dormitory accomodations:

Atlanta University Dormitory
50 Chestnut Street

The schedule of meetings is as follows:

Wednesday, March 13, 1957

4:30 P.M. - General Orientation Session

6:00 P.M. - Dinner

7:30 P.M. - Discussion of "The South: Problems and Prospects," led by Harold C. Fleming, Director of Southern Regional Council

Thursday, March 14, 1957

7:30 A.M. - Breakfast

9:00 A.M. - General Session - Discussion of "Hate Groups - Race Relations Patterns in Southern Unions," Emory F. Via

12:30 P.M. - Lunch

1:30 P.M. - General Session

Summary of Conference: Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic

4:30 P.M. - Close of Conference

To - FBR

Labor

SRC Labor Conference - 3/13-14/57

Those attending included:

AFL-CIO

1. George Weaver, Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Committee

American Federation of Teachers

2. Paul D. Ward, Director of Special Services

Brewery Workers

3. James E. Wolfe
Director, Research and Education

COPE

4. E. R. (~~Sparkey~~) Williamson, Area Director, COPE Area No. 3

CWA

5. Lee White

ILGWU

6. Nick Bonanno, Special Assistant, Southeastern Regional Office
7. E. T. Kehrer, Southeast Regional Director

IUE

8. Ken Peterson, Civil Rights Coordinator

Sleeping Car Porters

9. J. C. McFarlin, Secretary-Treasurer, Atlanta Division

State, County, Municipal Employees

10. Henry T. Wilson, Legal Assistant

TWUA

11. Julius R. Fry, Representative

UAW

12. Earl H. Henderson, Field Representative
13. James P. Harden, Education Department
14. William H. Oliver, Co-Director Fair Practices Department

URW

15. James E. Turner, Director, Fair Practices Department

(continued)

Those attending SRC Labor Conference, continued:

USA

16. Ned Kocher, Representative
17. Lorne H. Nelles, Director District 35
18. John M. Powderly, Department of Education
19. R. E. Starnes, Field Representative

20. Charles Jones, Minister, Community Church

21. Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic

22. Emory Via, Labor Consultant, SRC

La

April 4, 1957

Mr. Milton C. Vigo
Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
303 Board of Trade Annex Building
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Milton:

The Consultant Service Workshop for the Louisiana Council will be attended by John Hope, Dr. Bonita Valien, Dr. Hylan Lewis, and yours truly. Unfortunately, C.H. cannot make it. We will all need accomodations for Tuesday night, obviously, and John and Bonita will want accomodations for Wednesday and Thursday night. I will want accomodations for Wednesday night and I believe Hy Lewis will be leaving Wednesday evening. It was mighty good of Dr. Dent to provide accomodations for us at Dillard.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Duplicate
Fund for Loescher

Blind Copy: Father L. J. Twomey, S.J.

April 17, 1957

Mr. Frank Loescher
Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

I have recently been out to New Orleans on Council business and while there talked with my old friend Father L. J. Twomey, S.J. He informed me that on a recent trip to New York he had talked with Dave about the possibilities of a grant from the Fund to the Institute of Industrial Relations of Loyola University of the South and that Dave had said this was somewhat outside the scope of the Fund.

Actually, a great deal of the Institute is concerned with the problems of race relations as they affect the Southern labor movement and as they affect the development of healthy personalities in Southern communities.

If this is not within the scope of Fund interest, could you please suggest other sources of possible assistance to the Industrial Institute? While I was in New Orleans I talked with a Negro organizer of the United Packinghouse Workers and he told me that Father Twomey had done more for good race relations than almost anyone he knew. We here have had long friendship with Father Twomey and believe he is doing a really significant job. Any suggestions you can give or any help you can offer in finding financial assistance for this project will be greatly appreciated. The amount is small, the objective great. $15,000 a year for a three year period - with the hope of educating and activating the vast power and resources of organized labor in the South.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Attn: FBR

Labor file

Confidential: Not for Publication

Summary of Southern Regional Council's Labor Conference

The conference was called to provide an opportunity for selected Southern labor leadership and representatives of national unions with specific interests in civil rights and race relations to meet and to discuss the problems that unions face in the field of race relations, to receive basic information on the current Southern scene, and to exchange information which would be helpful in meeting the problems discussed. This was not a policy-making or official union conference. The conference was called by the Southern Regional Council in close cooperation with Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

Harold Fleming, Director of the Council, described the interests, organization, and general approach of the Southern Regional Council in working toward a desegregated and democratic society in the South. The Council is composed of Southerners, is not doctrinaire, and is not a litigating body. It recognizes the validity of the use of the courts in securing the rights of all people. The Council uses the methods of education, research, consultation, and public information.

The advances made in the rights of Negroes since War II were detailed; these included the expansion of the right to vote, ending segregation on interstate transportation, and desegregation of the armed forces. These and other steps were made prior to the Supreme Court's Decision on school desegregation. That decision was a momentous one and the nature of the problem faced by Southerners was changed. However, Fleming does not accept the view that racial relations have been set back. On the contrary, the legal rights of Negroes are more clearly understood and the framework has been set wherein people of good will can work for increased understanding and democratic practice in all areas of life.

The relationship between historical forces, economic conditions, and political facts of life was discussed. Often those who favor maintaining segregation in all its forms are supporting a way of life which benefits a favored few rather than the whole population. One of the results of this way of life is outdated political systems, and it largely explains die-hard opposition to union organization.

Too often our attention has been captured by bad relations and violence; the press, and others, have tended to underplay the solid gains that have been achieved peacefully in many Southern and border-state communities. For instance, numerous counties and school districts have desegregated schools in Texas, Arkansas, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and West Virginia. Bus desegregation has taken place in some twenty-four cities in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. The myth that desegregation will not work is being disproved by the facts, and social change has proved not to be as drastic as the myth-makers would have it.

The discussion explored what unions could do with community groups and the Council toward building fresh attitudes in the current situation. The problem of coordinating the interest and efforts of unions with the efforts of the Council was raised. Such specific problems were raised as those unions and staff persons who say that there is no problem regarding race relations (especially in locals that have few or no Negro members), the fear of speaking out even moderately on the rights of others, the fact that race relations and the possibilities of action differ from community to community, union to union, and industry to industry (but usually no generality about an industry, a union, or a community will hold true), and the difficulty in getting like-minded persons in unions and in the community together.

In the Thursday morning session Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council's staff opened a discussion on the role of pro-segregation groups. These groups are quite active, and have substantial financial resources. It is estimated that they have about 300,000 members. The literature of the hate groups is widespread and far exceeds, in volume, that of the groups working toward desegregation. Much of this literature furnishes us with examples of the basic anti-union position of these groups. Although some of the current dissensions among the hate group leadership was viewed as a hopeful sign, it was pointed out that most of the White Citizen Councils were conducting real membership drives and attempting to get new chapter organizations. Anthony stated that few things pleased the hate groups more than to know that Southern unions remained quiet on matters regarding racial relations, since this was proof of hate group success, and confirmation of the effectiveness of the divide and conquer technique in separating locals from nationals on matters of major policy.

Emory Via reported statements by White Citizen Council leaders indicating the closeness of their position to that of fanatical action, which tends to puncture the myth that these movements are respectable. The efforts of such groups to infiltrate unions were discussed, with specific attention being given to those attempting to organize competing labor unions. The activities and anti-union position of the United Southern Employees Association in North and South Carolina were mentioned. The strongly pro-segregationist political organization, the Durham United Political Education Committee, was cited as a group which had worked actively to divide labor and raise racial questions in political campaigns as well as within unions. The activities in Alabama and Tennessee toward a Southern labor movement were considered ineffective in splitting off membership or local unions from the main stream of organized labor. However, such moves have caused racial issues to be debated heatedly in some areas. Ben Segal introduced

copies of letters and news clips to show that some North and South Carolina employers have used the race issue in the attempt to defeat organizing campaigns. Of particular interest here was the fact that in five or six different campaigns in the textile and hosiery industries, the same wording was used.

Frank discussions revealed that there is no uniformity of approach in handling racial questions, that some staff men attempt to dodge the issue at almost any cost, that there is a lack of firmness in accepting the policies of international unions regarding discrimination, and that there is a major lack of information on the part of many staff men regarding the following points: (a) how to meet racial propaganda when it is raised in the union; (b) the status of desegregation moves in the South today; (c) the historical, political, and economic background of segregation and their relevance to the present situation; (d) the relation of hate groups to anti-union forces in the South; (e) the basic arguments and techniques that are useful in meeting questions and dissensions within locals and from members regarding racial questions.

The importance of the rapid industrialization of the South and the factors that would lead employers to hire increasing numbers of Negroes and in new job classifications was discussed. In the short run, the government contracts provisions and the work of organizations interested in job opportunities for Negroes will lead to the change in many patterns; in the long run, an increasing number of the needed skills will be spread broadly throughout the whole population and the supply of all-white labor will be exhausted so that there will be an even greater economic necessity for making fuller use of the pool of Negro labor. Also, instances were cited where new industry hesitated to move into areas of racial unrest.

It was recognized that the survival and success of the labor movement in the South was intimately tied to a proper handling of racial issues. It is impossible to separate at all times racial issues in the community from those that affect

unions most directly. This may mean that locals and other union bodies will have to decide how to relate themselves to organizations at work on the problems of desegregation, and what position they will take on such community matters. Other interested groups and individuals could be of help when the union is faced with a racial problem.

Repeated emphasis was placed on the importance of the service representative in these matters. It was agreed that more training was needed in human relations, that clearer policy lines should be established, not just in the form of national pronouncements, but especially in terms of operational policy. Understanding how these issues affect the whole effort of labor now, and in the future, is imperative. Staff men need a chance to learn how to operate in this field and to know where they stand in regard to policy, and support from regional and national offices.

In the closing session of the conference, the following points were brought out in summaries by Emory Via and Ben Segal:

1. A first key in handling racial issues is the staff man; he needs a more fundamental orientation to the total Southern picture, facts about desegregation and the law, training in handling members and locals when racial issues arise, information and assistance in developing a "core group" of unionists who understand the issues and know that they must be handled well if the union is to succeed. Certainly, most staff men are already burdened with duties, but racial questions are a fundamental part of unionism in the South and cannot be avoided. Conferences, institutes, and special staff meetings were urged as ways to begin to meet these problems.

2. A "core group" must be developed within locals which has information and skills in meeting the problems raised by membership.

3. There is a continuing need for information and publications. More facts on the operation of hate groups is needed. Information on the successful handling of racial problems in other locals would be useful -- in some instances care must be exercised to protect the group which made the "success story." Facts are needed on industrial development and what it means to employment patterns, etc. More information is needed regarding current patterns of race relations and discrimination in unions and in industry; clearly there is a great variety of patterns in most localities and many of them demonstrate successful integration on the job and in the union.

Needed on this information front: (a) channeling reports of trouble spots, hate group activity, success stories, and general racial patterns through a central agency which can then see that interested unions are informed as to what is happening (Southern Regional Council was mentioned as such a central agency); (b) publicity pieces useful in the South, perhaps being issued jointly by the unions in the area.

4. A series of conferences and institutes should be held on a regional and/or sub-regional basis to give more intensive training to those who can make best use of it. A continuation of the regional conference such as this one.

5. Sessions on human relations, general Southern conditions, and the role of hate groups should be included in summer institutes and other educational programs. Charlie Jones, Ben Segal, and Emory Via are available for such sessions. There are resource people who can handle any level of membership, or any approach to the racial problems - such as legal, moral, economic necessity, historical implications, and the straight union arguments for unity and non-discrimination.

6. Unions should increase their contact with community resources interested in desegregation and the handling of human relations problems. This would include professional agencies in the field, church groups, and competent individuals. A list of the Southern Regional Council's state affiliates was made available, and the SRC's labor consultant will aid unions in making contacts with other Southern groups with similar concerns.

7. Approaches to management are possible. In many instances these approaches will not be made by the union itself. Management's cooperation in reducing racial tensions or in making advances in desegregation can be instrumental in making these changes with a minimum of trouble for union and community. Where the provisions of the government contracts act are invoked, management can be required to desegregate the work force. Management may be responsive to arguments based on economic realities, on moral grounds, and to an appeal not to take actions that would increase racial feeling to the long-run detriment of the community.

8. An interest was expressed in the establishment of a channel of communication and coordination for unions in the South in the handling of problems that bear on race relations. Information exchange, strategy, publicity, and the necessity for developing an overall approach all pointed toward some form of coordination among the various regional offices. On an informal level some of these functions could be aided by use of the Labor Consultant of the Council; the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO was viewed as a possible agency for this work once the machinery is developed.

9. Unions must face the fact that racial issues cannot be dodged; even if our first concern is to organize, and to maintain organizations, there is no escape from facing the responsibility of unions in ending discrimination and finding reasonable answers to the racial problems that face them in the South.

Literature available
Name list attached separately